Territorial *Oppida* and the transformation of landscape and society in south-eastern Britain from BC 300 to 100 AD.

By

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I, Nicky Garland, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

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Abstract

Territorial *oppida*, defined as large-scale ditched sites, are an often discussed but poorly understood phenomena of the Late Iron Age/Roman transition period in south-eastern Britain. Previous research has attempted to compare known examples, however, classification and interpretation remain problematic. While it is understood that the emergence of *oppida* formed an integral part of a range of changes occurring in Late Iron Age south-east Britain, our knowledge of how they were used and for what purpose(s) remains limited.

This thesis aims to advance the study of *oppida* by developing an innovative theoretical and methodological approach to examine their social structure on multiple scales (people, groups, regions). An understanding of the development of British *oppida* research, in parallel to considering the wider changes within British Iron Age and Roman studies, provides the context for a reconsideration of the function, social structure and temporal transformations of territorial *oppida*. The multi-scalar approach adopted in this research reinvigorates past theoretical perspectives, emphasising meaning-laden/human-centred studies of landscapes and the examination of identity and social practice. The areas surrounding Colchester and Chichester provide the focal case-studies, in addition to comparisons to other British and continental examples.

The addition of developer-funded archaeological data to more familiar information, derived from earlier investigation, has allowed the understanding of *oppida* as diverse and socially complex settlements, which - rather than focused on an 'elite' class - were inhabited by a range of groups who undertook domestic and ritual practices within a dynamic social structure. Furthermore, an understanding of the temporality of *oppida* has highlighted their origins as important 'places' in the Iron Age landscape and underlined the complexity of responses to colonial contact with the Roman Empire following the Claudian invasion. These conclusions are fundamental in

changing our interpretation of territorial *oppida* and the social conditions in Late Iron Age Britain.

Preface

I would like to thank my supervisors, Prof. Sue Hamilton, Dr. Andy Gardner and Dr. Dominic Perring, for their guidance, advice and support during my part-time research over the last 7 years. I have learnt much from them during my studies at UCL. I would also like to thank Dr. Kris Lockyear who acted as my temporary secondary supervisor during Dr Gardner's sabbatical. I would like to thank the following staff of HER offices and the PAS for their advice and access to databases used for this research; Sally Gale (Essex County Council), Alex Godden (Hampshire County Council), Daniel Pett (British Museum), Rachel Salter (West Sussex County Council) and Ian Scrivener-Lindley (Chichester District Council).

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Finally, I would like to thank my family and my partner, Lesley, who provided me with so much emotional, and sometime financial, support over the last seven years, and without whose help I would have never made it through this rewarding period.

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Prefatory Note

Cross-referencing between sections of the thesis is illustrated in the text by the section number in bold text within parenthesis e.g. (**2.2.2**). Where appendices are referenced within each chapter (presented in volume 2) they shall be prefixed by a capital A. e.g. (A2.6). Abbreviations for the Middle Iron Age (MIA), Late Iron Age (LIA) and Early Roman (ERom) periods are used from chapters 5 onwards.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Settlements known as *oppida* have been a key component in our understanding of the Late Pre-Roman Iron Age since the 19th century. Focusing initially on Caesar's description in *The Gallic Wars*, the term *oppida* was quickly expanded to classify a number of settlements across western and central Europe. In Late Iron Age Britain (400-300 BC - AD43), territorial *oppida* formed part of a widespread transformation in settlement, material culture and social structure. These changes, culminating during the invasion of Britain in AD43 and the arrival of the Roman Empire, remain a key element of research into later prehistoric and Roman Britain, particularly manifest in studies of social transformation. This thesis examines new evidence for territorial *oppida* in southern Britain in order to reassess the function, social structure and temporal transformation of these settlements.

Despite research over the last 40 years (Collis 1984; Cunliffe 1976), the definition and categorisation (i.e. territorial, enclosed, unenclosed) of British *oppida* has led to a complex and confusing perception of these settlement types. It has been argued that the term *oppida* is of little use archaeologically as it subsumes a range of sites that vary in form, function and chronology, while equally ignoring or excluding other similar settlements (Bryant 2007; Haselgrove 2000; Moore 2011, 391; Woolf 1993). Despite these problems, the term territorial *oppidum* refers to a particular settlement type, which, as argued below, is central to our understanding of change in Late Iron Age Britain.

Territorial *oppida* are a specific form of Iron Age settlement (A1.1), usually identified in southern Britain (A1.2) and characterised by evidence for significant quantities of imported goods, high status burials and a large-scale arrangement of linear earthworks (e.g. Haselgrove 2000). Evidence for residential compounds, field systems and zones of varying function (**2.2.3**) within territorial *oppida* have led to their definition as settlements and suggests the presence of a large and distinct population. The role of territorial *oppida* has often been considered central to the explanation of change across the Late Iron Age; viewed as a catalyst for change (e.g. Haselgrove 1989; Hill 2007) or, alternatively, as a result of it (e.g. Creighton 2006). The importance of territorial *oppida* in understanding change in the Late Iron Age is illustrated by the shifting interpretation of these settlements over time, traditionally following current theoretical fashions (Haselgrove and Moore 2007a, 1–2). Seen initially as the origins of urbanization in Britain (Cunliffe 1976a), territorial *oppida* were later considered centres of powerful chiefdoms fuelled by external Roman trade

(Haselgrove 1984) and are currently understood as the stage for the building of dynasties stemming from political associations with Rome (Millett 1990; Creighton 2000).

Following the application of processual approaches to our understanding of British *oppida* (e.g. Cunliffe 1976b; Haselgrove 1976), post-processual research in the 1990s sought to abandon the focus on territorial *oppida* in favour of similar settlements that contained evidence for long distance exchange contacts, craft production and wealth, but were not enclosed by an earthwork system (Hill 1995a, 72). Much of the dissatisfaction with the focus on *oppida* stemmed from a confusing nomenclature (Pitts 2010, 34–35), blending Caesar's definition in the *Gallic Wars* with later classifications and reclassifications by French, German and British scholars since the late 19th century (**2.2**). The move away from research on territorial *oppida* was due in part to the recognition that southern Britain was the focus of the majority of study, to the detriment of other areas, and that research needed to be reorientated away from traditional 'hotspots' (Haselgrove and Moore 2007a, 5). While the focus on underrepresented areas of Britain has been much to the benefit of the understanding of the Iron Age in general (e.g. Haselgrove and Moore 2007b; Haselgrove and Pope 2007a), the pendulum has perhaps swung too far from the question of how we might understand the role of territorial *oppida*, especially since these settlements retain a key role in narratives of the Late Iron Age (e.g. Bryant 2007; Collis 2007; Hamilton 2007; Haselgrove 2007; Moore 2007a; Willis 2007a).

To qualify this statement, some research over the last 15 years which has begun to advance the understanding of territorial *oppida,* albeit in specific circumstances. Recent studies into British territorial *oppida* has focused upon single examples (e.g. The Silchester Town Life Project - University of Reading 2015), or specific sites located within territorial *oppida* (e.g. Sheepen, Camulodunum - Rogers 2008; Willis 2007a; Hayling Island, near Chichester - Haselgrove 2005; King and Soffe 2008). While this research has been useful in identifying specific regional trajectories, there is still much speculation in the academic literature about how these sites operated socially, economically and politically (e.g. Creighton 2006; Rogers 2012). Furthermore, while the interpretation of some territorial *oppida* has benefited from new archaeological interventions (e.g. Silchester - Fulford and Timby 2000; Bagendon - Moore 2012; Stanwick - Haselgrove 2016), much research has primarily focused upon the 'landscape-scale' analysis of territorial *oppida*, examining how these settlements interacted with the wider environment (e.g. Verlamion - Haselgrove

and Millett 1997; Hunn 1992; Chichester - Davenport 2003; Camulodunum - Rogers 2008; Willis 2007a; Bagendon - Moore 2012, 2014; Stanwick - Haselgrove 2016).

A deeper understanding of territorial *oppida* can be facilitated by making use of the growth in data as a result of developer-funded archaeology. Although this data often appears under-theorised (e.g. Bradley 2006), there is a great deal of potential for recent discoveries to be integrated into current theoretical approaches to the Late Iron Age (Bradley 2007, xv–xvii). This would allow us to reassess our interpretations of territorial *oppida* to reflect current archaeological data (e.g. Verlamion - Thompson 2005), rather than the assumptions of the past (e.g. Fernández-Götz 2014a, 379). The benefits of new interpretations have been demonstrated by the consideration of the importance of 'natural' places in the landscape (e.g. Bradley 2000) and the implications of changing attitudes to these places over time (e.g. Camulodunum - Rogers 2008). More detailed explanations of the social structure of Late Iron Age Britain may equally be useful, particularly in recognizing that not all groups were hierarchical (e.g. Hill 1995b). While some research on territorial *oppida* has considered the people who occupied these settlements, through detailed analysis of specific social practices (e.g. Haselgrove and Millett 1997), they have often focused on 'elite' members of society at the expense of others who lived in and interacted with these settlements. New approaches to how we examine territorial *oppida* must be geared specifically to this type of settlement, realising that examining just a single site or the landscape at large is failing to create a comprehensive narrative. Comparisons with other territorial *oppida* across Britain and *oppida* on the Continent allows a thorough investigation of the practices undertaken within these settlements and consequently what these practices inform us about the social structures and changes that occurred in the Pre-Roman Late Iron Age.

The driving research aim of this thesis is to develop a more detailed understanding of territorial *oppida*, and their role in wider social transformations of the Late Iron Age, through an examination of the inhabitants of these settlements. Chapter 2 examines our current knowledge of *oppida* in general, and territorial *oppida* in particular, by analysing the development of *oppida* studies over the last forty years. This chapter also addresses how territorial *oppida* are currently understood by focusing on common themes and chronological distinctions made for these settlements. Detailed research questions for this thesis appear at the end of Chapter 2, growing from a review of current research and fashioned to explore new avenues and address gaps in current analyses. The research questions address what were the functions(s) of territorial *oppida*, how did the social structure of territorial *oppida* communities

transform over time and how did territorial *oppida* relate to the wider physical and social landscape.

Our understanding of Late Iron Age territorial *oppida* must also be examined within a wider knowledge of the period and, in particular, how developments in theoretical approaches to the Iron Age and Roman periods in Britain have helped and/or hindered the understanding of these types of settlement. Chapter 3 evaluates past and current theoretical frameworks, in particular approaches that consider the variety of people who lived within and interacted with territorial *oppida* (e.g. approaches to identity, person-centred/experiential approaches to landscape), from which a novel framework will be synthesized in order to examine territorial *oppida* across multiple scales of society. This framework posits three different but interrelated social scales; people (personal identity), groups (group identity) and regions (landscapes defined as inhabited spaces). Chapter 4 provides a companion to Chapter 3 and will discuss the methods employed to explore the archaeological evidence for territorial *oppida,* and in particular how this evidence might reflect the three social scales referred to above. Three scales of archaeological evidence – finds, sites, and landscapes - reflect the types of data explored in this thesis, and each correlate to the three social scales discussed above (Table 1.1). The methodological chapter will also address the types of data utilized in this analysis, particularly the results of developer-funded archaeology, and possible biases in its use.

People → Groups → Regions

Finds → Sites → Landscapes

Table 1.1: Theoretical and Methodological scales of analysis

Chapters 5 and 6 offer two in-depth case studies that employ the multi-scale theoretical and methodological approach outlined in the previous chapters. These case studies include the analysis of a well-documented and researched territorial *oppidum*, Camulodunum (Chapter 5) and the area surrounding it, termed in this thesis the Essex Territorial *Oppidum* Zone (ETOZ). The second case study (Chapter 6), focuses on the territorial *oppidum* at Chichester and the area surrounding it, termed in this thesis the West Sussex Territorial *Oppidum* Zone (WSTOZ). While often referenced in the available literature, the territorial *oppidum* at Chichester is usually only examined as a peripheral comparison. Each case study will consider the three social scales discussed above, across different chronological periods, leading to a summary of social change at the end of each of these chapters. In Chapter 7 a

comparative analysis shall be undertaken of the two case studies, incorporating detailed research for other British territorial *oppida* and selected continental sites. This chapter, through such comparisons, will address two of the three research questions posed (**2.5**), examining the social characteristics of territorial *oppida*. Issues such as the function and social structure of territorial *oppida* will be addressed, which reflect the new ways in which the Iron Age and Roman periods are being discussed in current academic discourse. Chapter 8 provides a conclusion to the thesis by answering the final research question, offering a narrative of social change for territorial *oppida*.

The results of this thesis will generate a new and detailed understanding of territorial *oppida* in Britain, incorporating a thorough interrogation of the available evidence to understand the people that occupied these settlements and consequently their wider function and social structure over time. The understanding of territorial *oppida* in Britain allows us to form a more complete picture of the changes that occurred across the Late Iron Age – Early Roman transition and what role these settlements played in the transformation of landscape and society in southern Britain.

Chapter 2: Territorial *Oppida*

2.1: Introduction

Territorial *oppida*, a specific form of settlement of the British Late Iron Age (100 BC-AD 43), are characterised by evidence for large quantities of imported goods, high status burials and a linear earthwork system (Haselgrove 2000). The examination of territorial *oppida* in Britain has a long history, gaining particular attention in the 1970/80s, but continues to form a key focus for Late Iron Age research (e.g. Haselgrove and Moore 2007b). While previous research into *oppida* was fraught with difficulties, such as a confusing nomenclature, renewed research has highlighted the importance of adopting new approaches to explore these settlements on multiple social and physical scales (Moore 2012; Pitts 2010; Rogers 2012). Furthermore, comparative studies between territorial *oppida* and similar settlements on the Continent (e.g. Fernández-Götz 2014a; Rogers 2012) have illustrated chronological and typological similarities, allowing cross-comparison between these types of settlement.

This chapter examines the history of archaeological research into *oppida* in Britain and on the Continent (A2.1), providing an analysis of the biases in past interpretation in light of new research into the Iron Age (**2.2**). A number of the common characteristics of territorial *oppida* are discussed (geographic position, large-scale earthwork systems) to understand the basis of past and current interpretations, but also to allow comparison between British territorial *oppida* and a number of continental settlements (**2.3**). Finally, the chronology of British and continental *oppida* sites is discussed, putting forward a new framework of how we should examine these settlements as exemplifying a long-term process of change (**2.4**). Based upon this analysis, a number of research questions are articulated on which the remainder of this thesis is based (**2.5**).

2.2: *Oppida* in context

2.2.1 Previous Research

The term '*oppida*' (singular *oppidum*) was first used by Julius Caesar in the Gallic Wars, and has been translated from Latin to mean 'town'. Caesar's text provided no "clear characteristics" on how *oppida* should be defined (Pitts 2010, 34), and the terminology used has been described as "imprecise, inconsistent and politically motivated" (Woolf 1993, 226–7). In the late 19th/early 20th century defended settlements in France, such as Bibracte (Bulliot 1899; Déchelette 1904) and Alesia

(Napoléon III 1861) in Burgundy, were defined as oppida to equate these settlements to historic events and places mentioned in Caesar's text (Collis 1984, 6). Based upon a broad definition of evidence for defences and permanent Iron Age occupation, the term *oppida* was later expanded to include many Late La Tène defended settlements in Gaul and came to describe those across Europe including Manching in Germany and Staré Hradisko and Závist in the Czech Republic (Collis 1984, 6). The analysis of excavated *oppida* across North-Western Europe attempted to compare these sites as a single type of settlement following Caesar's original definition (i.e. a town), however, regional and interregional dissimilarities between these sites slowly became apparent. Similar to discussions of British hillforts (Champion 1994; Gwilt and Haselgrove 1997a, 1), differentiations in *oppida* settlements were apparent in their internal structure, geographic location and enclosing earthworks.

2.2.2 *Oppida* research in Britain

In Britain, the use of the term *oppidum* equally lacked critical analysis. Sites labelled thus were interpreted as the top of an Iron Age settlement hierarchy in the 1960/70s, visible chronologically as part of a "seamless passage from hillforts to *oppida*" (Cunliffe 1976a). Established in previously unoccupied areas of the Late Iron Age landscape, British *oppida* were seen as driven by an expanding network of trade from the Continent (Haselgrove 1989, 12–16). The variation in size, layout, types of boundary and excavated evidence between British *oppida* led Cunliffe (1976a) to create sub-divisions within these forms of settlement. The three categories defined by Cunliffe (1976a, 135–136, 1976b, 354–355) were 'enclosed *oppida*', sites fully enclosed by banks and ditches, generally larger in size than Early/Middle Iron Age hillforts; 'undefended *oppida*', nucleated settlements undefined by earthworks; and territorial *oppida*, poly-focal sites defined by discontinuous linear earthworks "that demarcate substantial territories of many square miles". Despite this sub-division, scholars examining British *oppida* in the 1970s/80s, continued to make comparisons with those on the Continent, including in geographical location and function, leading to continual definition along continental lines (Cunliffe and Rowley 1976; Collis 1984). This interpretation is evident in the assumed urban character of British *oppida*, illustrated by titles of contemporary texts such as *Oppida: the Beginnings of Urbanisation in Barbarian Europe* (Cunliffe and Rowley 1976) and *Oppida: Earliest Towns North of the Alps* (Collis 1984). Rogers (2012, 645) has recently argued that these initial interpretations of *oppida* have had the effect of "simplifying our understanding of these sites" in terms of their location, the activity uncovered within them and the way in which they were experienced.

Dissatisfaction with the understanding of the Late Iron Age grew in the 1980s/90s (**3.2.2**) and a number of critiques emerged challenging the then accepted norms (e.g. Hingley 1984; Hill 1989, 1995b; Sharples 1991a). In parallel, a number of critiques emerged about how *oppida* were interpreted, both on the Continent and in Britain. Woolf (1993, 223) questioned whether the variance between British and Continental *oppida* (in scale, morphology, location) indicated that the label '*oppida*' is far too general to be useful archaeologically. Woolf (1993, 231) also challenged the presumption that these sites demonstrate traditional urban characteristics (cf. Childe 1950), suggesting that if *oppida* were 'urban' in character they represented an individual form of urbanism distinct to Iron Age NW Europe. A number of studies have argued that *oppida* have been over-privileged as Iron Age settlements, due to the presence of large earthwork systems, evidence for contact with the Continent (e.g. imported goods) and early minting of coinage, to the detriment of other Late Iron Age sites that might also be important but lacked some or the full combination of these features (Corney 1989, 111–112; Haselgrove 1995, 86, 2000, 107–108). Furthermore, recent research into Historic Environment Record (HER) data across Britain has illustrated the continued confusion in the definition of *oppida*, suggesting that this nomenclature continues to be problematic in our current understanding (Li Sou 2015).

The rejection of a definitive Iron Age settlement hierarchy, as part of number of post-processual debates (**3.2.2**), led to the understanding that *oppida* could not be considered the pinnacle of Late Iron Age settlement (Haselgrove 1989, 11). Originating from the rejection of hillfort earthworks as purely defensive features (e.g. Bowden and McOmish 1987), new research critiqued whether hillforts could be considered centres of production and exchange or elite residences, instead stressing non-functional explanations (Hill 1995b). Despite the usefulness of this debate, the questioning of the role of *oppida* was based predominantly as an extension of the reconsideration of hillforts, rather than as a result of specific and detailed research into the sites themselves.

2.2.3 Territorial *oppida*

In Britain, renewed research into *oppida* in the 21st century focused predominantly on territorial *oppida* (Table 2.1 – A2.2). Utilizing this research, and despite divergence in origins, functions and forms, a single definition for territorial *oppida* is put forward in this thesis. Characterised as large-scale settlements covering vast areas of the landscape, territorial *oppida* are delineated by discontinuous linear earthworks stretching up to 30 km in length (Cunliffe 1976a; Haselgrove 2000). Territorial *oppida*

have been described as ‘polyfocal’ settlements, defined by scattered elite and lower status residential compounds, separated by agricultural areas (field systems) and interspersed by discrete designated zones of varying function (ritual activity, burial, coin production) (Haselgrove 1989, 11, 1995, 86, 2000, 105; Haselgrove and Millett 1997, 286). The definition of these sites as ‘polyfocal’ has been influenced by the vast size of territorial *oppida* and the relatively limited knowledge of the site interior (Haselgrove 2000, 106). Current interest in territorial *oppida* is partly continuing a long history of archaeological research, but is also due to the continued definition of these settlements as centres of “major social and political importance”, supported by historical and numismatic evidence (Haselgrove 2000, 105).

Name	**Size (hectares)**	**Foundation date** (Pitts 2010)	**Interpretation of site**	**Activity in Roman period?**	**References**
Colchester, Essex (Camulodunum)	10,000	c.25 BC.	Complex site with multiple foci set within a highly ritual landscape	Legionary fortress, later *colonia*	(Hawkes and Crummy 1995; Hawkes and Hull 1947; Rogers 2008; Willis 2007a)
St Albans, Hertfordshire (Verlamion)	700	Pre c.AD 20.	Originated as meeting place for tribal groups – evidence for high status burials and settlement	Roman *municipium*	(Haselgrove and Millett 1997; Hunn 1992; Thompson 2005)
Silchester, Hampshire	32.5	c.25 BC	Highly structured, planned migrant settlement	Roman *civitas* capital	(Fulford and Timby 2000; Lodwick 2014)
Bagendon, Gloucestershire	200	c.AD 1–20	Elite complex located over number of areas in the Cotswold/Thames Valley	Intensive occupation, movement of people to Cirencester.	(Clifford 1961; Moore 2012, 2014; Trow *et al.* 2009)
Chichester, West Sussex	15,000	Pre c.AD 20?	*Oppidum* with nucleated core at Selsey	Roman *civitas* capital	(Bradley 1969; Davenport 2003)
Stanwick, North Yorkshire	270	c.100 BC.	Elite settlement with construction of monumental timber structures	Continuation of occupation– fell out of use after AD79	(Haselgrove *et al.* 1990; Haselgrove 2000, 2016)

Table 2.1: Examples of British territorial *oppida*

The diversity of territorial *oppida* has been illustrated in a 2007 review of the Late Iron Age in Hertfordshire and the North Chilterns (A2.3), stressing variability in the origins and functions of a number of *oppida* (Bryant 2007). Through comparison to the locational and functional criteria for *oppida* as outlined by Collis (1984), it was argued that there was little consistency in the available evidence, with these sites varying in geographic location (between access to good agricultural land to poorly defended areas) and function (from industrial to religious centres) (Bryant 2007, 77–8). The diversity of territorial *oppida* is further illustrated by the Silchester *oppidum*, which is comparably smaller in size and defined by an enclosing set of earthworks (Table 2.1). Based on the rapid construction and planned layout of the settlement (i.e. evidence

for a street grid, enclosing earthworks), the territorial *oppidum* at Silchester has been interpreted as a 'planted settlement' by a group migrating from the Continent in the late 1st century BC (Fulford and Timby 2000, 563). This interpretation is supported by limited evidence for earlier occupation within the limits of the settlement itself and in the wider landscape (Fulford and Timby 2000, 546). Evidence of imported plant remains and material culture found during the excavation of the Basilica, and more recently Insula IX, indicate the importation of goods from the Continent and strong connections to North-western Gaul in the Late Iron Age (e.g. Lodwick 2014). Stanwick remains the only territorial *oppidum* to be located in the north of England, while equally sharing many of the same characteristics as those discussed above (e.g. linear earthwork systems, zones of varying function) (Haselgrove 2016, 453-457).

Research into some territorial *oppida* has highlighted the benefits of examining these sites as part of, and in connection to, the context of the wider landscape (Haselgrove and Moore 2007a, 3–4). Analysis on a landscape scale has enabled more sophisticated interpretations as to why territorial *oppida* were founded in specific locations, why these locations were important and how *oppida* functioned in these settings, both practically and socially. Millett (1990, 25–6) has argued that some territorial *oppida* may have been founded in unoccupied areas that provided neutral locations for the periodic meetings of social groups (**2.3.3**). This interpretation has been proposed for the territorial *oppidum* at Verlamion, due to its position within a marshy river valley and at the convergence of several distinct landscape zones (Haselgrove and Millett 1997, 284–5; Haselgrove 2000, 106). Haselgrove and Millett (1997, 285) argue that the growing social and ritual significance of this location led the local elite to establish residences there, potentially in order to consolidate power, and thus provide the origins of the *oppidum* as a settlement. A number of other territorial *oppida* are similarly situated on the interface between two distinct landscapes, including Stanwick (Haselgrove 2000, 106; Moore 2012, 405) and Bagendon (Moore 2006, 2012, 405–406), potentially representing important foci for these settlements.

The connection between 'watery' contexts and territorial *oppida* (A2.4) has been recently highlighted in the examination of Camulodunum, while the marshy Ver valley continues to be considered an important foci for settlement at Verlamion (Bryant 2007, 78; Crease 2015, 152–154; Haselgrove and Millett 1997, 285–286; Thompson 2005, 38). Recent research has highlighted that the Camulodunum *oppidum* may have been founded on the location of an area of ritual significance, associated with the floodplain region of the River Colne (Rogers 2008; Willis 2007a). Willis (2007a,

121) has argued that the freshwater-saltwater interface may have constituted a culturally meaningful boundary during the Late Iron Age, due to differentiation between veneration of the sea but also the exploitation of salt, and that the production site at Sheepen may have also occupied such a locale. Camulodunum is consequently argued to be located within a "meaning-laden and multi-focal landscape" (Rogers 2008, 45), which may be reflected at other territorial *oppida.* For example, the *oppidum* at Stanwick was positioned over the line of Aldborough Beck, a small stream that led into the River Tees, and evidence of the deposition of metalwork (a sword) has been associated with waterlogged ditches within the site (Haselgrove 2016, 438). The importance of 'watery contexts' and the establishment of ritual centres may be key in the development of territorial *oppida* (Haselgrove 2000, 105–106).

The ritual focus of territorial *oppida*, and the enigmatic linear earthworks that define them, has been instrumental in the comparison of these settlements to sites outside of Britain. Hill (1995a, 72) has drawn comparisons between territorial *oppida* and the so-called 'Royal Sites' present in the Irish Midlands, such as Navan (Co. Armagh), Dún Ailinne (Co. Kildare) and Tara (Co. Meath). The Irish complexes appear to have been located in close proximity to watery contexts, were enclosed by large-scale earthworks (Raftery 1994, 71), and in the case of Navan Fort, have evidence for earlier occupation (Waterman 1997, iv). These sites have often been considered to have served a ceremonial function, indicated by evidence for ritual deposition of metalwork and circular timber-post structures that acted as centres of assembly (Hill 1995a, 72). Furthermore, animal bone assemblages recovered from these three sites (McCormick 2009), indicate that they were the focus of occasional communal assembly and ritual feasting.

Despite the separation of research for British and continental *oppida* (**2.2.1**, **2.2.2**), a number of *oppida* sites on the Continent have also been directly compared to British territorial *oppida*, due to similarities in geographical position (located in low lying areas, close to river systems) and definition by large-scale earthwork systems. These include the *oppida* at Manching and Kelheim, in Germany but also a number of sites in France, including Villeneuve-St-Germain (Picardy) and Bibracte (Burgundy) (Rogers 2012, 648). Haselgrove has suggested that sites such as Condé-sur-Suippe (Picardy), which have previously been examined as a single hilltop settlement on a high topographical position, are actually "conceived as several elements dispersed over a larger territory, of which, a permanent and/or fortified settlement was only one" (Haselgrove 2007, 511). Geophysical survey at Entremont (Provence), has revealed

a large area of previously unrecorded settlement surrounding the fortified enclosure (Armit *et al.* 2012) and at Heuneburg (Bavaria) in Germany (although dated to Hallstatt C/D), an area of settlement 100 hectares in size was found surrounding the hilltop fortification (Krausse and Fernández-Götz 2012a, 31). Recent research in the Bibracte environs has highlighted a number of other contemporaneous settlements (e.g. Sources de l'Yonne), which may have been closely connected to the *oppidum* (Moore *et al.* 2013). This research illustrates that our understanding of continental settlements should expand beyond single hilltop sites into the wider landscape, and in doing so they are comparable to British territorial *oppida*.

2.3 Common themes

2.3.1 Introduction

A number of common themes are usually discussed through the examination of territorial *oppida* in Britain, including geographical position, the earthwork systems that enclose them, the activities undertaken them and the 'elite' societies that occupied them. While worthwhile in many ways, the ongoing discussion of territorial *oppida* along these lines has ultimately had a negative impact on our understanding of these sites, restricting our interpretations to narrow fields despite the wealth of new research into Iron Age and Roman studies in general. Furthermore, as discussed above (**2.2.3**), research into continental *oppida* (e.g. Bibracte, Manching, Kelheim, Condé-sur-Suippe, Villeneuve-St-Germain, Titelberg) and similar sites (e.g. Heuneburg) have shown similar characteristics (i.e. size, location) to the territorial *oppida* of Britain. The following section will consider the evidence and approaches relating to each of the themes listed above for both British territorial *oppida* and a number of similar continental settlements (A2.5), to allow cross-comparison between these sites and uncover new approaches/avenues for research.

2.3.2 Geographical position

The geographical positions of continental *oppida* were initially interpreted as occupying defensible hilltop sites, constructed in response to internal (i.e. indigenous) and external (i.e. Roman) assault (Collis 1984). This interpretation fit within the narrative constructed by Caesar's *Gallic Wars*, where settlements were subject to attack as part of the Roman invasion, however, only a limited number of these small enclosed *oppida* (*c.*40 hectares) were positioned in hilltop locations (e.g. Bibracte). A number of similar 'enclosed' *oppida* in Britain are located on relatively flat or gently sloping areas (e.g. Salmonsbury, Gloucestershire; Bigbury, Kent), while a number of other *oppida* are found in flat low-lying areas adjacent to river systems including, in

Britain, the territorial *oppida* of Camulodunum and Verlamion. On the Continent, a number of *oppida* share comparable geographical positions, including in Germany, where the *oppida* at Manching and Kelheim are situated at the confluence of the Danube and its minor tributaries (the Paar and Althümhl respectively) (Collis 1984, 203). In Picardy, the *oppidum* at Condé-sur-Suippe is bounded by the River Suippe (Pion *et al.* 1997, 277) and the *oppidum* at Villeneuve-St-Germain is located within the meander of the river Aisne (A2.6).

While upland *oppida* were considered defensive locations, the positioning of low-lying *oppida* close to river systems have previously been understood as reflecting their role as economic centres, able to utilise and influence key trading networks (Collis 1984, 83). The *oppidum* at Manching has often been considered as an economic centre due to its location at the confluence of two route systems; east/west along the River Danube and north/south across a strategic crossing point (Kramer 1960, 192). The discovery of evidence for pottery manufacture, metallurgy (including coin minting), glass making and imported goods such as amphorae within the *oppidum* has reinforced the importance of Manching as an economic centre in recent research (Wendling 2013). The importance of trade and economy in the positioning of *oppida* must be considered due the large number of imported goods found at these sites both in Britain and on the Continent.

While defensive and economic considerations are important in the siting of *oppida*, social concerns are increasingly argued as important factors. This derives from growing research that has considered the positioning of *oppida* in socially significant places in the Iron Age landscape. The positioning of settlements as meeting places for multiple social groups has been argued for both the territorial *oppidum* at Verlamion (Haselgrove and Millett 1997) and the *oppidum* at Titelberg, Luxemburg (Fernández-Götz 2014a), while sites of ritual importance (defined by shrines/sanctuaries) have been identified for *oppida* at Manching, Bibracte, Gournay and Corent (Fernández-Götz 2014a, 392–393). The importance of watery places in the *oppidum* landscape, particularly those at the boundary between fresh and seawater, has been highlighted for territorial *oppida* in Britain, principally Camulodunum (Rogers 2008; Willis 2007a). The possible ritual focus and importance of rivers and streams in the siting of *oppida* has also been stressed for a number of settlements in Gaul, including Bibracte which overlooks the River Arroux (Rogers 2012, 647–649). An approach that examines territorial *oppida* by considering the social factors with environmental and economic concerns will allow a greater understanding of the situation of these sites.

2.3.3 Earthwork systems

The examination of earthwork systems or ramparts surrounding Continental *oppida* has a long history, originating with the identification in the 1860s of the *murus gallicus* ('gallic wall') at Bibracte, first mentioned in Caesar's *Gallic Wars*. The *murus gallicus* comprised a stone revetment wall constructed around a box framework of wooden beams and iron nails (Collis 2010, 27). The later examination of the earthworks at Kelheim (Bavaria), revealed a different construction type, known as the 'Pfostenschlitzmauer' or 'Kelheim' type. These earthworks consisted of stone facing with gaps for supporting timbers, infilled with earth and an internal timber lattice construction (Leicht 2000, 143). Despite the identification of different rampart types, the earthwork systems associated with both British and Continental *oppida*, are far from consistent but are generally monumental in size. At Manching, the pre-existing *oppidum* was defined by several phases of earthwork construction between 100-50 BC, measuring approximately 2.5km in length and consisted of a mixture of *murus gallicus* and Kelheim construction (Collis 1984, 203).

In a similar vein to the interpretation of hilltop *oppida* (**2.4.2**), the understanding of earthworks systems in low lying areas has often been considered for defence, an interpretation that remains prevalent on the Continent (Rogers 2012, 645). The motivation for the construction of the earthwork system at Kelheim has stressed political instability as a key factor, particularly threats from groups such as the Cimbri and the Teutones as they moved through central Europe in the second half of the 2nd century BC (Wells 1993, 151–2). Moreover, the open spaces within the boundaries of *oppida* in Northern Gaul have been described as refuge spaces; areas where large amounts of people, livestock and other possessions could be harboured in times of crisis (Roymans 1990, 201). This interpretation stresses the motivation for earthwork systems as defensive, despite the realisation that practical considerations may have prevented the effective use and maintenance of such boundaries. For instance, Wells has stressed that the population of the Kelheim *oppidum* was probably insufficient to adequately defend the extensive boundary wall and therefore should additionally be considered as an "expression of territoriality and power" (1993, 144).

The earthwork systems surrounding continental *oppida* (both in hilltop and low lying areas) are, generally, defined by more intricate boundaries, both in layout and architecture, than those found in Britain. In Britain the earthwork systems are represented almost exclusively by earth constructed banks and ditches with no internal structure, however, despite this apparent uniformity a number of interpretations have been possible. The earthworks surrounding British territorial

oppida have been recognised as “illogical” and “unclear what they demarcate and define” (Haselgrove and Moore 2007a, 6). These earthwork systems often do not form continuous stretches and it remains unclear whether other features, such as forests or hedgerows, filled the gaps between earthworks. Consequently, these earthworks systems have often been considered ineffectual as a defensive measure, highlighting instead the significance and effort behind the building/maintenance of these structures. In Britain over the last 25 years, explanations of prehistoric boundaries, particularly hillforts, have stressed meaning over function (Bowden and McOmish 1987; Hingley 1990a). In terms of architectural scale, the construction of earthwork systems surrounding territorial *oppida* required the organisation of a large quantity of labour, as demonstrated at Stanwick (Haselgrove 2016, 457-459), which suggested that people were increasingly interested in physically defining and/or sub-dividing the landscape (Haselgrove and Moore 2007a, 5). The construction of earthworks may have been used to create elaborate entranceways and pathways, controlling the routes into and across these types of settlement (e.g. Moore 2007a, 2012). This interpretation incorporates both practical considerations of the usefulness of these earthworks, such as the control of movement, and the definition of territorial *oppida* as areas of socio-economic importance. Moreover, Collis (2010, 31) has argued that the construction of Continental *oppida* ramparts required the “perhaps unnecessary consumption of considerable quantities” of resources, including iron, stone and labour, but that the communal effort required may have been “a major force for social solidarity”.

Despite the potential importance for earthwork systems to illustrate social practice in Iron Age *oppida*, increasingly studies of the Iron Age have stressed the importance of similar sites in Britain and the Continent that were not enclosed by earthworks (Hill 1995a, 70–72). This includes settlements associated with long distance trade (Haselgrove 2000, 107–108), those considered poly-focal complexes (Moore 2012, 395–403) and those situated in important ‘places’ in the landscape (Rogers 2012, 649–650). These sites illustrate that the construction of earthwork systems alone is not enough to determine the importance of a particular settlement, but that also particular social and political interactions were taking place at some territorial *oppida* that influenced the construction of these ‘monuments’. A more nuanced understanding of the social procedures involved, which consider the process rather than form of these earthwork systems, will allow a detailed investigation of the social relations occurring within *oppida* (cf. Wigley 2007, 184).

2.3.4 Activity within *oppida*

Discussion of the activity occurring within *oppida* is generally based upon two factors; the scale of the settlements and the density of occupation within them. The variance in the scale of continental *oppida* and British territorial *oppida* is striking (Table 2.2), with the hilltop defended sites (e.g. Bibracte) much smaller in size than the large-scale territorial settlements (e.g. Camulodunum). It should be noted that there is no universal or simplistic dichotomy between small and large *oppida* sites, but a gradation of sizes with some large-scale continental *oppida* examples (e.g. Manching) and other smaller *oppida* in Britain (e.g. Bagendon).

Name	Size (hectares)	References
Bagendon	200	(Moore 2014, 26)
Bibracte	200	(Culture 2000 2015)
Camulodunum	84,515	ETOZ Database (A4.5)
Chichester	83,980	WSTOZ Database (A4.11)
Condé-sur-Suippe	170	(Pion *et al.* 1997, 277)
Kelheim	650	(Collis 1984, 203)
Manching	380	(Kramer 1960, 193)
Stanwick	270	(Haselgrove 2016, 450)
Verlamion	700	(Bryant 2007, 69)
Villeneuve-St-Germain	70	(Culture 2000 2015)

Table 2.2: Size of discussed settlements

Evidence for comparable areas of occupation have been uncovered through the archaeological excavation of both continental *oppida* and British territorial *oppida*. These include the presence of circular and rectangular structures (represented by postholes, beam slots, drip gullies) uncovered at the British territorial *oppida* of Camulodunum, Verlamion (Moore 2003, 55), Silchester (Fulford and Timby 2000, 24) and Stanwick (Haselgrove 2016, 51-120). Evidence for palisade enclosures (defined by a fence line) have been uncovered at Manching (Collis 1984, 117), while large enclosures are also found within many British territorial *oppida*, e.g. Prae Wood and Gorhambury in Verlamion (Neal *et al.* 1990, 12–13; Thompson 2005, 27–35). Evidence for silos, wells and extraction pits have been uncovered during excavations at Villeneuve-St-Germain (Cadoux 1981) and Condé-sur-Suippe (Pion *et al.* 1997, 277). Excavations at Kelheim (Wells 1993, 148) and Silchester have also uncovered a number of wells measuring up to 5m in depth (Fulford and Timby 2000).

Despite the similarity in some internal features, the density of occupation within *oppida* varies significantly and appears to correlate to the scale of these settlements.

Our knowledge of the density of *oppida* is, in part, proportionate to the areas that have been investigated and consequently is subject to change. Evidence for intensive occupation has been uncovered at a number of continental *oppida* (e.g. Villeneuve-St-Germain), while others have revealed evidence of specific areas of intensive occupation, e.g. the lowland Mitterfield area, Kelheim (Wells 1993, 136). There is evidence within the densely occupied *oppida* on the Continent for the planning and structuring of the settlement into different areas or zones (A2.7). Within the oppida of Manching and Villeneuve-St-Germain discrete zones were structured around street grids, uncovered as compacted surfaces flanked by parallel structures (Collis 1984, 117). Excavations at Villeneuve-St-Germain revealed evidence of sub-division between living areas, workshops and storage areas by a possible wooden trackway (Roymans 1990, 203–4), while at Condé-sur-Suippe there is evidence for the separation of residential and industrial activities (Roymans 1996, 147).

The large-scale British territorial *oppida* are often described as sparsely populated 'poly-focal' settlements (**2.2.3**), interpreted as open areas with some intensive foci of occupation scattered across the interior of the *oppidum*, e.g. Camulodunum (Hawkes and Crummy 1995, 163), Chichester (Davenport 2003, 106) and Verlamion (Thompson 2005, 39). The definition of territorial *oppida* in this manner is influenced, in part, by their size and the limited areas available for archaeological investigation, which has led to a lack of knowledge of the site interior (Haselgrove 2000, 106). However, the longevity of investigation and research in some British *oppida*, e.g. Verlamion, indicates that our current knowledge of occupation density likely reflects a similar situation in the Late Iron Age. The *oppidum* at Silchester is a notable exception, where previous and ongoing archaeological investigations have revealed intensive and nucleated occupation in the Late Iron Age and early Roman period, illustrated through evidence of a deep stratigraphic sequence (Fulford and Timby 2000, 16–20).

Recent landscape-scale research into continental *oppida* has begun to indicate that these sites may have also been conceived of as large-scale settlements (**2.2.3**). While previously interpreted as a single element, normally a small fortified hilltop location, recent research into selected continental *oppida* has highlighted that they actually form a part of a much wider settlement landscape. Haselgrove (2007, 511) has argued that some *oppida* in Picardy, particularly Condé-sur-Suippe, may have been conceived as 'landscape-scale' settlements, with hilltop fortifications and low lying areas defined by earthworks regarded as part of a single complex. Moving beyond the continental 'crisis' model of Iron Age peoples moving from lowland to upland areas

in times of conflict (e.g. Collis 1984), recent research has identified that some lowland and upland settlements were likely contemporary and that therefore we need to examine the differing trajectories of each of these complexes (e.g. Moore *et al.* 2013). For example, archaeological investigation at Source de l'Yonne in the Bibracte environs has interpreted this contemporary settlement as potentially representing a "large suburbia" that existed beyond the confines of the *oppidum* earthworks (Moore *et al.* 2013, 510). A landscape perspective is not restricted to La Tène *oppida* but can equally be useful in the examination of the so-called 'Princely sites' of the Hallstatt period. Recent investigation at Heuneburg in the Upper Danube has established that the small hillfort, originally thought to represent the entirety of the settlement, was in fact a single element of a wider landscape (Krausse and Fernández-Götz 2012b, 31). While the scale and density of activity within *oppida* is seemingly different within each settlement, current research indicates that this may be a reflection of the different scales at which *oppida* are examined. Renewed analysis must examine *oppida* beyond the confines of their earthwork systems and at different scales of analysis, from the micro (individual features) to the macro (landscapes), to ensure a complete picture is unveiled.

2.3.5 'Elite' Society and Centres of Production

The presence of an 'elite' class of society is often interpreted for *oppida* in Britain and on the Continent. In the past this interpretation was based upon the understanding that *oppida* were at the zenith of settlement hierarchies and a range of evidence that suggests wealth and status (e.g. high-status burials, elite residences, coin minting and iconography that expresses kingship) and economic prosperity (e.g. imported goods). While the presence of a persistent Iron Age settlement hierarchy has generally been rejected in NW Europe, focusing instead on nonlinear patterns of development (e.g. Fernández-Götz *et al.* 2014a, 9–12), the evidence for 'high-status' occupants of *oppida* continues to be re-interpreted in a similar vein.

Evidence of high status burials is known within a number of *oppida* and have been assumed to represent significant individuals, possibly leaders, associated with these settlements (A2.8). This is illustrated in British territorial *oppida* by the Lexden Tumulus burial in Camulodunum (Foster 1986) and the Folly Lane burial in Verlamion (Niblett 1999), each containing high status grave goods. These burials should be viewed in parallel to evidence for widespread mortuary rites within British territorial *oppida* including excarnation and large-scale cremation cemeteries. Examples of cemeteries within British and continental *oppida* include some of the largest in North-West Europe, e.g. Westhampnett, West Sussex (Fitzpatrick *et al.* 1997) and, as a

pre-cursor to settlement evidence, the flat inhumation cemeteries of Steinebichel (exterior to) and Hundsrucken (within earthworks) at Manching (Collis 1984, 69).

The production, usage and deposition of coinage of a Late Iron Age date (1st century BC–1st century AD) has been closely (but not exclusively) associated with territorial *oppida* in Britain, suggesting the presence of centralised areas of production, or mints. The discovery of coin moulds has been a key characteristic of the majority of territorial *oppida* in Britain including Camulodunum, Verlamion, Silchester and Bagendon, albeit with some exceptions, i.e. Stanwick (Haselgrove 2016, 182-184). The iconography on later coinage (mid-1st century BC onwards) has been argued to represent significant individuals who acted as rulers within British territorial *oppida* and established dynasties during this period (Creighton 2000, 1–2). The similarity between some of this later coinage in Britain and the iconography of Roman coins has equally been argued to represent connections between southern Britain and Rome following the invasions of Caesar, i.e. the foundation of 'client kingdoms' (e.g. Creighton 2000; Nash 1987). The consideration of Iron Age coinage as general purpose money has generally been abandoned, in part due to the limited numbers of coins produced, but also due to a growing body of evidence of the use of coinage in ritual and ceremonial practices (Haselgrove and Wigg-Wolf 2005a, 9–10). The recovery of coinage from religious sites and other areas of importance in the Iron Age, such as "significant natural locations" (Haselgrove and Wigg-Wolf 2005a, 12) or Late Iron Age and Early Roman temples (Crease 2015, 33–34), suggests that the coin production sites within territorial *oppida* may have equally held a wider ritual significance.

The large quantities of imported goods within both British and Continental *oppida* include imported pottery (e.g. *terra nigra*, *terra rubra*, various forms of amphorae) and coinage (e.g. Republican issues). The presence of such goods illustrates wider networks of trade between British and continental *oppida* and other areas of Europe, including the Roman Empire (Millett 1990). Amphorae, containing wine and oil, represent some of the earliest evidence of trade and/or exchange between *oppida* and Late Republican Rome (150 BC-50 BC), however, later forms of these vessels (i.e. Dressel 1B - late 1st century BC to 1st century AD) represent copies made elsewhere in Europe and suggest an increasing complexity of trade networks with *oppida*. Evidence of amphorae at Manching date as early as the 2nd century BC, while Villeneuve-St-Germain and Condé-sur-Suippe received amphorae before the mid-1st century BC (Haselgrove 1989, 14). Millet (1990, 30) has suggested that the relative quantity, and therefore the importance of imported material in comparison to locally

made goods is over estimated in Britain, and that while this heightens the prestige of this material to the inhabitants of territorial *oppida,* it equally suggests that it had a more limited economic impact than previously suggested (e.g. Haselgrove 1976).

While a number of other activities, suggesting wider networks of trade, have also been uncovered in both British and continental *oppida*, the importance of these products has generally been overlooked in favour of more high-status goods. Such products include the results of pottery manufacture (handmade and wheel thrown), salt working, metalworking and cloth weaving, each locally influenced by demand and the availability of raw materials. Evidence for iron manufacture has been uncovered at both Kelheim and Manching in Germany (Collis 1984, 92) among other *oppida*, while salt working has been uncovered along coastal regions within British territorial *oppida*, including Camulodunum (Sealey 1996), Chichester (Bradley 1992) and in close proximity to Stanwick (Haselgrove 2016, 256-261). The role of agriculture in the success and continuation of *oppida* has also often been ignored, despite the significant presence of plough ards and quern stones at some sites (Haselgrove 1989, 4). An exception is the recent research undertaken at Stanwick, which has explored the role of arable crops and animal husbandry in detail, revealing its importance in producing food and generating surpluses (Haselgrove 2016, 415-423).

The examination of the evidence for 'elite' members of society and how they operated within *oppida* is important in order to understand this social group. However, current research focuses on the 'elite' class, and the evidence for this class (e.g. high status burial), to the detriment of other members of society and the evidence for their daily activities (e.g. farming). Closer examination of the social context in which production was undertaken in territorial *oppida* is important in understanding the wider meaning of these activities. The practices of all members of *oppidum* society must be examined as both interrelated and conditional to each social group to gain a full sense of the purpose of *oppida* and the social structures that defined these types of settlement.

2.4: Temporal transformations

2.4.1 Introduction

The date of *oppida*, both in Britain and on the Continent, represents a vast spectrum stretching from the 2nd century BC to 1st century AD. These dates reflect both the differing development of oppida across NW Europe but also the different degrees to which pottery chronologies and scientific dating methods have been employed. Large-scale chronological patterning can be useful in understanding the relative development of *oppida* as a whole, however, the differing dates of the British territorial

oppida and Continental *oppida* makes cross comparison difficult. This is further exacerbated when the dates of oppida are viewed within existing regional and national chronological frameworks, which can be divergent and difficult to compare. While territorial *oppida* are often considered part of a wider set of social and political changes occurring in the Late Iron Age, in order to understand the origins of these settlements and how they were transformed following the expansion of the Roman Empire, we must examine the local trajectories of each settlement. In essence by examining the origins and outcomes of each of these sites we can begin to understand and compare how and why these settlements were initiated in certain areas and how the inhabitants of these settlements reacted to Imperial control following the Roman expansion.

2.4.2 Chronology

A discussion and comparison of the chronology between British territorial *oppida* and Continental *oppida* is possible but plagued with difficulties. While there are possibilities for cross-comparison between some selected sites (**2.2.3**), the chronological distinctions between oppida represent a vast spectrum (A2.9). Before discussing the chronological differences between *oppida* it is important to realise that comparative chronologies across Western and Atlantic Europe are complex, produced within different frameworks and consequently afflicted by different terminologies. The European chronologies established by Déchelette (1914) and later Reinecke (1965) have remained prevalent and, although these represent a separation between Francophone and Germanic usage, they are still broadly transferable (Moore and Armada 2012a, 15). British chronological frameworks followed a different trajectory (Hawkes 1959; Hodson 1964), due to the dissatisfaction with applying continental chronologies to the archaeological evidence (**3.2.2**). This has led to difficulties in comparing archaeological periods and a fracturing of terminology. For example, many, particularly British authors, tend to use a number of generalised terms to discuss the Iron Age/Early Roman period (early, middle, later), while those discussing continental material use more specific terminology (Hallstatt C, D and La Tène A, B, C) (Moore and Armada 2012a, 17). The variability of established chronological sequences within individual countries exacerbates these difficulties and is increasingly present in Britain (Moore and Armada 2012a, 18–19). The dating of 'Gallic' *oppida* is also likely to be complicated by the equation of these sites to the historical events in Caesar's *Gallic Wars*. The historical texts enforce a rigidity to the chronological frameworks for *oppida*, despite our realisation that these texts are politically motivated and potentially inaccurate (e.g. Braund 1996, 41–66).

The spread of the definition of *oppida* to other parts of the Continent (**2.2.1**) is presupposed, partially by following the limits imposed by Caesar's text, including the chronologies that it creates (i.e. the dates of his campaigns in Gaul).

As a result of these issues, discussions of *oppida* currently operate within broad chronological frameworks. Our current understanding of the organisation of continental sites follows a non-linear development, represented by several cycles of centralisation and decentralisation throughout the pre-Roman Iron Age (Fernández-Götz *et al.* 2014a, 9–10). This cycle began with centralisation, visible in the establishment of the 'princely sites' of the 6th century BC (e.g. Heuneburg), followed by a period of decentralisation and finally a second phase of centralisation in the 2nd-1st centuries BC in which continental *oppida* were founded (e.g. Manching) (Fernández-Götz *et al.* 2014a, 10). In Britain, current dating sequences suggest the establishment of a group of territorial *oppida* between 25-10 BC (e.g. Silchester, Verlamion, Camulodunum), with a second group emerging in the early 1st century AD (e.g. Bagendon, Chichester) (Pitts 2010, 35). These dating sequences owe much to the presence of imported pottery of new shapes and functions including Gallo-Belgic wares and Mediterranean wares, e.g. *terra rubra*, amphorae (Pitts 2010, 37).

The continuing belief of the accuracy of dating based upon artefact chronologies has been recently challenged through the implementation of radiocarbon dating and Bayesian modelling on British Iron Age sites (Hamilton *et al.* 2015, 644). This has wide reaching consequences for our understanding of Iron Age Britain but also *oppida* in particular. While previous interpretation suggested that Stanwick was established as a territorial *oppida* in the mid-1st century AD (e.g. Pitts 2010, 35–36), new evidence suggests that the settlement was established a century earlier, redefining how we view the site in regards to other territorial *oppida* in Britain (Hamilton *et al.* 2015, 646–649). Even if we now see groups of *oppida* in Britain and on the Continent as more contemporaneous, the extent to which they formed a single phenomenon remains unclear (Pitts 2010, 37). Despite extensive research we still know little about the chronology of territorial *oppida* in Britain (Haselgrove *et al.* 2001, 31) or how they changed in the years following the Claudian invasion of AD43 (Pitts 2010, 34). Through the establishment of individual chronologies of territorial *oppida*, we can then frame these transformations within broader regional and interregional processes of change.

2.4.3 Origins

A detailed examination of the origins of *oppida* requires an understanding of the occupation of the landscape prior to their establishment (A2.10). This may allow us to determine why people in the Iron Age chose particular areas for these settlements and to what extent *oppida* were a distinct change from past settlement patterns. Many continental *oppida* were located in areas of previous occupation and/or activity. Although much earlier, an Early Bronze Age settlement and Late Bronze Age urnfield were located in close proximity to the later *oppidum* at Kelheim (Wells 1993, 9), while at Manching two flat cemeteries at Steinsbichel and Hundsrucken, of a late 4th century BC date, acted as a precursor to an open settlement founded in the 3rd century BC and an *oppidum* enclosed by earthworks in 150 BC.

The analysis of pre-*oppidum* landscapes in Britain has led to the widespread interpretation that in the Middle Iron Age, these areas were considered to have been 'empty' of settlement, or at least underutilised and consequently only occupied by small groups (Haselgrove 1976, 42–43; Hill 1995a, 70, 2007, 23). This interpretation has been suggested for territorial *oppida* north of the Thames, particularly Camulodunum and Verlamion, with sparsely inhabited pre-*oppidum* landscapes utilised as areas of seasonal activity, possibly for animal herding or salt working along the coastline (Hill 2007, 23–24). Furthermore, recent research including radiocarbon dating and Bayesian analysis, at Stanwick suggests little occupation within or surrounding the *oppidum* prior to the 1st century BC (Haselgrove 2016, 386). These landscapes have additionally been interpreted as periodic meeting points for diverse social groups in the Middle Iron Age, on which elite Late Iron Age settlements were founded (Haselgrove and Millett 1997 - cf. 2.2.2). Conversely, research along the south coast, in particular at Chichester, has argued that Late Iron Age settlement continued and grew from established Middle Iron Age occupation (Hamilton 2007). Furthermore, indications from recent fieldwork at Bagendon has suggested the landscape in which in the territorial *oppidum* appeared was used differently in the Middle Iron Age than the surrounding landscape (Moore 2014, 30). These divergent origins indicate that regional differentiation was influential in the positioning of territorial *oppida*, with some sites growing from existing settlements and communities, while others representing the breakaway of new communities into new landscapes. Further research is required to understand why *oppida* landscapes were chosen, over other areas, to become centres of power, production, exchange and ritual (Haselgrove and Moore 2007a, 4).

2.4.4 Outcomes

The relative length of occupation of both British and Continental *oppida* was markedly different, with some occupied for a lengthy period (Manching - 3rd century BC-30 BC - Sievers 2002), while others were abandoned relatively quickly (Condé-sur-Suippe - 120/110-90/80 BC - Pion *et al.* 1997). The short occupation of some of sites has often been attributed to the influence of external political events, particularly Caesar's invasion of Gaul in 58BC, leading to the destruction or abandonment of some *oppida* (e.g. Condé-sur-Suippe - Roymans 1996, 20). The available evidence indicates that the regions surrounding some Gaulish *oppida* were almost immediately reoccupied following the Roman conquest. Research suggests that the *oppidum* at Villeneuve-St-Germain was succeeded by the *oppidum* at Pommiers and later the Augustan city of Suessiones, however, the analysis of coin and brooch evidence indicates that these sites overlapped in occupation (Haselgrove 1996, 151; Rogers 2012, 648). Beyond the Roman Empire, in Germany, a different trajectory is present. The occupation of the *oppidum* at Manching ended between 50-30BC, attributed to the collapse of the wider trade network as a result of the invasion of Gaul (Sievers 2002; Wendling 2013, 481–482). After a hiatus of approximately 100 years a *mansio* and fort were established in and around the Manching *oppidum* (Kramer 1960). Moreover, following the abandonment of the Kelheim *oppidum,* a military camp was established at Eining 6km to the east, and later a settlement and cemetery (Wells 1993, 9).

The occupation of the British territorial *oppida* followed a comparable trajectory, with each occupied for approximately 100-150 years, and then – it has been argued - fossilised by the Roman invasion of Britain in AD43 (e.g. Millett 1990). This interpretation is partially reinforced by the foundation of Roman towns on or near the majority of British territorial *oppida* (e.g. Camulodunum, Verulamium, Calleva Atrebatum), leading to the assumption that these settlements played a similar role prior to the conquest as the Roman towns that replaced them (Hill 1995a, 70). New interpretations have stressed the religious significance that pre-Roman places in the landscape, including *oppida*, held in the post-conquest period, influencing the siting of early Roman towns (Rogers 2008, 53). However, we should be cautious in 'back projecting' our understanding of the mid-late 1st century AD onto the social and political groups of the Late Iron Age, where it may have little direct relevance, i.e. the assumption that Roman civitas and 'tribal' groups had some sort of parity (Moore 2011, 350–351). This caution is supported by the number of British *oppida* that did not develop into Roman towns after the Claudian conquest. These examples include Bagendon, although it is assumed the focus of settlement moved to the south to

Corinium (modern day Cirencester) (Holbrook 2008), and Stanwick, where there is little evidence for occupation after AD50-70 (Haselgrove 2016, 386-398).

Recent research has argued that the intervening period between the invasions of Caesar (55-54 BC) and Claudius (AD43) was formative in the changes occurring in the Late Iron Age. Moreover, some *oppida*, in particular those at Chichester and Silchester, have been argued were established as a result of influences and ideas instigated by the relationship between local 'kings' and the Roman Empire (Creighton 2000, 2006). This interpretation pushes back the date of formative changes in the Late Iron Age and views the establishment of urban centres in the post-conquest period as the continuation of a trajectory established much earlier.

2.5 Conclusions

Despite extensive research into some British territorial *oppida* our current interpretations, based on a limited understanding of the activities occurring within these settlement, have "hampered understanding of these and other contemporary sites" (Hill 1995a, 70). Calls for a more sophisticated understanding of *oppida* have been prevalent for the last fifteen years (Haselgrove *et al.* 2001, 15), however, only recently has research been reinvigorated (Moore 2012; Pitts 2010; Rogers 2008). This research has reinterpreted evidence for long-established territorial *oppida* (Pitts 2010; Rogers 2008) and underrepresented examples (Haselgrove 2016; Moore 2012). Despite new research, criticism of *oppida* studies since the 1990s (**2.2.2**) have shown there is still further to go in order to fully comprehend how these settlements were structured, particularly in a social sense.

The examination of previous research in this chapter has highlighted three important points that should be considered in further examinations of territorial *oppida*. Firstly, our interpretations of British and Continental *oppida* have, over time, been linked to distinct understandings of the Iron Age and Roman periods. Differing research trajectories in Britain and Europe have led to the consideration of *oppida* in different ways and along different criteria. Secondly, there are attributes that allow the cross-comparison of territorial *oppida* in Britain and similar settlements on the Continent, particularly a contemplation of the landscape context of these sites. Finally, through the examination and interpretation of evidence for individual territorial *oppida*, a number of new approaches have been formulated (e.g. control of movement - Moore 2012) that are applicable to other *oppida* sites.

Consequently, in order to explore avenues for new research, three research questions have been proposed for the examination of territorial *oppida* in this thesis:

- What were the function(s) of territorial *oppida*?

The examination of the function(s) of territorial *oppida* is something which has preoccupied the majority of previous research, with the consideration of the activities undertaken within earthwork systems effectively defining the hierarchical social structure of these sites. By exploring the social/political/economic implications of these activities (e.g. coin production, centres of trade) beyond a single social scale of Late Iron Age society (i.e. the 'elite'), we will gain a greater understanding of how *oppida* operated and how societies within them were structured (**2.4.5**). Furthermore, the understanding that the function(s) of *oppida* may have lain beyond the confines of the earthwork systems that defined them (**2.3.3**) and spread across the wider landscape (**2.3.4**), will allow the building of a more complete picture of the Late Iron Age.

- How did the social structure of territorial *oppida* transform over time?

There is still some way to go in order to fully understand how *oppida* were structured socially. Territorial *oppida* are usually assumed to represent centres for trade and production controlled by elite patrons organised around a hierarchical social structure. This forms part of a wider debate into how Iron Age society was organised (e.g. hierarchies vs heterarchies) with recent analysis exploring alternatives to hierarchical structures (e.g. Hill 1996; Giles 2007a; Wigley 2007). While territorial *oppida* may have been organised under a 'client king' (e.g. Creighton 2000, 2006), this interpretation must be substantiated through a detailed examination of social structure from the 'bottom-up' and across time. By this I mean attempting to understand how people articulated themselves as social entities from the Middle Iron Age onwards, how the inter-relationships between people formed social groups and, how these groups contributed to the overall social structure of the *oppida*. Moreover, we need to understand the dramatic changes that the Claudian invasion of AD43 may have had on the social trajectories of the people who inhabited territorial *oppida*. In particular, what was the effect of the introduction of new social groups from the Roman Empire (e.g. the military) and how did this lead to the foundation of towns in the 1st century AD in many of these locations (e.g. Camulodunum, Verulamium).

- How did territorial *oppida* relate to the wider physical and social landscape over time?

Recent research has highlighted the benefit of analysing territorial *oppida* as part of, and constructed within, the wider geographic and temporal landscape. This includes research into the examination of settlement form and landscape context (Moore 2012, 391), such as the religious context and natural environment of some *oppida* sites (Rogers 2008, 38). Rogers (2012, 646) has recently argued that new interpretations of continental *oppida* have begun to explore them as “meaningful space”, including evidence for sanctuaries. These new perspectives illustrate that exploring *oppida* requires an understanding of the landscapes in which they were constituted, the people who lived and experienced them (e.g. Grau Mira 2012; Saude Lemos *et al.* 2012) and how these people changed over time. This approach is particularly important in the Early Roman period, where the siting of *oppida,* as well as their religious significance, may have played an influential role of the foundation of Roman towns (Rogers 2008).

With these research questions in mind the following two chapters (Chapters 3 and 4) outline the theoretical and methodological approaches to be used to examine territorial *oppida* within this thesis. These chapters consider the understanding of Late Iron Age territorial *oppida* within a wider understanding of theoretical approaches to the Iron Age and Roman periods in Britain, which have both helped and hindered the interpretations of these settlements. Furthermore, the scale and available data for these settlements shall be explored in order to develop a method that best reflects the form of territorial *oppida.*

Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework

3.1 Introduction

The investigation of territorial *oppida* provides a unique opportunity to examine the changing social structure of southern Britain across the Late Iron Age to Early Roman transition period (100 BC–AD 100). Territorial *oppida* have been examined from multiple and divergent research perspectives (**2.2**), including the sometimes disparate approaches put forward by both later prehistoric and Roman archaeologists from Britain and the Continent. Such analyses are not without their problems, however, careful consideration of some of the existing theoretical approaches illustrates how limitations can potentially be overcome, and a novel perspective developed.

A review of the past and recent developments in the theoretical frameworks of prehistoric and Roman archaeologies allows the identification of close parallels between, and potential biases within, these approaches (**3.2**). This review allows the identification of varying strands of archaeological theory that can be linked to examine the transition period from a holistic perspective. This chapter proposes the combination of two strands of theory to develop a meaningful understanding of people's activities on a landscape scale; namely practice theory, in particular structuration (e.g. Giddens 1984 - **3.3.1**) and phenomenological or experiential understandings of landscapes (e.g. Thomas 1993; Tilley 1994 - **3.4.1**). Essentially what unifies these approaches is that each focuses on the study of human action or agency in the past and allows a multi-scale analysis integrating the examination of identity and social practice with that of 'meaning-laden' and 'human-centred' studies of landscapes. This chapter examines the development, difficulties and definitions of these concepts in order to produce a synthetic approach for the examination of territorial *oppida* (**3.5.2**). This combined approach also considers a number of themes that are important to the study of territorial *oppida*: the consideration of scale (**3.5.3**); the mutually inclusive themes of the domestic and ritual (**3.5.4**); and issues of temporality (**3.5.5**).

3.2 Theoretical Perspectives in the Later Prehistoric and Roman Archaeology of Britain

3.2.1 Introduction

The 'sub-disciplines' of later prehistoric and Roman archaeology in Britain often define themselves in opposition to one another (Hingley 2012, 619), despite the obvious temporal connection between the two. In chronological terms, territorial

oppida cross the transition between these periods (**2.4**) and thus a discussion of the approaches to each is of direct relevant to this thesis. While there are a number of scholars who analyse and study both periods and the transition between them, each is represented by different fields of theoretical/methodological perspectives and presented within different publications, conferences and research frameworks (Hingley 2012, 629). The most successful attempts at crossing this divide have involved the studying of one of these periods by adopting the theories and methods of the other (e.g. Hill 2001).

The differences between the theoretical approaches for the later prehistoric and Roman periods has partly been attributed to the difference between the traditions of prehistory and history. Hingley (2012, 628) argues, however, that the study and research agendas of both periods has, and continues to be, influenced by the use of classical sources since the inception of these disciplines. The original texts (i.e. Julius Caesar's *Gallic Wars*, Seutonius' *The Lives of the Twelve Caesars*, Tacitus' *Life of Agricola*) were written by contemporary historians/public figures and provide the earliest accounts of Britain and its people prior to and following the Roman invasion of AD43. These texts recount historical events and/or battles and the institutions that participated, including the Roman state and their 'native' opponents. In seeking definitions for national identity in the 19th-20th centuries, the historical groups portrayed in these sources were employed as 'origin myths' for Western nations (e.g. Britain), which drew on historical and archaeological information to determine the backgrounds of modern groups (Hingley 2001a, 145). These definitions often included comparisons by dominant political groups to the Roman Empire, as a civilising force, but also the identification by some with the "contrasting idea of native identity", in opposition to the status quo (Hingley 2001b, 9). The classical sources also described important historical characters, such as Boudica in Britain, Vercingetorix in Gaul or Arminius in Germany, who served as national figureheads within contemporary societies (Hingley 2001b, 10). Boudica, for example, has remained a significant figure in modern Britain, exhibited by Thornycroft's statue on Westminster Bridge, London, despite varying popular and scholarly descriptions across the 19th-20th centuries that paint her in both a positive and negative light (Hingley and Unwin 2005, 211–212).

Initial archaeological research for both periods relied heavily on the classical texts to describe and interpret the material remains uncovered in Britain. Due to the inherent difficulties in taking these texts at face value without consideration of bias, our understanding of the Iron Age and Roman periods has been skewed. The authors of

classical sources, as well as the audience, were comprised predominantly of an "educated male elite" within the Roman Empire (James 2000, 278). Consequently references to 'barbarian' peoples within classical sources tells us little about the Iron Age peoples of Europe apart from their resistance to Rome (James 2000), while references to Romans concentrate on the upper echelons, or elite classes, and their military exploits at the expense of the majority of the populace. This bias is reflected in the direction of archaeological investigation of Roman Britain, focusing on villas, towns and forts, rather than rural settlements (Hingley 2000, 150).

The current divergence of later prehistoric and Roman studies, despite their shared origins, has meant there has been little attempt in Britain, academically speaking, to unite the two schools of thought. This divergence is mirrored in research into territorial *oppida* in the 1980/90s, where these forms of settlement were principally discussed from the perspective of either prehistoric or Roman archaeology (**2.2**). Research elsewhere, however, illustrates that the divide between chronologically distinct periods can be bridged. Due to the focus of previous research on discrete periods (at the expense of transition phases) and complications faced by the application of these chronologies to different parts of the country (Bradley 2001, 231), many have attempted to move beyond rigid chronological divisions (Haselgrove and Moore 2007a, 2; Haselgrove and Pope 2007b, 3–4). This has led to the merging of chronological frameworks in prehistoric archaeology (Late Neolithic-Early Bronze Age, Late Bronze Age-Early Iron Age). These new periods illustrate the potential to cross divides, despite theoretical and methodological differences, and to examine the evidence that crosses these divisions more objectively. For example, analysis of the data recovered from developer-funded archaeology in recent years has indicated that there were few initial changes in rural areas from the Late Iron Age to the post-conquest period (e.g. Rogers 2012, 398).

An understanding of the development of theoretical frameworks deployed for studying both the later prehistoric and Roman periods is essential for our understanding of territorial *oppida*, the study of which has remained trapped between these periods and consequently affected by both frameworks in different ways. This is seen in the assumption that territorial *oppida* represented the pinnacle of an Iron Age settlement hierarchy (**2.2**) and emerged due to contacts and trade between Britain and the Roman Empire (**2.3.5**). An examination of the development of theoretical frameworks within Iron Age and Roman studies uncovers some of the biases apparent within our current understanding of these periods, but also specifically territorial *oppida*. This

understanding allows the formulation of a new structure to examine and understand the transition period from a more inclusive, and thus more informed, perspective.

3.2.2 Development of theory in prehistoric archaeology

The origins of theoretical frameworks for European prehistoric archaeology began within the formation of a discipline of prehistory in the mid-19th century and the construction of a secure chronological framework outside the previous reliance on biblical/historical sources. These developments created a "self-contained systematic study of [the] prehistoric" following the development of Three Age System in Scandinavia (Trigger 2006, 121). Subsequent expansions of this typological sequence on the Continent included the division of the Bronze and Iron Age into the 'Hallstatt' and 'La Tène' periods (Collis 2003, 75) and later sub-divisions created by Tischler (1885), Reinecke (Hallstatt C and D and La Tène, A, B, C and D) and Déchelette (Hallstatt I and II, La Tène I, II and II).

In Britain the creation of the 'A, B, C' system by Hawkes (1931), and later regional elaborations of this framework (Hawkes 1959, 171), were part of a wider awareness that Continental chronologies were not compatible with the growing corpus of British evidence. In the late 19th-20th centuries, the evidence for Southern England was interpreted as originating from invading 'Celtic' tribes from Gaul (Collis 2003, 9), labelled the 'Belgae' in Julius Caesar's *Civil Wars*. By the end of the 1950s causes of 'cultural' change in Britain were still heavily reliant on 'invasionist' theories, with evidence for change in the Iron Age dependent upon movement of people (and goods) from the Continent (see Hawkes 1959). The interpretation of the British Iron Age within this framework has had lasting effects on research into territorial *oppida*, including the understanding that these forms of settlement developed due to external influences (contacts, trade - **2.3.5**). Critiques of the 'A, B, C' chronology (Clark 1966; Hodson 1960) led to a number of processual approaches in the 1960s/70s, which attempted to redefine the evidence for the Iron Age in terms of regional and stylistic variation, e.g. Hodson's 'Little Woodbury Culture' (1964); Cunliffe's first edition of *Iron Age Communities in Britain* (1975). This research utilised a series of processual techniques originating from geography and the social sciences, which were employed to explore economic and environmental definitions of landscape (**3.3.1**).

The conception of a pan-European 'Celtic culture', developed under a culture-historical framework, has now been discredited in British academic research (e.g. James 1999a; Collis 2003), however, it did lead those studying prehistory to analyse and understand archaeological remains on both sides of the Channel (Moore and

Armada 2012a, 25–28). While chronological frameworks in Britain have moved away from those utilised on the Continent, the Hallstatt and Le Tène divisions are still widely used on the Continent for prehistoric research (Collis 2003, 78–80), leading to complications in the understanding of the chronology of *oppida* on both sides of the Channel (**2.4**). Moreover, this division has had the effect of making comparison between archaeological remains (including *oppida*) problematic, despite some points of similarity between Britain and the Continent (**2.3**), and has led to a failure in understanding of how regional interpretations fit into a Europe-wide perspective (Moore and Armada 2012a, 27–28).

Following Hill's (1989, 16) statement that Iron Age studies were 'boring' because they focused on a normative concept of the 'everyday', there has been a growing body of post-processual research reinvigorating analysis of this period (e.g. Haselgrove and Moore 2007a, 3). New Iron Age studies have produced analyses of Iron Age social structures strongly based on the archaeological evidence (e.g. Gwilt and Haselgrove 1997b; Haselgrove and Moore 2007a; Haselgrove and Pope 2007b) and by utilising the theories of a number of philosophers and anthropologists (Moore and Armada 2012a, 30) to provide a range of theoretical frameworks. Many of these frameworks highlight "the inter-relatedness of material culture, deposition practices, and settlement form with social practices, emphasising individuals as active agents in the shaping and structuring of these processes" (Haselgrove and Moore 2007a, 3).

Post-processual approaches have thus had a major impact on British Iron Age studies, stimulating a range of new developments (Moore and Armada 2012a, 30), including the use of the concept of agency (Barrett 2001) and phenomenology (Thomas 1993; Tilley 1994) in studies of landscape and social modelling (Hill 2012). These approaches have come to dominate research into later prehistoric Britain and form the backbone for current understanding. Initial research in this vein abandoned economic and environmental methods and theoretical frameworks, which in turn minimised the role of *oppida* in Iron Age society, as they had been previously been discussed using these techniques (**2.2**). After an initial backlash in post-processual approaches against functional or practical considerations, recent research has illustrated the need to develop a middle ground where practical and symbolic considerations are addressed in tandem rather than in opposition (Brück 1999, 324–5). While post-processual approaches had increasingly focused on the 'individual', they returned to an exploration of processes of changes on a "regional or inter-regional" level (Haselgrove and Moore 2007a, 3). Both approaches in scale have allowed for a fuller understanding of the British Iron Age, and could be utilised to

examine British territorial *oppida* (**2.5**). While post-processual perspectives have reinvigorated discussion of the period since the 1990s, a large number of potentially confusing methodologies have emerged leading to a lack of agreement of what a post-processual approach means (Moore and Armada 2012a, 33). In describing the state of Iron Age research it is often best to consider particular themes and their theoretical development, such as landscapes studies (**3.4**), in order to provide a more coherent picture.

3.2.3 Development of theory in Roman archaeology

Following the emergence of classical archaeology during the Renaissance, Rome and its provinces were analysed almost exclusively from a text-driven perspective. This, as with the Late Iron Age, created a narrow study of the Roman period, focusing on specific themes, such as the military and administration, and creating "particular attitudes" to gender roles and cultural identity (Gardner 2007, 24). These views were specific to discussions within the classical sources (i.e. the elite) and the periods in which they were written. The theory of Romanisation was strongly influenced by the classical sources, and remains one of the most persistent, albeit flawed concepts, within Roman archaeology. Originating in the mid-late 19th century, the theory of Romanisation came from Theodor Mommsen's '*The Provinces of the Roman Empire*' and was expanded upon in Britain by Haverfield (1906) in the late 19th/early 20th centuries. Romanisation represented a 'top-down' approach that focused on the primacy of the Roman Empire (as an analogy of 19th-20th century western empires), who passed 'civilisation' onto the 'barbarian' inhabitants of newly conquered provinces. This interpretation created two-dimensional models of provincial peoples, attributing change in these societies solely to contact with, and the influence of, the Romans even prior to conquest (i.e. Caesar's invasions of Britain) (e.g. Freeman 1993; Hingley 2000; Mattingly 2004).

The most sophisticated expression of Romanisation, developed by Millett's *The Romanization of Britain* (1990), shifted focus away from the Roman Empire to the 'Native' side of the debate. Critiques of this work, as part of a widespread critique of Romanisation theory, highlighted the homogeneity of categories such as 'Roman' and 'Native' when the available evidence suggests diversity within the Roman Empire (Freeman 1993, 443–444; Woolf 1997, 347). Despite its focus on the indigenous people of Britain as motivators for change, Millett's work continued to focus largely on elite viewpoints that ignored other people i.e. those in rural areas (Freeman 1993, 441). Territorial *oppida* remain linked with elite Iron Age society in Millett's account

(**2.3.5**), and thus perpetuated a simplistic understanding of the social structure of these settlements. More broadly, the focus on elite viewpoints has affected the trajectory of archaeological fieldwork in the 20th century, focusing on sites of towns, villas and forts while ignoring rural settlement (Hingley 2000, 149–152).

The criticism of 'Romanisation' theories by scholars in the 1990s paved the way for the adoption of a number of ground-breaking post-processual theoretical models, including postcolonial theory. Postcolonialism has been described as a "set of diverse concepts and research projects which have sought to critique and challenge traditional Eurocentric history and other forms of representation" (Gardner 2013, 3–4). Aiding most of the recent advances in Roman Archaeology, postcolonial theory was initially concerned with 'nativism', a political movement originating in the 1960s that sought to highlight resistance to western colonial regimes (Webster 1996, 6). While an examination of the role of the indigenous peoples formed part of Millett's (1990) approach, later work explored colonial resistance and downplayed the effect of the Roman Empire on Britain (Webster 2001, 212). These works were equally criticised for polarising the debate between 'Natives' and 'Romans' when the evidence suggested that provincial cultures were more diverse and hybrid than previously thought (Webster 2001, 212–3; Woolf 1997, 347). The study of colonialism, both in definition and comparative studies between ancient and modern societies, has attempted to move this debate forward (Given 2004; Gosden 2004) by examining oppression and rebellion in colonized societies. This research examined physical coercion, taxation (Given 2004, 26–7) and hidden economies such as illegal trade (Given 2004, 151–6). Although these approaches are useful in examining evidence for resistance and capitulation in Roman Britain i.e. between the Roman army and indigenous peoples, and thus related to some territorial *oppida* (**2.4.4**), the extent to which these works further perpetuate the dichotomies of 'Natives' and 'Romans' is arguable.

Identity has been an important concept in Roman studies since theories of Romanisation began, however, the narrow exploration of identity groups limited its usefulness (e.g. 'Roman' and 'Native', Hill 2001, 15). A body of research undertaken since the onset of postcolonial theory has explored our definition of, and evidence for, 'identity' within Roman studies, providing a greater understanding of all members of society. While initial research focused on simplistic identity groupings, the most successful studies have identified and stressed the "diversity or heterogeneity of response to changing identity" (Mattingly 2004, 22). Research into hybrid and/or overlapping identities led to the examination of 'Creolization' theory, namely the

'blending' of two cultural traditions through material culture, which has been utilised to examine American slave culture and Romano-British religion (Webster 2001, 217–9). Mattingly (2004, 7) has suggested rightly, however, that the focus on 'lower orders' in approaches to creolization substituted the emphasis on elites within earlier studies (e.g. Millett 1990) for that of non-elites, thus remaining partial. Mattingly's (2004, 2006, 2011) use of 'discrepant experience', following the work of the theorist Said (1993, 31–43), has provided one of the more successful examinations of identity within Roman studies by focusing on the diverse experiences, and therefore identities, of life within the Provinces. Some have criticised the use of the word 'discrepant' rather than 'different' (Fulford 2007, 368) and the use of broad identity groups (military, urban and rural communities), which lack "analytical nuance" (Pitts 2007, 709), however, this is somewhat unfair considering the scope of the work in question (the province of Britannia). Mattingly's work illustrates that, despite issues of scale in Roman studies (**3.5.2**), there is scope to examine the identities of individuals and small groups within large geographical areas, approaches that could equally be attributed to landscape-scale territorial *oppida* (**2.3.4**).

Despite criticisms of these theoretical frameworks, both have been important in revising our understanding of the Roman provinces (Gardner 2013, 5), particularly Britain, and contribute to a large field of research that examines identity in the Roman world. However, recent examination of this research has highlighted its focus on particular categories (Pitts 2007, 694), (cultural identity), at the expense of others (gender and 'self-identity') (Gardner 2013, 5). More worrying is the ambiguity of the term 'identity' within much of the literature (Pitts 2007, 693) and consequently there are calls to determine where studies of identity should go from here (Gardner 2013, 5). These issues are discussed in detail below (**3.3**).

3.2.4 Conclusion

The examination of the theoretical perspectives of British later prehistoric and Roman archaeology has demonstrated some close parallels between the two, such as their shared origins in the classical literature, and the development of each through cultural-historical, processual and post-processual frameworks. This analysis has demonstrated the biases affecting the study of the Late Iron Age in the work of past and present archaeologists. An awareness of these misconceptions is vital within this thesis.

This analysis has touched upon two particular themes, identity and landscapes, which have each, to varying degrees, been explored in prehistoric and Roman studies of

Britain and might allow the examination of the transition period from a joint perspective. Recent work on both of these theoretical frameworks have emphasised the need to focus on a 'person-centred' examination of the past (e.g. human agency), but with reference to a wider social structure. Certain approaches developed within these themes, namely practice theory, in particular structuration (e.g. Giddens 1984) and phenomenological or experiential understandings of landscapes (e.g. Thomas 1993, 2001; Tilley 1994), allow for the study of people in the past within multiple frames of reference and beyond the temporal and geographic divisions imposed by previous investigations of the prehistoric or Roman period. Consequently, as discussed below, structuration and experiential approaches are suited to the multi-scalar structure of territorial *oppida*.

3.3 Identity

3.3.1 Introduction

The study of 'identity' has formed a key research theme and one of the "unifying frameworks" in the social sciences and humanities since the 1990s (Jenkins 2004, 7). This includes a number of studies within archaeology in general (e.g. Insoll 2007a) and prehistoric (e.g. Hill 1997, 2006; Jones 1997) and Roman archaeology (e.g. Hill 2001; Mattingly 2004; Pitts 2007) in particular. Subsequent research has utilised the works of social scientists and thinkers, such as Lévi-Strauss (1963, 1976), Foucault (1970), Giddens (1979, 1984) and Bourdieu (1977). Fundamental to many studies of prehistoric and Roman Britain, the social scientists or archaeologists who use their concepts regard the expression of identity as central to human action (Insoll 2007b, 1).

A popular approach, employed in a number of studies of prehistoric and Roman Britain, has been the use of structuration theory, building upon the work of Anthony Giddens (1979, 1984). This approach (**3.3.3**) examines identity as the intersection of agency (the actions of people) and structure (the wider social world). The sophisticated nature of Giddens' theory of structuration has led to critiques and debates over its use (e.g. Archer 1996), however, a number of archaeological works have highlighted the importance of its core concept, the 'duality of structure' (Gardner 2007, 40–43; Revell 2009, 10–15; Rogers 2013, 17 - 3.3.3). As discussed below (**3.3.4**), this approach allows the examination of identity on multiple social scales focusing on what practices, whether conscious (deliberate acts) or unconscious (routines), were undertaken by people who lived in territorial *oppida* and how these relate to the wider social structure within and beyond these settlements.

3.3.2 Definition

The concept of identity is notoriously difficult to define and few attempts, with some exceptions (Gardner 2007, 17–20; Insoll 2007b, 2–3), have been undertaken within archaeological contributions to the debate. 'Identity' is a relatively modern word (not listed before the Oxford English Dictionary of 1786) originally defined as 'sameness' and later 'individuality' (Insoll 2007b, 2–3). A dictionary definition provides few answers to what we mean by identity within archaeological discourse, however, sociological and anthropological research has explored the different facets of this concept and how it is best approached. Richard Jenkins (2004, 3–4) has suggested that the notion of identity is represented both as "similarity and difference in the examination of the relationship between people and 'things'". This approach is particularly useful when considering periods of transition, such as between the Iron Age and Roman period, where the evaluation of change (or in some cases a lack thereof) is a dominant issue. Jenkin's concept of identity (2004, 3), represents a dichotomy but equally an interaction between people that forms either comparable or disparate connections.

3.3.3 Agency and Structure

The investigation of agency, reflecting person-centred approaches to the study of identity, has been a persistently stimulating theme within archaeological study since the beginnings of post-processualism in the 1980/90s. Although difficult to define, partly due to its use in a number of ways (Gardner 2007, 18), agency has come to mean in sociological and archaeological literature as the actions undertaken by people or 'actors', both consciously and unconsciously, as part of their day-to-day lives (Giddens 1984, xxii, xxiii). The evidence for these actions is apparent at all levels of the archaeological record, including how material culture was used subsequently discarded, the layout and position of architectural forms (houses) and the evidence for burial (form, type, grave goods) and ritual action (structured deposition).

Discussions of agency have led to debates concerning the issue of individuality. Some have questioned whether the use of 'individuals' or 'individuality' in contemporary discourse is an entirely modern and westernized concept that has little bearing in the understanding of people in the past (Fowler 2004, 11–22; Thomas 2004, 119–148). Ethnographic research has highlighted modern alternatives to individuality, such as Strathern's work on Melanesian societies (1988), which stresses the identification of 'dividuals', i.e. people whose identity was viewed as composed as an assemblage of multiple body parts, potentially connected to others, rather than

as a single discrete entity. While it is questioned as to extent Melanesian ethnographic models can inform us about European prehistoric societies (cf. Spriggs 2008), the realisation of the difficulties of overcoming a modern perception of individuality has led to multiple avenues of theoretical research including the focus on group rather than individual identities (e.g. Barrett 2001) and the exploration of personhood (e.g. Fowler 2004). While the relationship between agency and individuals remains contested (Gardner 2011, 66–7), it has been argued that a holistic account that examines individual practices in relation to wider social structures might allow a detailed examination of people in the past (Gardner 2011, 75).

In structuration theory the key companion concept to 'agency' is 'structure', representing the wider physical and social world (Gardner 2007, 18). While 'structure' as an explicit analytical component is often overlooked in Roman studies (Gardner 2011, 72–75), it represents the larger society of which individual lives (and agency) form part (Gardner 2007, 40; Jenkins 2004, 25–26). The relationship between acting individuals (agents) and structures (social institutions) has been referred to as the defining problem of sociology (Jenkins 2004, 24–25) with a number of theories put forward to overcome this conflict, to enable a better understanding of the relationships between the two. This includes research within structuration theory which, in its most sophisticated form, was devised by Giddens (1984, 25–28) and dealt with this problem by reframing it as 'The duality of structure'. Giddens (1984, 25) argued that "the constitution of agents and structures are not two independently given sets of phenomenon…..but represent a duality", each representing the requirement for and outcome of the other. Criticisms levelled at Giddens by Archer (1996), among others, suggest that agency and structure should be firmly separated, in order to define each and understand the relationship between the two. This has been argued by Gardner (2007, 45–46) to represent a methodological rather than philosophical issue, one which Giddens' theories are not opposed to for analytical purposes (e.g. Giddens 1979, 95). Other branches of philosophy, such as Bourdieu's (1977) *habitus* or Phenomenology (**3.4**), equally attempt to overcome the dualisms of agency and structure (Gardner 2007, 41–42), as well as that of culture/nature and domestic/ritual.

3.3.4 Personal and Collective identities

A useful interpretation of the role of agency and structure and how it operates at multiple social scales is what Jenkins (2004, 24–25) defines as the difference between 'institutions' and 'organisations'. Institutions are social collectives, defined by routine or repetitive actions creating established patterns or social norms that

define a collective identity (Jenkins 2004, 127). Organisations are organised social groups, with specific objectives and a recognised pattern of decision-making and task allocation. These tasks require the identification of people to specific roles within that group, to structure how these tasks are accomplished (Jenkins 2004, 136–137). Both institutions and organisations (as with all social groups) are both externally and internally defined, i.e. members are allocated to a social group because of active participation or by definition from outside forces who view members as part of that group whether they actively participate or not. An obvious illustration of an institution within post-conquest Britain is that of the Roman army, which operated on multiple scales of identity (soldier, cohort, legion). Soldierly identities were created and maintained through a variety of means including a military language, visual appearance, hygiene routines and physical exercise (James 1998, 16–18). The nature of collective identities, an amalgam of the agency of people, also changes over time, subsequently affected through the inclusion of new members. Conversely the agency of new members could also be moulded by established patterns of behaviour such as the enforcement of rules and regulations (Jenkins 2004, 127–8).

This definition of organisations and institutions illustrates the mutually constitutive relationship between agency and structure. As discussed above (**3.3.2**), the definition of identity as examining 'similarity and difference' (Jenkins 2004, 19–20) allows us to understand the significance of different practices in the past and consequently, from the physical evidence, personal and group identities. Personal identity reflects the distinction of people from one another and is visible through differences in the archaeological record, while group identity implies at least a single comparative element between people and stresses identifying similarities within the evidence. This approach will be useful in examining the lives of those who inhabited, interacted and operated within territorial *oppida*, to explore society on multiple social scales (**3.5.2**).

3.3.5 Lessons in identity - The Roman Empire

The popularity of identity theory in Roman archaeological studies has allowed the demonstration of a number of approaches and critiques of this concept (e.g. Pitts 2007), allowing future uses of identity, framed in this instance by the theory of structuration, to deploy a more refined method. For instance, the concept of 'discrepant experience', following the work of Said (1993) and proposed by Mattingly (1997a, 1997b, 2004, 2011), illustrates a consideration of the use of agency and structure in determining identity in the Roman Empire. Mattingly's (2004, 10–11, 2011, 216–217) research identifies a series of factors that reflect the diversity of the

Empire and shape individual and group identities, including (but not limited to) wealth, location, employment, religion, origin, language, gender and age (A3.1). These categories, albeit not a definitive list, provide a starting point of how we might consider identity(ies) in the Roman period, with the caveat that we should not be restricted to or led by these categories but instead directed by the evidence for them. The use of discrepant experience builds upon Giddens' (1984) duality of structure, however, Mattingly deliberately avoids use of terms such as agency and structure due to their "conceptual baggage" (2011, 216). While the removal of these terms may clarify the reading of Mattingly's framework it equally has the effect of masking the detail behind the approach, particularly when considering how we approach identity on multiple scales. Mattingly's *An Imperial Possession* (2006), demonstrates the use of this approach on a wide interpretative canvas (the province of Britannia), however, this text has been criticized for lacking "analytical nuance" in the exploration of lower level identities, by using aggregate group identities within his analysis (Pitts 2007, 709). This criticism may be somewhat unfair considering the difficulties in striking a delicate balance between agency and structure on multiple scales of evidence. While we must explore beyond individualism and agency as a single element (**3.3.3**), the identification of group identities must be formed through the consideration of the nuances and similarities between individual identities and not the presumption of group identity categories (**3.3.4**). This example also illustrates the situational sensitivity, temporal and geographical, required for the examination of agency and structure within an archaeological context.

The examination of identity has been a key research theme in recent studies of Roman archaeology, however, there has also been a tendency in the last two decades to focus on "single-issue questions of identity", such as age, status or gender, due to the vastness/complexity of exploring interrelated issues (Meskell 2007, 23). Pitts (2007, 694) argues that, although "situational" in practice, recent research could be broadly separated into one of three categories; cultural (or ethnic) identity, class and status identity and gender identity. While identity is always multi-faceted and any examination of identity needs to explore more than one theme (Meskell 2007, 23–4), research is often inclined to examine one particular variable (i.e. age, status, wealth) over others, in response to the available evidence. While the evidence must lead our interpretations, any understanding much be considered against a range of identity categories to ensure a balanced approach, even if one is more apparent than others.

While the examination of agency in archaeological studies has had a fairly long history (**3.3.3**), Gardner (2011, 72–5) has argued that the role of structure has often been overlooked in favour of the definition/understanding of agency. This trajectory has led to a fractioning of the proper relationship between individual actions and the structures of which they form part. Mattingly (2011, 216) theorises that "Imperial systems…. are more likely to impede and delimit the scope of individual agency", arguing for a balancing of agency with an examination of structural influences and constraints (cf. Gardner 2013, 9–18). Within this research the identities of the inhabitants of territorial *oppida* will be examined from the 'bottom up', initially by exploring the diverse identities (both agency and structure) of the smallest groups. Through the evidence for the co-operation or hierarchy within and between these groups (i.e. co-operative building projects or domination of resources), the structures and/or institutions which they constitute shall become apparent, and consequently the wider social structure of territorial *oppida*.

3.3.6 Conclusions

The understanding of identity is a complex issue, but one that is important in our understanding of how people shaped, and were shaped by, society as a whole. The exploration of identity therefore requires finesse and an understanding of the nuances of the archaeological evidence. Identity is fundamental within this research in order to understand how the social structure of territorial oppida developed, how it changed over time and to what extent this moulded settlement function. As stated earlier, a theoretical framework that also adopts a 'person-centred' approach(es) to landscapes, will allow us to frame the understanding of identities of people and their constituent groups within the wider natural and cultural environment.

3.4 Landscapes

3.4.1 Introduction

The study of landscapes has formed a persistent theme within British archaeological research, with our understanding of what a 'landscape' constitutes changing alongside the developments of archaeological theory (**3.2**). Originating in the late 16th century, with the beginnings of the Dutch landscape painting tradition (Thomas 2001, 168), the term 'landscape', has come to represent a number of different approaches developed in archaeology over the last fifty years. The landscape methods pioneered in Britain by Crawford (1953) and Hoskins (1955), including the use of local history, geography and place-name studies (Darvill 2010, 60–62), were later emulated by Aston and Rowley (1974) and succeeded by the extensive survey projects

undertaken by Flannery (1976) in the Americas and Fleming (1978, 1983), on the Dartmoor Reaves, among others. Environmental and economic approaches to landscape borrowed models from the processual 'New Geography' of the 1960s/70s (Hamilton 2011, 265) and applied theoretical developments such as Von Thunen's site catchment analysis (1966), Weber's minimum-energy least-cost model (1929) and Christaller's Central Place Theory (1933). A number of studies (e.g. Clarke 1977), within both prehistoric and Roman research, have utilised many of these interpretative frameworks (e.g. Cunliffe 1976b; Haselgrove 1986; Hodder and Hassall 1976; Hodder and Orton 1979).

Dissatisfaction with purely environmental/economic studies of landscape, led to explorations of 'the social' in the 1990s and the investigation of landscapes as a 'concept'. This framework followed the wave of post-processual reinvention of 'Humanist' archaeology; defined as an approach that "sees biologically grounded humans overlaid by experience" (Trigger 2006, 472). Much of this work was, and is, concerned with prehistoric landscapes (e.g. Ashmore and Knapp 1999a; Bender 1993; Bender *et al.* 2007; Bradley 2000; Thomas 2001; Tilley 1994), and considers the meaning that these landscapes had for the "people that inhabited or used them and how this understanding channelled human activity" (Trigger 2006, 473). The role of Phenomenology has formed an important but controversial part of the social exploration of landscapes (**3.4.3**), following the work of Husserl in the early 20th century and revisions by Heidegger (1962) in the mid-20th century (Moran 2000, 1–4). 'Social' Landscapes have remained a key avenue of theoretical debate and methodological development in prehistoric archaeology (Moore and Armada 2012a, 42–4), and while Roman studies were initially reluctant to engage with these approaches (Petts 1998, 80), work in this vein has flourished in recent decades (e.g. Chadwick 2004, 20; Eckardt *et al.* 2009; Ghey 2005; Launaro 2004; Smith 2001; Witcher 1998). The exploration of these landscapes changed across the Iron Age to Roman transition, bridging the gap between the application of these theoretical frameworks in each sub-discipline and enables the examination of territorial *oppida* from a joint perspective.

3.4.2 Definition

The notion of landscape is "a singularly complex and difficult concept", with multiple and shifting meanings including (but not restricted to) ideas of topography, inhabitation, experience or representation (Thomas 2001, 166). While the diversity of approaches in Landscape Archaeology has created segregation between disciplines

and individuals, not allowing a single absolute definition (David and Thomas 2010, 27–8), some have accepted the validity, and possible benefit, of a flexible and varied description (Layton and Ucko 1999, 1–2).

A much clearer picture of 'landscape' emerges in the discussion of what it is not. It cannot simply be seen as a natural backdrop for cultural activity (Ingold 1993, 153–155) or a "passive repository of lost information" (McGlade 1999, 460). Landscape cannot be regarded as abstract notions of 'land', 'nature' or 'space' (Ingold 1993, 153) or as a passive or external object onto which people make their imprint (Thomas 1993, 27). Landscape paintings have often been used as a metaphor for landscape, with the separation of people as the active viewer from the landscape as the passive object (Thomas 1993, 21–3, 2001, 168–70) as well as the dominance of vision in the acquisition of knowledge (Thomas 2001, 167). This supremacy of vision has been best countered by multi-sensory approaches to the understanding of archaeological landscapes that, in addition to examining vision, have highlighted the role of sound, smell, touch and taste in understanding the experience of past people (e.g. Hamilakis 2014).

Landscapes are also "constituted in space-time" (Tilley 2010, 26), meaning that they are constantly changing due to 'natural rhythms' e.g. the changing seasons/time of day and the actions of people. This understanding forms a parallel set of interwoven temporalities that constitutes what Thomas (1996, 53–4) calls the "temporal character of the existence of human beings", i.e. that personal identity requires a past, present and future. Barrett (1999a, 258–60) provides an important example of the observation of landscapes as "a movement between temporalities" e.g. the impact of Neolithic and Bronze Age archaeological remains upon the people of the Iron Age. While these monuments may not have been physically altered in the Iron Age, they remained an integral part of the landscape, inherited from the people of the past (Barrett 1999a, 264).

3.4.3 Experiential perspectives

The use of experiential perspectives within archaeology began with the development of phenomenological approaches by archaeologists including Tilley (1994) and Thomas (1996; Brück 2005, 46–50). Archaeological phenomenology emphasises the physical engagement of the human body with the world in order to interact with, and understand, landscapes shared with people of past societies (Brück 2005, 46–7). The exploration of phenomenology in archaeology has highlighted a number of key issues including the role of the body as a medium to provide insights into past experience.

Embodiment is a “central term”, with phenomenologists studying landscapes from the ‘inside’, contrasted with abstract or ‘outside’ experience of landscapes derived from maps, texts, photographs or paintings (Tilley 2010, 25).

Phenomenological approaches have differed in their engagement with the aforementioned original philosophical works by Husserl, Heidegger and Merleau-Ponty (1962), initially focusing on critiques of earlier and more traditional views of landscape (Brück 2005, 47). Consequently, these archaeological approaches have garnered varying levels of criticism from the archaeological community; e.g. debate over the universality of the physical form and therefore the implication that we can share experiences with people of the past (Tilley 1994, 13–14). This core principle, i.e. whether there are justifiable points of similarity between our own bodily experience and those of past societies, has been countered by arguments concerning the variability of the human body both physically and socially (Brück 2005, 55), e.g. Bourdieu’s (1977, 93–94) argument that bodily practices can vary within and between societies. Thomas (2001, 181) has argued against the universality of the body in landscape archaeologies, however, he states that as modern individuals we can only use our own form to experience and examine the archaeological landscape. While this does not allow us share bodily experiences with past peoples, it does “provide a basis for understanding of how they may have been unlike our own” (Thomas 2001, 181) The variability of the human form has begun to be addressed in methodologically rigorous phenomenological approaches by exploring the influence of these differences, such gender and age, in experiencing specific landscape contexts (Hamilton *et al.* 2006, 35). Similar criticism has been levelled against the assumption that the structure of the landscape itself, what Tilley (2004, 201–202) describes as its ‘bones’, would have endured despite events such as colluvial movement of soil. Criticism levelled at the variation of vegetation cover in the past (Chapman and Gearey 2000), has also been countered in phenomenological approaches by the use of pollen diagrams and other environmental data to allow the reconstruction of past prehistoric landscapes (e.g. Cummings and Whittle 2004 - Wales; Bender *et al.* 2007 - Bodmin Moor, Cornwall).

The exploration of phenomenology in archaeology has successfully allowed the “deconstruction of…dualistic thinking” around issues like nature/culture and subject/object (Brück 2005, 64–5), including the critique of previous research that portrayed landscapes in a ‘Cartesian’ two-dimensional view. Thomas (1993, 21–2) describes this critique, and its origins in the divide between ‘object’ and ‘subject’, through the field of landscape painting where the viewer observes a place from the

'outside', disengaged and distanced from the picture and relationships that it depicts. Thomas (1993, 22–3) stresses the privilege of vision, in this metaphor and Cartesian philosophy in general, over other senses and the creation of a false link between vision and understanding. It is through 'dwelling', a term coined by Heidegger and described as "the way that people *are* on earth", that the distance between object and subject is closed and people are united with their 'environment' (Thomas 1993, 28). Thomas (1993, 28) states that it is "impossible to look at traces of past human presence without seeing them…first as bound up with human social action and subjectivity".

Arguably the most significant hindrance to the effective study of landscapes prior to post-processualism in the 1980s/90s was the persistence of a dichotomous relationship between 'nature' and 'culture'. The polarisation between the topography, geography or geology of a landscape (nature), and the effect, influence or meaning placed or left by humans upon those areas (culture) was common within early economically/environmentally driven landscape research. Ideas about 'nature' have been shown to be diverse between cultures and have historically changed within western thought (Tilley *et al.* 2000, 219). Post-processual approaches, in particular Phenomenology, sought to comprehend that the "Landscape is not exclusively natural, not totally cultural; it is a mediation between the two" (Ashmore and Knapp 1999a, 20). The deconstruction of the distinction between nature/culture was propagated initially through the consideration of 'natural places' (Bradley 2000; Tilley *et al.* 2000), and led to the understanding that "Humans, and what they produce, are conceived as being part of the world, enveloped within that world, rather than being in some way separated and opposed to it" (Tilley *et al.* 2000, 219). Earlier research into natural places in the landscape were particularly concerned with the Bronze Age, however, more recent examples have discussed these ideas for Iron Age and Roman landscapes and with respect to *oppida* in particular (e.g. Rogers 2008). Further research is required, particularly as the position of the linear earthworks systems that define territorial *oppida* have often been described in relation to the natural environment, e.g. rivers or topography (e.g. Davenport 2003, 106; Hawkes and Crummy 1995, 8–9). These interpretations focus upon the earthwork systems as humanly created additions to the natural environment and create a viewpoint that fails to identify or address the perspectives of Iron Age people, who may have viewed these earthworks and their environment as indistinguishable.

The notions of 'space and place', as interrelated rather than separate ideas, have also been essential in understanding archaeological remains in relation to past

landscapes. Moving beyond a Cartesian philosophy of space, which views it as geometric, devoid of meaning and, vitally, independent from the actions of people, post-processual theoretical frameworks now understand this concept in terms of its transformation into a relational and human-centred phenomenon (Thomas 1996, 83–4). In this framework space is considered as 'lived space', transformed into 'place' by the actions of humans (Thomas 1993, 172, 1996, 83). This moves interpretations away from 'sites' against a 'passive backdrop' and relates archaeological remains within a wider framework of past human activity (Ashmore and Knapp 1999a, 2). The actions of humans, and therefore their relationship to the landscape, has been discussed by Ingold (1993, 158) in terms of 'taskscapes': areas of interrelated activities or labour which change over time. Taskscapes represent places used for practical and ritual purposes, i.e. the activities associated with the everyday (Hamilton and Whitehouse 2006, 162), and allow the exploration of human experience in a domestic, as well as ritual, context.

3.4.4 Geographic Information Systems (GIS)

Technological advances in landscape studies, such as the use of Geographical Information Systems (GIS), have allowed the large-scale processing of spatial data, the consolidation of information from multiple disciples (e.g. topographic data, historic mapping) and the introduction of innovative techniques (e.g. viewshed analysis) (Lock 2003, 164–7). Methodologically, the applications of computer programs have included data representation and visualisations, predicative modelling, and spatial analysis (McCoy and Ladefoged 2009, 264), and have vastly impacted upon the capabilities of both academic research and commercial archaeology (McCoy and Ladefoged 2009, 278).

Following the emergence of GIS, the majority of research focused upon environmental and economic explorations of the past, extending from the spatial archaeologies of the 1970s, and continuing to utilise theories of central place and site catchment. Consequently, GIS was criticised (like all forms of mapping) for creating an "absolute model of space" (Conolly and Lake 2006, 8) that produces a picture of the past that would not have been visible to the people who inhabited it (Thomas 1993, 25). Building from these critiques, new techniques have been developed to 'humanise' and 'theorize' particular functions of GIS, closely aligned with the approaches derived from phenomenology, e.g. the consideration of visibility using viewshed analysis (e.g. Llobera 1996) and cost-surface analysis, exploring resources on a human scale (Witcher 2002, 15). While moving in the right direction, these

techniques have been further criticised for retaining a dominance on vision and perpetuating a lack of consideration of other sensory experiences (Frieman and Gillings 2007, 13).

Further work that amalgamates GIS and other spatial technologies, such as the "role played by embodied experience and encounter in the forging of interpretations and understandings", have recently been explored by Gillings and Frieman (2007, 4) and Eve (2012) through the use of virtual landscapes. Despite attempts to cross the divide and create dialogue between spatial technologies and those concerned with "theoretical development of experiential modes of engagement", there have been suggestions that finding a middle ground is elusive, partially due to the reluctance of some to engage with the issue (Gillings 2012, 601–2). Phenomenologists such as Tilley (1994, 8), have argued that the differences between the abstract/scientific, represented by GIS, and the humanised, through sensory analysis, needs to be addressed while Thomas (2004, 201) has suggested that with an 'experiential' archaeology, "it is questionable how far this process can be facilitated by a microprocessor". This view is somewhat pessimistic and valuable studies which combine experiential, computer based and traditional forms of landscape investigation (e.g. Hamilton and Whitehouse 2006; Hamilton *et al.* 2006) have revealed that these diverse theoretical and methodological frameworks can successfully work in cohesion. In particular, the examination of the landscapes of large-scale settlements such as territorial *oppida*, can benefit from the combination of techniques that explore environmental, economic and social factors.

3.4.5 A method of enquiry

While criticisms of phenomenological frameworks have illustrated that it is difficult to compare modern people/environments with those in the past, more collaborative approaches, based on both empirical evidence and experiential methods, have been useful in beginning to understand past societies. The most successful collaborative approaches have used experiential or phenomenological investigations in the field to create, as stated by Hamilton (2011, 271), a "method of field enquiry" of experiencing and "being in the world" that can be incorporated within methodologically rigorous and diverse landscape analyses. These include traditional methods of investigation, such as desk-based research and excavation, which have arguably incorporated elements of phenomenological methodology (i.e. deep familiarisation with the landscape) since Hoskins' investigations in the 1970s (Hamilton 2011, 272). Thomas (2010, 304–5) describes this process as a 'Hermeneutics of Landscape', in which experiential

methods form an important but single aspect, set against a wider network of information that is contextually situated in the present. This approach leads to an understanding that the way that "a phenomenon presents itself to us in the present is only one step in attempting to understand how it may have presented itself in a past context" (Thomas 2010, 205).

3.4.6 Conclusions

Recent approaches in landscape archaeology have much to offer to the analysis of territorial *oppida*, partially due to the landscape scale of these forms of settlement. However, landscape archaeology also allows us to explore these settlements on multiple scales of reference (find, site, landscape) and through this evidence interrogate the multiple scales of identity of the inhabitants of *oppida* (people, groups, regions). This approach is accomplished by exploring 'person-centred' or experiential interpretations of landscapes (**3.4.3**) and combining them with the spatial, topographic and environmental evidence best examined by GIS. This method allows us to dissolve the modern dualisms of nature/culture and space/place and aids in thinking about how this material may have been understood in the past.

Defining what a 'landscape' constitutes (**3.4.2**), is vital to ensure we avoid the confusion of past interpretations. Territorial *oppida* can be investigated by examining the landscapes they inhabit as a 'concept', i.e. an idea or notion that is constituted within the periods that these settlements were inhabited (the Middle Iron Age-Early Roman periods). In order to accomplish this task, we must attempt to understand the perception of landscape across these periods from the perspective of the inhabitants of territorial *oppida*, by examining the archaeological evidence and interpreting its meaning in the past as well as in the present.

3.5 Approach

3.5.1 Introduction

The theoretical/interpretative frameworks discussed above (practice theory, experiential understandings of landscape) form the core of the approach utilised within this thesis, incorporating a combined perspective and cross-disciplinary techniques, i.e. those used by Prehistorians and Romanists. Identity can operate in relation to multiple frames of reference; (people, group, region - defined in **3.5.2**), and can therefore be appreciated and investigated through differing scales of evidence (**3.5.3**). However, our understanding of practices in the past should incorporate the perspectives on both domestic and ritual practice (and the combination of the two)

and how they operate on various scales of society (**3.5.4**). Finally issues of temporality, or how people act and interact over time, are important for understanding how changes were perceived by people and groups in relation to the locales and landscapes they inhabited (**3.5.5**).

3.5.2 A combined perspective

A combined theoretical perspective, incorporating approaches from both 'identity' and 'landscape' studies, are utilised to address three scales of society: personal identity (people), group identity (groups) and landscape communities (regions). These social scales are interrelated concepts, which can be discussed in the terminology of agency and structure (A3.2). The label 'People' is used here to represent personal identity, i.e. the examination of actions or agency in the past, which are undertaken by separate actors and characterised by differences in the archaeological record. The combination of actors, either through external or internal definition, form collective identities, labelled in this research as 'Groups'. 'Groups' may be defined through purposeful action or a shared interest or belief, which is expressed in part through collective action. 'Groups' are made up of the collection of individuals with similar characteristics and therefore are intimately related to personal identity, specifically the similarities between identities. 'Regions', are defined in terms of 'conceptual landscapes' i.e. inhabited spaces that are viewed as a combination of culture and nature and are transformed through the actions of people and groups in the past. The actions of individuals and social groups have impacts on how landscapes are formed, through the creation of 'places' but also 'paths', socially constructed routeways, inscribed through memory and reflective of the links between 'people'. For the remaining chapters, the use of these definitions is indicated on each social scale in single quotation marks (i.e. 'people', 'groups', 'regions').

The operation and interaction of these frameworks allow us to examine, through the archaeological evidence, how the agency of people in the past was framed within the structures of the wider physical and social world, particularly the places in the landscapes that they inhabited. In a methodological sense (**4.4**), this also allows us to better utilise the range of evidence present on multiple scales (finds, sites, landscapes) and equate these to the complexities of identity on multiple layers of society (people, groups, regions).

3.5.3 Scale

Haselgrove and Moore (2007a, 3), in their discussion of Iron Age studies in Britain, have highlighted the need to address theoretical approaches on a broader scale,

linking the ‘individual agent’ to the “regional and inter-regional”. Equally Gardner (2013, 10) has suggested that, for Roman studies, scale has been a persistent problem, with the Empire addressed from either a ‘top-down’ or ‘bottom-up’ approach but failing to understand action and practice from multiple perspectives. Issues of scale are relevant to research into territorial *oppida* both in terms of identity, through the examination and interaction between individual and group identification, and landscapes, exploring the relationship between human agents and the active environments they inhabited. Within this thesis, exploration at different scales allow for the analysis of people and groups, and the social structure uniting them, within the framework of the landscape-scale settlements of territorial *oppida*.

In order to overcome assumptions of presumed traits of ‘individuals’ and ‘individualism’ in past societies, the smallest scale within this research, i.e. ‘people’, shall be concerned particularly with respect to recent work on personhood, defined by Fowler (2004, 7) as a ‘‘state of being a person as it is understood in any specific context”. The exploration of personhood adopts the premise that identity is constantly changing, evident through life and death, but also through relationships “not only with human beings, but other things [and] places”, including the surrounding environment (Fowler 2004, 7). This view closely aligns with the investigation of ‘being in the world’ explored by advocates of experiential philosophies of landscape (e.g. Thomas 1993; Tilley 1994). While individuality may be an appropriate description of personhood in Iron Age and Early Roman Britain, it is not the assumed position. This issue can be examined through the archaeological evidence, which for this scale of enquiry has traditionally been focused on the evidence for burial (methods, grave goods, associated rituals) or material culture (types, function, distribution). While burial and material culture can be examined as expressions of identity, the examination of households can also be of use. Defined by Goodman (1999, 146) as the combination of a single structural form and their inhabitants, the analysis of households within territorial *oppida* may represent clearer evidence for identity in these periods than the exploration of individuals.

‘Groups’ or group identity may be illustrated in the archaeological record through collective action, such as the arrangement of field systems or routeways, or evidence of congregation for funerary or ritual activities. The examination of ‘groups’ is equated in this research to an emerging understanding of community within archaeological discourse. Although prevalent in archaeological literature in the discussion of Iron Age and Roman Britain (e.g. James 1999b, 2001; Moore 2007b), we should be cautious that our examination of community does not fall within a modern political understating

of the term (as a positive opposition to the state) or reinforces a purely anthropogenic vision of social groups (Harris 2014, 86), The former concern is resolved through the examination of negative aspects of inclusion within a social group, including the threat of violence (discussed below), while the latter hinges on the our definition of 'community' as one which encompasses people, things, animals and places (Harris 2014, 88–90). This overarching definition of social 'groups' comes initially from our understanding of personal identity as reflective of personhood (see above), and the interrelated nature of these social scales. Group identity is intimately related to personal identity, as while the latter hinges upon uniqueness, the former stresses similarity of practice: traits which are socially significant in order to identify people as a collective group (Jenkins 2004, 81). Association with a group may have been the product of 'collective internal definition' by its members, due to a similar trait or belief, and/or was given to those members by others as a perceived social categorisation (Jenkins 2004, 82–3). This distinction is particularly important in imperial settings where group identity may have been forced upon its members, either deliberately or as a "consequential act" (Mattingly 2011, 216–7). An important concept relating to social groups propagated by Jenkins (2004) and within this context championed by Gardner (2013, 11), is the idea of 'Institutions'. Institutions and institutional identity are illustrated by the collective patterns of behaviour of groups over time, i.e. "the way things are done" (Jenkins 2004, 217), and demonstrate structure in group identities through social control and order. The conventions apparent within the Roman military demonstrate an institutional structure, however, this is also apparent for the rural communities of Roman Britain, visible through the dominance of a villa-based elite (Gardner 2013, 9–13). While institutions provide a clear structure for some group identities it should also be noted that divergent or nonconformist groups play an equally vital role, especially within a period of political or social upheaval. The examination of resistance as a collective trait, whether through physical violence, disobedience or avoidance, is equally attributable to this period, although arguably harder to identify in the archaeological record (Gosden 2004, 10–12).

On a regional scale, personal and group identities are thoroughly integrated with the landscape that people inhabit. The understanding of social identity within the areas that people inhabit stems from the acceptance that 'landscapes', as meaning-laden places, are comprehended through a specific context (Thomas 1993, 20). It is important that the understanding of landscape within this thesis should be compiled initially through an understanding of personal and group identity and the dynamic relations between them. Agency is key to understanding landscape and it is through

socially ascribed activities that personal identity is related to the wider socially constructed landscape. An important example of such an examination is Ingold's (1993) use of 'taskscapes' to examine social structure through places of interrelated activities or labour. Agency is partially constituted through the examination of movement across the landscape. Paths, as discussed by Tilley (1994, 27–8), are socially constituted routes or movements across the landscape, potentially physically and/or socially constructed, and embedded in the memory of the people who lived and interacted with those places. Archaeological evidence for the interaction between people and groups and the landscape may include the spatial organisation of ritual and domestic areas (Petts 1998, 79), but also the effect that alteration of the landscape has on movement and agency (e.g. the construction of boundaries or that certain areas as forbidden).

3.5.4 The Domestic and the Ritual

The worlds of the 'living' and the 'dead' form the core basis of evidence for the examination of life cycles and identities of past social groups. These descriptors are all encompassing, addressing both the evidence of daily life and practical activities of people in the past and the rituals, activities and rites associated with death. Many publications of excavations in Britain are prefixed with the title of 'Life and death…' in order to address the totality of the evidence recovered and provide evidence for the thoroughness of the analysis of the social groups represented by that evidence (e.g. Ó Drisceoil 2007; Russell 2013). However, despite the appearance of comprehensiveness, the discussion of this evidence is often treated separately. The danger of addressing the 'living' and the 'dead' discretely is that it separates our interpretation of the domestic from that of the ritual, and leads to the division of each chronologically, as different phases within a single site, or spatially, as discrete zones or areas where these activities take place (Bradley 2005, 28–30). This division is particularly damaging to the analysis of territorial *oppida*, which has in the past been fragmented both chronologically, existing across the Iron Age/Roman transition (**2.4**), and spatially, due to the large-scale poly-focal nature of these settlements (**2.3**).

Recent consideration of ritual practice in British prehistory has stemmed from a desire to move away from purely economic or cultural understandings of social groups (Brück 2007, 281). Brück (1999, 314) has argued that "archaeologists implicitly define ritual and non-ritual practices as mutually exclusive", a trait that is not common to all societies. Archaeologists have in the past examined life and death within the framework of modern western beliefs; domestic or secular activities assume

functionality while ritual implies strictly the non-functional or symbolic (Brück 2007, 282–283). We can examine the interaction between ritual and domestic spheres in the evidence recovered from territorial *oppida*, illustrated by the inclusion of excarnated remains within settlements or the occurrence of feasting and the deposition of domestic vessels in the process of burial. Furthermore, Bradley (2005, 35) has illustrated the close connection between granaries and shrines in the Iron Age, due to architectural and symbolic similarities, highlighting the role of 'practical' or 'economic' considerations, such as agriculture, within ritually significant actions. While much of this discussion has focused on Iron Age Britain in particular, these arguments could also be directed at the early Roman period, through the continuation of belief systems of indigenous people, and also through the practices of the invading Romans themselves. The "structured elements" of Roman military life included the religious calendar, use of Latin and common pay and conditions (Mattingly 2006, 166), which could be argued integrated both ritual elements with that of daily life to produce a coherent and organised communal group. Our separation of domestic from ritual has become impractical in our understanding of social spheres of the past (Moore and Armada 2012a, 32) and consequently the examination of identity within territorial *oppida*, on whatever scale, should consider both 'logical' and 'illogical' motives for agency (e.g. Brück 1999).

3.5.5 Temporality

The exploration of time is an underlying theme within all archaeological research; one which has traditionally been formalised within fixed chronological frameworks formed during the archaeological traditions of the 19th-early 20th centuries (**3.2.2**, **3.2.3**). It is now understood that these chronological distinctions were based on the geographical scale at which they were perceived (regional, national or international) and the available archaeological material, indicating that our current divisions may in fact be regionally and nationally specific (Moore and Armada 2012a, 19). This has had the effect of creating an ambiguity in established chronological frameworks for the Iron Age and Roman periods and has limited the integration of chronologies across geographical boundaries, i.e. between Britain and the Continent (Moore and Armada 2012a, 19). This is of concern as issues of temporality and change (particularly those made by 'people') in the landscape are particularly important in our understanding the origins (in the Middle Iron Age) and transformations (in the Early Roman period) of territorial *oppida* (**2.4**). While chronological frameworks currently used in Britain, for both research and developer-funded archaeology, restrict the interrogation of large-scale datasets to pre-defined periods (**4.3**), our understanding of how 'people' and

'groups' understood time as part of their lives is demonstrable through the archaeological evidence for each of the scales discussed above (**3.5.2**).

Temporality can be understood as the relationship that people have with time, insomuch that every human being has a temporal character, or a past, present and future. Thomas (1996, 83) argues that this attribute, or "the stretching of persons and material things through time" is the means by which they obtain their identity. This is due, in part, to the historical connection between our self-identity portrayed yesterday and the subsequent changes present today and in the future, which in fact comprise a whole, described by Thomas (1996, 51) as our identity "dispersed through time". The actions of people are mediated with the landscape through the consideration of places; the location in the landscape where these actions are carried out (Thomas 1996, 90). While the landscape itself changes over time, whether through natural erosion and accretion or the physical alteration by 'people' and 'groups', so does the relationship of people to those places, visible in the evidence for changing social practices.

Barrett's (1999a) analysis of the '*Mythical Landscapes of the Iron Age'* is an important example of the connection between temporality and place and how archaeological remains can aid in the examination of how people in the past understood time. Barrett (1999a, 255) argued that common activities for the majority of later prehistoric communities, such as the accommodation of death, the need for shelter and the production and consumption of food, "appear over time to have taken place in different material settings and in different places". This understanding framed Barrett's examination of the Iron Age, which comprehended the world as already "imbued with meanings …. used as background of reference" onto which contemporary acts are played out (Barrett 1999a, 255). As such the "Iron Age was actually an inhabitation of Bronze Age residues" (Barrett 1999a, 258) with Bronze Age burial mounds enduring to become monuments in the Iron Age and equally (albeit within different frames of reference) linear earthworks systems created in the Iron Age becoming monuments in the Early Roman period. Gosden and Lock's (1998) analysis of the later prehistoric and Roman remains on the Ridgeway, South Oxfordshire, examined evidence for both domestic and ritual features and their reuse or abandonment throughout this period. Through the interrogation of the archaeological evidence we can begin to interpret the length of genealogical histories through direct comparison between sites, and through the reuse of monument locations, illustrate connections to a mythological rather than historical past (Gosden and Lock 1998, 8–11). The application of structuration theory to uncover temporality in the past has

recently been put forward by Gardner (2012, 149), who has argued that, despite previous approaches to time concentrating on small-scales of human action, that patterns of practice can uncover temporality on multiple scales. This is in part through the ability of structuration theory to operate on multiple social scales (e.g. Gardner 2002, 2004 - 3.5.3), but also that the examination of practice over time allows us to examine the tempo (i.e. the intensity of action) of those actions and, consequently, transformation in human activity. Gardner (2012, 151–152) also highlights that present practice is both drawn from, and influenced by, (recalled) past and (imagined) future practices and consequently our understanding of temporality is fundamental to how identity is formed and changes over time. In terms of territorial *oppida,* this approach to time allows us to examine not only different social scales but also how they changed, inherent in 'people' and groups' from the pre-*oppidum* to post-*oppidum* landscape.

The attention to time within this thesis must be framed within practical considerations. While rigid chronological frameworks should be abandoned to avoid the analysis being hamstrung by previous interpretations, the majority of current research, particularly within development-led archaeology, operates within these set periods (**4.3**). Tracking the archaeological evidence for change and uniformity within and across chronological periods nonetheless allows us to build a picture of territorial *oppida* over time. This can be accomplished through the use of the available chronological data, such as radiocarbon dating and typo-chronologies, albeit limited for the Iron Age (Haselgrove *et al.* 2001), but also the stratigraphic relationships detailed within these datasets.

3.6 Conclusion

The approach detailed above (**3.5**) challenges the previously accepted notion that theoretical frameworks developed by prehistoric and Roman studies work in opposition to, or are at least divergent from, one another. Through an analysis of the development of, and key themes for, both British later prehistoric and Roman archaeology, a number of close parallels have been identified in an attempt to understand and unite theoretical frameworks. The approach in this thesis attempts to address the difficulties inherent in each subject, as well as overcome the challenges faced in the examination of the inhabitants and structure of territorial *oppida*. This challenge was achieved through the combination of particular approaches to themes of identity and landscape (structuration and experiential methods), which allows the

examination of landscape-scale settlement, such as territorial *oppida*, on multiple social scales.

While criticism may be levelled at the incorporation of multiple and varied archaeological theories within the framework for this thesis, I believe this approach - a theoretical toolbox of sorts - allows for mitigation of the critiques directed at these individual approaches. For instance, the holistic approach within the study of landscapes balances the critique of environmental determinism aimed at the use of GIS, with 'person-centred' or experiential interpretations of landscapes. Conversely, this approach incorporates traditional forms of data (spatial, ecological, economic) with that of non-traditional phenomenological explanations. Despite this interconnected framework, some elements, in particular those relating to chronology and scale, are limited by the datasets utilized in this research and the methodology employed. This methodology is the subject of the next chapter.

Chapter 4: Method

4.1 Introduction

The methodology outlined in this chapter creates a framework for addressing the research questions and incorporates a number of innovative elements. Foremost among these is the employment of the results of developer-funded archaeology, including 'grey literature'; defined as the unpublished results of some archaeological investigations, produced in small number and receiving limited distribution (Fulford and Holbrook 2011, 324). Since the 1970s a division between the academic and commercial archaeological worlds, albeit with some exceptions (e.g. commercial units formed by academic institutions), has led to the separation between those who developed new practices for archaeological investigation and those who advanced theoretical frameworks with which to study the past (Bradley 2006, 2). Bradley (2007, 4–5) has argued that this separation is illusory, with fieldwork not as objective as is often portrayed, but instead dependant on theory at all levels, a viewpoint that has been embraced in some instances by commercial organisations (e.g. Andrews *et al.* 2000). Conversely, it has been argued that university-based researchers have failed to engage with these datasets in order to test developing theoretical frameworks (e.g. Robinson 2000; Evans 2013, 32). A number of recent research projects have applied the results of developer-funded work (both published and unpublished) to great effect, creating new syntheses that are chronologically (e.g. Bradley 2007) and geographically (e.g. Booth *et al.* 2007) specific. A number of ongoing research projects (e.g. the English Landscapes and Identities Project) are also illustrating the benefits of engaging with these datasets, while equally attempting to overcome the difficulties and biases within them. These projects illustrate the potential of the results of developer-funded archaeology to be transformative in how we understand the past.

This chapter describes the systematic method developed in this thesis, in combination with the theoretical framework outlined in the previous chapter, to address the research questions (**2.5**). This chapter includes a discussion of the types of dataset utilised, including the results of developer-funded archaeology and the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS), and the advantages/disadvantages of these types of data (**4.2**). A discussion of issues surrounding chronology (**4.3**) and scale (**4.4**), and the particular methods to address each, build upon the arguments made in chapter 3. A discussion of the specifics of creating and interrogating the databases for this thesis, as well as the experiential approach adopted (**4.5**), is followed by a detailed assessment of each of the case study areas (**4.6**).

4.2 The Archaeological Resource

4.2.1 Introduction

The archaeological excavation of Iron Age and Roman remains has a long history, extending back to the antiquarian investigations of the 19th-early 20th centuries (Hingley 2000, 150–151; Cunliffe 2005, 1–8) and focusing predominantly - for the Iron Age - on occupation sites or hillforts or - for the Roman period - large towns, villas or military sites. State involvement in archaeological investigation followed World War II, prompted by high-profile cases and a degree of activism, evolving into what is now known as 'rescue excavation' (Rahtz 1974, 53). A structure of regional units, supported in some cases by national bodies and supplemented by a number of freelance archaeologists, undertook this kind of work in the 1970s-80s (Bradley 2006, 1–2). The publication of Planning Policy Guidance 16 (PPG 16) in 1990 saw a dramatic increase in the number of archaeological excavations undertaken in Britain in response to development, creating the circumstances in which developers were encouraged to pay for the process rather than the state, but also leading to changes in the regional structure of archaeology and a degree of marketization. The consequence of the increase in archaeological investigations is the increased quantity of available data, providing an opportunity to further our knowledge of British archaeology as a whole.

National reviews of both Iron Age (Haselgrove *et al.* 2001) and Roman (Millett and James 2001a) Britain were undertaken in response to a call by English Heritage (now Historic England) to create structures for decision-making in archaeological research (Oliver 1996). The reviews followed a three-step process of resource assessment, agenda-setting (defining gaps in current knowledge and lists of topics to pursue) and strategizing for further work. The results of these period-specific national frameworks represented the changing views of a new post-processual generation of archaeologists. For the Iron Age, the national framework was compiled by a number of authors who had recently published volumes that challenged previous interpretations (e.g. Gwilt and Haselgrove 1997b; Hill 1995a). Similarly, the agenda for Romano-British studies included themes such as 'Transitions and Identities' (following contemporary debates), and included contributions from many of those who engaged with the Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference (TRAC) (e.g. Allason-Jones 2001; Creighton 2001; Hill 2001; James 2001). Although conceived fifteen years ago, these frameworks continue to guide the creation of new syntheses for each period (e.g. Creighton 2006; Haselgrove and Moore 2007b; Haselgrove and Pope 2007a; Mattingly 2006; Moore and Armada 2012b).

The national reviews particularly stressed the need for academic research to engage with the 'explosion' of archaeological data resulting from the changes in professional archaeological practice since the introduction of PPG16 (Haselgrove *et al.* 2001, 2; Millett and James 2001b, 1). Arguably, incorporation of the results of developer-funded archaeology into national synthesis of these periods was slow, helping in the creation of two distinct 'cultures' in field archaeology in Britain (Bradley 2006, 1). However, the doctoral research of a number of Iron Age scholars in the early 2000s did specifically target developer-funded data for examination on a regional basis (e.g. Cripps 2007; Moore 2006; Wigley 2007). Furthermore, a number of recent national projects (e.g. The English Landscapes and Identity Project – University of Oxford), and particularly several focusing on Roman Britain (e.g. the Fields of Britannia Project - University of Exeter, The Rural Settlement of Roman Britain project – University of Reading and Cotswold Archaeology) have begun, and continue, to incorporate the results of developer-funded archaeology into new national syntheses of the period, while addressing the issues and methods for dealing with 'grey literature' as a source of data for research projects (**4.2.3**). Furthermore national projects that focus on the recording of artefacts, such as the PAS, have equally added to the growing archaeological dataset in Britain, benefitting from the increasing popularity of metal detecting (The British Museum 2015a). The use of this dataset in recent research (e.g. Brindle 2014) has ensured that the methods and biases concerning the use of this information has also received attention (**4.2.4**).

4.2.2 Historic Environment Records

The main data source for this thesis comes from an interrogation of county based Historic Environment Records (HERs). HERs are defined within current planning policy (the National Planning Policy Framework – NPPF) as "comprehensive and dynamic resources relating to the historic environment of a defined geographic area for public benefit and use" (Department for Communities and Local Government 2012, 52). These databases, previously referred to as 'Sites and Monuments Records', provide sources of information and signposts further data for "landscapes, buildings, monuments, sites, places, areas and archaeological finds spanning more than 700,000 years of human endeavour" (Historic England 2015a). The development of Urban Archaeological Databases (UADs) has allowed some urban areas to be analysed in further detail, particularly where a large quantity of archaeological information was present. While much focus has been on the inclusion of 'grey literature' in HERs (which arguably comprise the majority of these databases), these services also provide a record of the results of previous and current investigations

from research excavations, including those undertaken by Universities, local archaeological groups and national bodies, such as Historic England. Much of this work may be published in national or regional journals or be available via appropriate websites (e.g. Historic England's Research Publications). However, in some cases local groups have limited experience in outputting the results of detailed investigations and while publication is possible in some instances, much of the information ends up as summary accounts in local journals or as 'hidden' reports held at HERs (Fulford and Holbrook 2011, 332). Thus, HERs should, theoretically, provide a comprehensive resource on which to base our current knowledge and distribution of the archaeology of Britain.

Despite the promise of HERs, they are also beset by a number of problems that have been highlighted in recent studies analysing different subsets of the data (Evans 2013; Fulford and Holbrook 2011; Robbins 2013; Roskams and Whyman 2007). Criticisms frequently note the incompatibility of datasets across HERs, due to variability in accuracy and recording of the archaeological evidence, including the vocabulary used to describe 'monument' types (Cooper and Green 2015, 7; Roskams and Whyman 2007, 3.1). The disparity between current historic databases has been recently demonstrated by Evans (2013, 21) in the discussion of 'archaeological events', a relatively modern phenomenon in development archaeology that catalogues episodes of "primary data collection". Despite the essential role that 'events' now play in HER databases, the treatment of this data has not been adopted unilaterally across these organisations, causing further problems for the integration of data across county boundaries (Evans 2013, 22). The difficulties in creating and curating this data has, over the last five years, been exacerbated by substantial government funding cuts in the wake of the 2008 financial crisis. These cuts have made the updating of records, in the face of an increasing number of archaeological investigations, slow with the most up-to-date information often lacking. Over the course of the data-collection of this thesis (2009-2015), data for the case study areas has become increasingly constrained, with two UADs (Chichester District, Colchester Town) becoming inaccessible due to a lack of trained personnel. In contrast, some county HERs are now being run by private companies, meaning that data has become increasingly easy to obtain, but at a relatively high cost (Essex County). Projects such as OASIS (Online Access to the Index of Archaeological Investigations) are technological solutions to accessing 'grey literature', particularly through the Archaeology Data Service's (ADS) Library of Unpublished Fieldwork Reports (Archaeology Data Service 2015). However, many of the records in HERs are

represented by a small number of hard copies, making attempts to access this information ever more disappointing.

4.2.3 'Grey Literature' Reports

Although published information forms an equal part of the databases compiled for this thesis (**4.5**) it is worth considering the benefits and pitfalls of the results of developer-funded archaeology. The difficulties with the use of 'grey literature' reports for research purposes are well attested, as they were created with the understanding that they were "never intended to be presented as research" (Bradley 2006, 8). The quality and quantity of the data involved is based on the nature of the reports produced and the capability of the reporting organizations (Fulford and Holbrook 2011, 334). Moreover, the distribution of developer-funded investigation is contingent on the spread of past and present development, likely demonstrating biases in the distribution of the archaeological record. While not without problems, 'grey literature' reports can be useful tools in wider research if approached with an understanding of how the data is compiled and the inherent difficulties with it. For example, 'grey literature' reports are usually written for a particular audience, namely the developers who commissioned them or local authorities, and consequently they tend to contain statistics that justify the work undertaken and the cost charged (Bradley 2006, 7). While this is true, an understanding of how and why this information is included in grey literature reports can allow us to better interrogate the data. For instance, a number of reports detail the sampling strategies undertaken and as such allow us to critically examine the results of the investigation based on the percentage sample of the features excavated (Fulford and Holbrook 2011, 335). 'Grey literature' reports, although summary in nature, often also include detailed specialist reports, such as finds and environmental analyses, and thus allow for interrogation of the source data for wider research purposes (Fulford and Holbrook 2011, 338).

While many would agree that the results of these investigations would be more useful to analysts if they were appropriately published in line with current research standards, this evidence cannot be ignored within current and emerging syntheses, just because it does not fall within our desired modality. Digital technologies have helped in some cases (**4.2.2**), and, as recent projects have shown, engagement with this data will help to improve our understanding of the Iron Age and Roman periods in Britain (Bradley 2006, 11, 2007; Fulford and Holbrook 2011, 333–339). The need to engage with this data is particularly relevant as the current rate of publication following developer-funded fieldwork is prolonged, with the norm argued to be five to ten years in length (Fulford and Holbrook 2011, 334). As recently argued by Cooper

and Green (2015, 26–27), we must not be afraid to engage with 'characterful' datasets, as they can provide remarkable information for the understanding of past practices, help us to develop better datasets in the future and aid in the construction of new methods to answer our desired research questions.

4.2.4 Portable Antiquities Scheme

Following the adoption of the Treasure Act in 1996, the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS) was established in order to complement the act and bolster the recording of archaeological finds through a voluntary scheme, particularly as a result of metal detecting (Bland 2009, 69; The British Museum 2015a). This database has rapidly grown in size since its inception seventeen years ago, with approximately 1.1 million objects having been recorded to date. The data is freely downloadable for research purposes via the project website (The British Museum 2015b).

A number of recent studies have utilised PAS data for the examination of Roman Britain in particular (e.g. Brindle 2014; Walton 2012) and consequently the difficulties of utilizing this data for research are well understood (Brindle 2013; Robbins 2013, 2014). These difficulties include the variability in deposition and survival of certain types of object compared to others (Robbins 2014), and the selectivity through which objects are discovered and reported to the scheme, including differing sensitivities between metal detectorists about what to report and what is of value (Brindle 2013, 74). The geographic distribution of archaeological objects is biased particularly to areas of agricultural activity where artefacts are more easily revealed (Robbins 2014, 29–31), and away from urban areas where discovery of artefacts is harder to accomplish (Brindle 2013, 75). This has a positive side, in that this dataset has the potential to contrast archaeological evidence in areas that have not been the subject of development and are therefore not well represented in HERs. Research has indicated that cross-comparison with HER data can identify biases in geographic distribution, shedding light on so-called 'blank' or seemingly unoccupied areas in the landscapes of the past (e.g. Brindle 2013, 75–76). Density plots and cross-comparison with topographic and geological data can also identify geographic biases in the dataset (Robbins 2014, 37–59). With caution and proper considerations of preference in location, quantity and quality of data, the PAS dataset can greatly contribute to our understanding of Iron Age and Roman Britain. How far this data will be deployed in this thesis, along with the HER/grey literature and published material, will be discussed in section 4.5, following the consideration of two key structural issues.

4.3 Chronology

Issues regarding temporality are vital for the understanding of territorial *oppida* (**3.5.4**) and to access these, certain chronological hurdles must be overcome. A broad chronological range is required to gain a sophisticated understanding of the origins of these settlements, (Haselgrove *et al.* 2001, 15) and their role following the Roman conquest (Pitts 2010, 34). This chronological understanding should be established within a robust theoretical framework (**3.5.4**), however, an understanding of how our existing chronologies have been formed and continue to be utilised is important in establishing a method for this thesis.

The range of chronological frameworks utilized for the study of the British Iron Age has been recently highlighted by Moore and Armada (2012a, 18–19), arising partly from a continued reliance on a small number of ceramic sequences (Haselgrove *et al.* 2001, 2–3) (A4.1). Calls to improve these chronologies, through the routine use of radiocarbon dating has taken time to materialise and lacked finesse due to problems with calibrating dates (Haselgrove *et al.* 2001, 4–5). However, a number of excavations have used radiocarbon dating and, more recently, Bayesian modelling to great effect, transforming our understanding of previously unchallenged chronological frameworks (Hamilton *et al.* 2015, 656). Recent use of Bayesian modelling of radiocarbon dates from the Stanwick *oppidum* in North Yorkshire has indicated that the site was important not just in the post-conquest period, but also a century earlier, allowing it to be compared to other *oppida* across Britain (Hamilton *et al.* 2015, 649). The current chronological framework for Roman Britain has been established from a much larger body of evidence, including contemporary and later historical texts and a large body of ceramic and coin evidence, utilized to produce chronologies based on the dating of artefacts. It should be noted however, that analysis over the last fifteen years has explored the interaction between Rome and Britain prior to the Claudian invasion of AD43 (e.g. Creighton 2000; Hill 2001; Fulford 2003). The examination of Britain within the context of political developments from the time of Caesar's invasion of 55-54 BC onwards (e.g. Pitts and Perring 2006) has highlighted some of the ambiguities in seemingly precise dating evidence.

For both the Iron Age and Romano-British periods the examination of chronologies should be examined as a fluid process, subject to change in the consideration of new research and unattached to particular date ranges. Despite this, chronologies for these periods are well established within British archaeology and are often used as an inflexible framework into which the results of current fieldwork are incorporated.

This is compounded by the results of development-funded archaeological fieldwork where, in many cases, there is limited information from material culture or finds analysis to assign a definitive date. As argued by Fulford and Holbrook (2011, 339), the reliability of dating sequences in these reports is proportionate to the abundance of finds, such as pottery and coins, that have well established chronologies. In addition, the uniformity of these reports (Bradley 2006, 7–8), and arguably found in some research excavations, reinforces an adherence to rigid chronological structures to allow cross comparison between different sites.

In order to understand the archaeological resource across these periods, this thesis must adhere to these current chronologies to facilitate cross comparison, however, if information is available, a fine-grained analysis of temporal changes can be attempted. Unfortunately, it is beyond the scope of this thesis to challenge the dates of all the pre-existing archaeological excavations that are drawn upon, but this research can critically analyse the evidence on which these dates are founded and, based on current understanding, consider the quality and weighting of this evidence accordingly (**4.5.3**). At the broadest level, to explore the development of settlement over time, the database has been divided into three temporal periods; Middle Iron Age (MIA), Late Iron Age (LIA) and Early Roman (ERom), divided into the date ranges listed below and referred to by the acronyms listed (Table 4.1). The Iron Age chronological divisions follow that of Hill (1995a, 74), although with a later starting point for the MIA, while the Claudian invasion continues to form the division between the LIA and ERom periods. The period between 400-300 BC is generally considered a suitable starting point for the examination and understanding of social change occurring towards the end of the Iron Age in Britain. This broad date reflects the fact that many areas of the country lack evidence for a distinct horizon of change for beginning of the Late Iron Age (100 BC- AD 100) (Haselgrove and Moore 2007, 2). The start date of the MIA (300BC), as used in this research, corresponds with the results of recent research undertaken for the Middle Iron Age in southern Britain (for East Anglia - Hill 2007; for the southern coast - Hamilton 2003, 2007), which due to the chronology afforded by the presence of imported goods, suggests that this point marks the start of longer term trajectories of change for this region.

Period	Date	Referred in text
Middle Iron Age	300 BC-100BC	MIA
Late Iron Age	100 BC-AD43	LIA
Early Roman	AD43-100	ERom

Table 4.1: Chronology for thesis

These temporal divisions allow this thesis to focus on the LIA, while considering this period in a broader context. These periods represent broad divisions to make the examination of the data more manageable, however, where available more precise chronologies for each period shall be discussed within the case study chapters (chapters 5-6), focusing particularly on sites where scientific dating techniques have been employed. These chronological sequences can then be employed to understand how changes in social practices by both 'people' and 'groups' occurred across the Iron Age and Romano-British periods (**3.5.4**).

4.4 Scale

Issues of social scale have been discussed as part of the theoretical framework (**3.5.2**), however, scale needs to be considered in the data and methods employed in this thesis. The operation and interaction of practice theory and experiential understandings of landscape (**3.3**, **3.4**) allow us to examine, through the archaeological evidence, how the agency of people in the past was framed within the structures of the wider physical and social world. In a methodological sense, this also allows us to better utilise the range of evidence present on multiple scales (find, site, landscape), and equate these to the complexities of identity on multiple layers of society (people, groups, regions). It should not be assumed, however, that there is a simple correlation between the social scales and scales of evidence, where finds equate to people and so on. Different examinations and interpretations of the archaeological evidence can be seen to explore each of the social scales utilized in this thesis. Gardner's (2002, 327–331) interpretation of Roman material culture on multiple social scales for example, stressed that analysis at a range of scales of resolution produces a series of patterns, which can be equated to varying social practices. A single artefact type, e.g. coinage, can have an "individual biography", be examined as a site-specific distribution or be attributed to a regional circulation (cf. Gardner 2002, 331–337).

The social scales for this research have been defined (**3.5.2**), yet we need to delineate what is meant by the different scales of evidence within the archaeological resource. While 'finds' relate to the material culture recovered from archaeological investigations and 'landscapes' are defined as the spatial distribution of occupation or infrastructure visible at a regional scale (**3.5.2**), the scale of evidence between the two is more difficult to outline. As discussed by Moore (2006, 10), there are numerous questions to consider in the definition of a 'site', including whether the archaeological evidence reflects activity; does it reflect all of the activity in a given area and does it

relate to the later use of the area? Within this research a ‘site’ is defined as an area of activity representing a particular phase of occupation. This implies that there is some evidence of activity or occupation beyond a single sherd of unstratified pottery (Moore 2006, 10–11), but also that these ‘sites’ are constrained by, and reflective of, the archaeological investigations that uncovered them. In a methodological sense, this means that each entry within the case study database is equated to a single ‘site’, however, further analysis of the results of these investigations is required to examine smaller scales of evidence (finds) and frame them within wider distributions (landscapes) (**4.5.5**). It is important to identity that ‘sites’ also have a temporality (**3.5.4**), i.e. they are affected by change over time and become different ‘sites’ (whether occupied or not) in each chronological period. Consequently, each chronological phase of a particular ‘site’ will be given a separate entry in the database, with a view to explore how these ‘sites’ relate to one another over time.

4.5 Data Organisation

4.5.1 Introduction

The data for this thesis was requested from a number of HERs covering the case study areas (Chichester District, West Sussex, Hampshire and Essex). Following consultation with HER officers it was considered necessary to receive all data for the Iron Age and Roman periods within each district to ensure complete coverage. Information from the PAS was downloaded for each district from the website as a .csv file. The latest data download from HERs and PAS was 3rd August 2015.

4.5.2 Data Sorting

The data received from HERs and the PAS was presented in different formats and required sorting prior to integration within the case study databases. The data was segregated chronologically and assigned to one of the three periods based on available evidence (**4.3**). Data was excluded if could not be dated specifically to one of these periods. Where specific dating information was not available from the HER/PAS entries, it was flagged until data interrogation was undertaken (**4.5.5**) and then either confirmed or excluded from the database. Data was obtained for complete districts for thoroughness, however, in some instances only partial datasets were required for incorporation into the limits of the case study areas. Accordingly, the data was displayed spatially (using ArcGIS) and that which lay outside of the case study areas was removed. Data that included only limited archaeological evidence was also removed, e.g. pottery scatters. Once the data was sorted, an entry for each ‘site’ was

created in the database that corresponded to pre-determined fields (**4.5.4**), to allow cross comparison.

4.5.3 Data Quality

Considering the problems with HER data, particularly 'grey literature, (**4.2**), a quality control index was employed for each of the case study databases (Table 4.2). The layout of this index was taken from Moore's (2006, 12–13) analysis of Iron Age societies in the Severn-Cotswolds. Moore's (2006, 13) approach used comparable data (HERs and developer-funded archaeology) allowing the utilisation of a similar quality ranking system.

This system gave a rating (1-5) for each database record to indicate the quality of the information of the form, nature and date of each 'site' (Moore 2006, 12). This rating system allowed the rapid distinction in the analysis stage between sites of high quality, whether published or not, from those identified using a small amount of information. This thesis affords a heavier weighting to 'sites' with a higher ranking (e.g. published sites or those with sufficient information to enable detailed (re)assessment), while other 'sites' of a lower ranking were utilized to confirm or refute the analysis of more detailed sources. This approach allowed the re-examination of 'sites' identified through antiquarian research, or those represented by interim or unfinished reports.

Number	Definition
1 (High)	Excavated to a high standard. Possibly published with specialist reports enabling re-assessment. Key sites enabling wide analysis of period.
2	Excavated to modern standards but without full publication/as summary. May include evaluations of high standard. Interim specialist reports usually available.
3	Evaluations, geophysical surveys and small-scale excavations of probable IA/Roman sites. Usually unpublished or only available in brief interim reports making re-analysis difficult. Dating and material culture evidence usually vague.
4	Stray finds, field walking material with little other information on nature of site. Difficult to analyse.
5 (Low)	Unexcavated sites (i.e. earthworks, cropmarks) with little evidence but suggested as 'Iron Age' or 'Roman'

Table 4.2: Quality index (After Moore 2006, 12 with alterations by author)

4.5.4 Databases

The databases were compiled in Microsoft Access to ensure compatibility with ArcGIS. Spatial data was created in ArcGIS using national grid co-ordinates for the centre point for each 'site'. The data was displayed as point data to give an overall impression of density and distribution. The information included for each entry is displayed below (Table 4.3).

Unique ID:	Unique identifier for this database
Site Name:	Site identifier comprised of shortened version of site name
Short Description:	Short description of site
Description:	Longer description text of site
Spatial Location, Easting:	NGR, Easting
Spatial Location, Northing:	NGR, Northing
Date:	Temporal differentiation (MIA, LIA, ERom)
General Object Identification (GOI):	General identifier of site (table 4.4)
GO1 2:	Second General identifier of site, if applicable (table 4.4)
Specific Object Identification (SOI)	Specific identifier of site (table 4.4)
SOI 2:	Second Specific identifier of site, if applicable (table 4.4)
Source:	Source of information (PAS, HER)
Source ID:	Identifier for record from source (HER/PAS number)
References:	Reference(s) for information (book, journal, HER entry)
Comments:	General comments from database creator
Quality:	Quality of information, rank 1-5 (table 4.2)

Table 4.3: Database fields and description

Two fields, entitled 'General Object Identification' (GOI) and 'Specific Object Identification' (SOI) were included to allow categorisation of this information for further analysis (Table 4.4). If applicable 'sites' could be included within more than one category. These identifiers were useful while initially studying and categorising the data, however, were not reflective of the analysis that followed the development of the theoretical framework. The identifiers, for example, segregate domestic and ritual sites into two categories for each period, providing too rigid of a framework for the definition of these sites. Consequently, these identifiers were not used during the description of the case study areas (chapters 5-6).

GOI	SOI
Habitation	Enclosures, Farmsteads, Hillforts, Roundhouses, Occupation, Unenclosed, Field systems
Industry	Salt working, Metalworking
Boundaries	Dyke Systems, Town defences
High Status Goods	Decoration, Brooches, Religious items, Statues, Rings, Other Metalwork
Religious	Cremation, Inhumation, Shrines, Temples
Route Systems	Trackways, Roads

Table 4.4: General and Specific Object Identifiers

The spatial database was constructed in ArcGIS10 and consisted of a base map and case study area boundaries. Elevation and geological data (downloaded from Edina Digimap, http://edina.ac.uk/digimap/), coastlines and river systems were also added

to ArcGIS to provide a contextual framework for each case study. A digital terrain model (DTM) was constructed using contour data (A4.2). The original HER and PAS data for the spatial database for each case study area was interrogated to produce density models and visualise bias in the spatial distribution of sites (A4.3-4.4 – **4.6**).

4.5.5 Data Interrogation

Data interrogation required the compilation of all sources relating to each entry in the database, including 'grey literature' from HERs, contracting units and the ADS grey literature library (Archaeology Data Service 2015). The sources for each 'site' in the database were analysed to draw out pertinent details for the interrogation of each social scale (**4.4**). The interrogation of the sources for each 'site' (approximately 450-500 per case study) included the extraction of quantitative information (e.g. artefacts, structure types, spatial distribution) to allow the examination of social practices.

4.5.6 Experiential methodology

The experiential methods adopted in this thesis form a primarily desk-based assessment of the archaeological resource, utilising the theoretical framework of phenomenology alongside more traditional or established archaeological methods (e.g. Hamilton *et al.* 2006, 32). The traditional archaeological methods, represented by the interrogation of the results of archaeological investigations (**4.5.5**), were complimented by two sensory methods that could be undertaken as desk-based analyses: viewshed analysis and labour estimates. A desk-based rather than fieldwork-based phenomenological recording approach was chosen due to the constraints of dealing with a large and detailed dataset (**4.5.4**-**4.5.5**). Each of these methods was imperfect in their deployment due to a number of factors (see below), but allowed the generation of new ideas and avenues of research in which the grey literature could be examined. Although desk-based, these experiential approaches provide a 'method of enquiry' (**3.4.5**) "to inform and widen the agenda" of the analysis of the empirical data (Hamilton 2011, 273).

Viewshed analysis, following the methodology employed by Wheatley (1995), was undertaken using the spatial database (**4.5.4**) as a function in ArcGIS. Viewsheds were generated for certain 'sites' within the case study areas including the LIA linear earthworks systems. Due to difficulties in establishing the height of banks without corresponding archaeological data, a standard height of 1.5m was used during the viewshed analysis to allow comparability between 'sites' and case study areas. In some instances (Hayling Island temple – **6.5.4**), the estimated heights of structures were extrapolated from excavated examples in Britain and on the Continent. A

number of methodological obstacles have been levelled at viewshed analysis including the low resolution of DEM (digital elevation model) data and the effects of vegetation, among others (Wheatley and Gillings 2000; Wheatley 2004). The available environmental evidence (pollen etc.) for these analyses was poor but was considered where possible (**6.4.2**), however, the pitfalls of viewshed analysis should be weighed against its usefulness as providing a "human-scale experience of existing in the physical and social world" (Wheatley 2004, 4).

Labour estimations were undertaken to establish the effort required for people to construct earthworks in the MIA, LIA and ERom periods. An estimation of the volume of labour was calculated by using a previously tested method first used at Overton Down, Wiltshire in the 1960s (Ashbee and Cornwall 1961) and repeated for the large ditched Neolithic enclosures on the Tavoliere Plain, Italy (Brown 1991). By using experimental archaeology at Overton Down, estimations for the amount of earth that one person can excavate and remove per hour was calculated (A4.5). This figure was used, along with an estimated volume and length of excavated ditches, to calculate a minimum person per hour estimate for the construction of earthworks. Estimation of the person hours required to construct the Stanwick *oppidum* earthworks followed a similar method (Haselgrove 2016, 457–459). By establishing the average area of the cross section and length (as currently known) for each earthwork, it was possible to extrapolate the estimated volume of earth that was moved in order to create it. The work rate to move the earth (between 0.09-0.27 m^3 per person per hour) was estimated through research of a number of similar labour estimates undertaken for other Iron Age earthworks (Haselgrove 2016, 458 - Table 26.2). Within this research, and also the Stanwick example, the estimation of labour required does not take into consideration the total removal of the material but only the placement of the spoil next to the ditch. These estimates, due to the geology excavated in the original Overton Down experiment, consider the excavation per hour of chalk, rather than the variable geology encountered in each location, which may be significantly harder or easier to excavate. Despite these difficulties, the estimates generated in this research allowed an understanding of the effort required for the *process* of constructing earthworks across each period and case study area (e.g. Wigley 2007, 184).

This desk-based method (and the choice of case studies) is supported by the author's familiarity with places in each of these landscapes, by living and working for developer-led archaeological companies in these areas. The author has had direct access to many of the places discussed, and in the tradition of O.G.S Crawford (1953) and W.G. Hoskins' (1955) landscape investigations of the 1950s, travelled through

these areas, allowing important insights that can aid our understanding of the past. In a practical sense, working in these areas has also allowed the author to gain knowledge of local authorities and the archaeological contractors who operate in these areas. This knowledge is useful for understanding the circumstances in which excavations were undertaken and how this affects the outcome presented in 'grey literature' reports. This familiarisation creates a starting point in which the analysis of these case studies can be framed.

4.6: Case Study Areas

4.6.1 Introduction

Two case studies were chosen to investigate in detail, a necessary constraint due to the large datasets involved and the detailed analysis required at multiple scales. The two case study areas, surrounding modern day Colchester and Chichester, were chosen as each have been identified as territorial *oppida,* with evidence for imported goods, high status burials, and the presence of a large-scale arrangement of linear earthworks (**2.2.3**). The case study areas were also chosen due to their comparable size (approximately 85,000 hectares) and similar geographical position; adjacent to river systems and the coastline.

Despite these similarities, the depth of research for each of the territorial *oppida* has typically been diverse, with Colchester receiving more attention in the archaeological literature than Chichester (**4.6.2**-**4.6.3**). Furthermore, the allocation of each of these settlements to different social entities in the LIA, whether they be 'tribes' (e.g. Trinovantes and Atrebates) or 'kingdoms' (e.g. the Southern and Eastern Kingdoms), suggests that, despite the complications of these approaches (**7.3**), each territorial *oppida* grew from divergent Middle Iron Age societies and traditions. Following the Claudian invasion of AD43, the two case studies areas each saw the establishment of Roman towns, however, they followed different trajectories. The presence of the Roman military at Colchester saw the establishment of a Legionary fortress and later a *colonia* (Crummy 1997), while at Chichester, a disputed level of military involvement was followed by the foundation of a *civitas* capital (cf. Down 1988; Magilton 2003). Within this thesis the examination of these case studies allows us to identify the possible varying trajectories of social change for the population of each settlement following the Claudian invasion of Britain.

This following sections outlines the extent of each of the case studies including a discussion of current landuse taken from Natural England (2015) and the British Geological Survey (2015). Distribution and density plots will examine biases in each

of the case study databases. A historiography of the current archaeological knowledge for the Iron Age and Roman periods is included at the beginning of each case study chapter (**5.2**, **6.2**). Detailed analysis of the archaeological resource for each territorial *oppida* is represented by the two case study chapters (5 and 6). Further comparison with other territorial *oppida* in Britain and *oppida* on the Continent shall be undertaken as part of the comparative analysis (chapter 7).

4.6.2 The Essex Territorial Oppidum Zone

The Essex Territorial *Oppidum* Zone (ETOZ) is the area that surrounds modern day Colchester and reflects the position of the Camulodunum territorial *oppidum* (A4.6). The ETOZ measures approximately 84,515 hectares and stretches from the coastal inlet of the River Stour to the north, to the Blackwater estuary to the south. These natural occurring features define the northern and southern edges of the case study area while the eastern extent lies along the coastline (A4.7). The western extent extends to Rivenhall at an arbitrary distance parallel to the coast. The case study area is today characterised by low lying coastal regions and slightly rising inland areas dominated by industrial-scale mixed farming activities. The Essex heathlands represent both good (alluvium) and poor quality soils (London clay), interspersed with woodland, located on hills and ridges, and dissected by river systems including the Colne, which runs eastwards through Colchester towards the sea. Some parts of the case study area are represented by urban expansion, particularly surrounding Colchester but also at Clacton-on-Sea, Kelvedon and Coggeshall. The coastal regions are characterised by low-lying marshy areas, underlain by alluvial and river terrace deposits and utilised as grazing pasture in some areas. These areas are sparsely populated compared to inland areas and have been subject to modern coastal erosion.

This case study area, known as Camulodunum in the archaeological literature, has been often cited as an exemplar of territorial *oppida* in Britain and consequently has received extensive attention in early research into these settlements (Collis 1976, 16–19, 1984; Haselgrove 1976, 40–43). This is partly due to the excavation of several regionally and nationally important sites of an Iron Age and Roman date in the 19th-20th centuries; the linear earthwork system known as the ‘Lexden dykes’ (Hawkes and Crummy 1995, 8–55), the Lexden tumulus, a richly furnished LIA burial barrow (Foster 1986), the Gosbecks LIA-ERom enclosure complex (Hawkes and Crummy 1995, 96–105) and the Sheepen LIA-ERom industrial complex (Hawkes and Hull 1947; Niblett 1985). The area has a long history of archaeological investigation, including a surge in developer-funded archaeology since the 1990s (**5.2**). These

excavations include the recently published LIA/ERom burial site at Stanway (Crummy *et al.* 2007), but also large-scale investigations as a result of the redevelopment of Colchester Garrison, of which full publication is forthcoming. A number of publications have also begun to examine Camulodunum in new ways (e.g. Perring and Pitts 2013; Pitts 2010; Rogers 2008; Willis 2007b) but with a limited scope as to the types of evidence analysed (**5.2**).

An analysis of the data collected for the ETOZ (A4.8-4.9) illustrates dense collections of HER entries in urban areas, particular Colchester, but also Kelvedon, Clacton-on-Sea, West Mersea and Rivenhall. These groups likely reflect the development of these towns and their extended suburbs as a result of developer-funded archaeology. The recovery of Iron Age and Roman data from these locations also likely reflects the position of these settlements along route ways and roads that were established and used during these periods. The PAS data is more scattered across the case study area in general, although small clusters of items have been recovered in certain areas (including around Sheepen) and likely represent local places of interest for metal detectorists. The final database, containing the edited data (A4.10-4.11), equally illustrates a bias towards modern urban areas, however, it also reflects current knowledge of settlement in the Iron Age and Roman periods. Some large areas of open space are noted, particularly to the south of Colchester and in areas on the Tendring peninsula to the east. This may reflect areas of agricultural activity or low-lying flood-affected areas in the Iron Age and Roman periods.

4.6.3 The West Sussex Territorial Oppidum Zone

The West Sussex Territorial *Oppidum* Zone (WSTOZ) is the area surrounding modern day Chichester (A4.12) and reflects the position of the territorial *oppidum* that was thought to be centred on the Selsey Peninsula (Bedwin 1983). The case study area measures approximately 83,980 hectares and stretches from the River Arun to the east, to Hayling Island to the west. The southern extent of the case study area lies along the coastline, while the northern extent extends to an arbitrary distance from the coastline to encompass the South Downs chalk ridge and National Park (A4.13). Approximately 80% of the South Downs ridge is occupied farmland, with ancient woodland located in some central areas. A number of major river systems, including the Arun, dissect the chalk ridge creating prominent river valleys that drain to the south across the coastal plain and into the channel. The River Lavant drains from the South Downs into one of a number natural inlets, characterised by the Chichester and Langstone harbours. To the south of Chichester lies the Manhood peninsula, with Selsey Bill representing the major headland. The coastline to the east of Chichester

is represented by brickearth geology and is currently heavily developed. The upper coastal plain, consisting of underlying superficial sand and gravel geology is currently utilised as large flat regular patterns of open fields. Alluvium deposits are present where river systems punctuate the coastal plain.

This case study area has also been cited in the study of territorial *oppida* but in most cases as an additional example rather than as a main comparative asset in its own right (e.g. Sharples 2010, 162–168). The recognition of the *oppidum* is partly due to the investigation of the linear earthwork systems that define it, known as the Chichester entrenchments, since the 18th century (Bradley 1971; Williams-Freeman 1934). However, limited intensive investigation has been undertaken within the *oppidum* despite the presence of a number of nationally and regionally significant LIA/ERom sites. They include the LIA cremation cemetery at Westhampnett (Fitzpatrick *et al.* 1997), the LIA/ERom temple on Hayling Island (King and Soffe 2001, 2008, 2013) and Fishbourne Roman Palace (Cunliffe 1971). This disparity may be in part due to the international renown of these sites in comparison to the lack of other 'sites' in this area that have been definitively published. Although each of these 'sites' is individually well researched, they require greater contextualisation within the wider landscape in order to understand their importance and role as part of the WSTOZ. Recent accounts of this area in the LIA/ERom period (e.g. Davenport 2003; Manley and Rudkin 2003; Rudling 2003a), have almost exclusively followed a 'client kingdom' model (e.g. Creighton 2000; Nash 1987), with some exceptions exploring indigenous people as the primary motivators for social change (e.g. Hamilton 2007).

The original dataset for the WSTOZ (A4.14-4.15) illustrates the dense collection of HER entries in urban areas, particular Chichester, and to some extent Havant to the west. Some urban areas are particularly notable for the lack of information, e.g. Bognor Regis and Littlehampton, despite substantial development in these areas over the last ten years. Further groups of HER data are located to the south at Selsey Bill, reflecting a large density of Iron Age coinage uncovered in this area and off the coast. Furthermore, a number of entries are also located to the north-west in the Charlton area, correlating with extensive research investigations in this area from the 1970s (e.g. Cunliffe 1977). Despite the relative lack of development along the South Downs ridge, a general spread of HER points is present across the area and may reflect the presence of earthwork monuments, such as (but not exclusively) Iron Age hillforts. Gaps in the data lay to the south on the Manhood peninsula where development has been limited and which may have been subject to rise in sea levels in antiquity (**6.2**). The PAS data is clustered into groups across the case study area including a

particular dense concentration in the Halnaker Hill/Eartham areas. This likely reflects interest in local archaeological remains, including the linear earthwork system, and may represent repeated visits to the area by metal detectorists. The final database, containing the edited data (A4.16-4.17), reflects the distribution of all of the HER data, showing a bias to Chichester, Charlton and Selsey Bill, and with gaps on the Manhood Peninsular.

4.7 Conclusion

The method for this research has been formulated to act as a companion to the theoretical framework (chapter 3), in order to explore multiple scales of evidence (find, site, landscape) to identify multiple social scales (people, groups, regions) within the communities of territorial *oppida*. This method combines both quantitative (HER, PAS) and qualitative (viewshed analysis, labour estimates) datasets for each case study allowing a holistic approach to the understanding of social practice in the Iron Age and Roman periods.

Each of the case study chapters (chapters 5 and 6) considers a historiography of past approaches to each territorial *oppidum,* taking into account the development of Iron Age and Roman studies over time (**3.2**). The analysis of each social scale (persons, groups, regions) will be extracted and examined across the three temporal periods, exploring how different practices may have changed over time. A summary combining each scale, in a narrative of each period, will finalise each case study chapter.

Chapter 5: The Essex Territorial Oppidum Zone

5.1: Introduction to case study area

This chapter analyses the archaeological evidence from the MIA to ERom period within the Essex Territorial *Oppidum* Zone (ETOZ). The extent of the study area (**4.6.2**) covers the north-eastern part of the county of Essex, surrounding and including the town of Colchester (A5.1). The chapter begins by considering the history of research into the Iron Age and Roman periods within the ETOZ (**5.2**), in order to understand how current perspectives have formed and to examine any biases. The main sections of the chapter deal with the archaeological evidence for each social scale - 'people', 'groups' and 'regions' - summarised at the end of each section and drawn together in a final summary. An interrogation of this evidence will address the research questions (**2.5**) and generate a number of themes to facilitate a comparative analysis between this case study, the WSTOZ and a selection of other territorial *oppida* in Britain and *oppida* on the Continent.

5.2: Background to archaeological knowledge of the Iron Age/Roman period

Table (5.1) below details the history of research into Iron Age and Roman Colchester from the 17th century onwards. An analysis of this background demonstrates that while extensive archaeological research was undertaken for these periods, the majority of interpretations were formed within a 'Roman' perspective and in light of historical sources. Accounts of Roman Colchester were partly dictated by comparisons between the archaeological remains and known historical events, including the Claudian invasion, the foundation of the *colonia* and the Boudican Revolt, as addressed by contemporary or later texts (Dio Cassius' *Roman History* - Book 40:20). This focus has created an approach that views the LIA occupation from a retrospective view, however, new interpretations have begun to challenge preconceived understandings of the *oppidum*, the legionary fortress and the later *colonia*. These include Creighton's (2006, 61–4) interpretation of Gosbecks fort as a pre-conquest feature, indicating a close connection between elites within the *oppidum* and the Roman Empire. Moreover, the examination of the ritual importance of watery contexts in the ETOZ (Rogers 2008; Willis 2007a) has led to a reanalysis of sites originally interpreted from a practical perspective, including the industrial complex at Sheepen (Willis 2007a, 121–122). This evidence highlights the ritual importance placed on the *oppidum* and its influence on the location of the later Roman town (Rogers 2008, 53).

Period	Date	Iron Age research	Roman research
Antiquarian tradition	17th-18th centuries	Surveys of the dyke system from 1720s, prior to understanding of Colchester as an *oppidum*.	
	19th-early 20th centuries	Antiquarian tradition ran by contingent of clergy. Excavated a number of sites.	
Pre-war development	1920-40s	Excavation of LIA burial of Lexden Tumulus by Laver in 1924. Archaeological committees established to excavate archaeological sites prior to development. Excavations at Sheepen in 1930s uncovered coin production site and dated section of earthwork system to LIA (Hawkes and Hull 1947).	Identification of Temple of Claudius underneath Colchester Castle (Wheeler and Laver 1921). Excavations at Sheepen uncovered evidence for ERom trading and manufacturing settlement (Hawkes and Hull 1947). Identification of the 'Boudican Destruction Horizon' (Gascoyne and Radford 2013). Presence of Legionary fortress suspected following discovery of military tombstones at Lexden (Phillips 1975, 103).
Post-war development/ Pre-PPG16	1950s	Number of small-scale excavations undertaken across the earthwork system (Hawkes and Crummy 1995).	Hull (1958) publishes *Roman Colchester*.
	1960-80s	LIA enclosures and field systems at Gosbecks identified as cropmarks. Tested through piecemeal excavation (Hawkes and Crummy 1995, 95–105). Interpreted as 'Cunobelin's Farmstead'. Excavation of Lexden Tumulus reassessed by Foster (1986).	Permanent archaeological post established in 1963 (Gascoyne and Radford 2013, 6). Taken up by Niblett who supervised 1970s excavations at Sheepen (Niblett 1985). Revealed post-conquest imported goods and metal working. Creation of the Colchester Archaeological Trust (CAT). CAT undertook excavations in Colchester including Lion Walk and Balkerne Lane (Crummy 1984). Revealed evidence for barrack blocks, military equipment and defensive earthworks (Gascoyne and Radford 2013, 63). Confirmed location of legionary fortress. Small auxiliary fort at Gosbecks identified through aerial photography (Hawkes and Crummy 1995, 99–101).
Post PPG16	1990s	Discovery of fourteen cremation burials at Lexden. Interpreted as LIA elite cemetery (Hawkes and Crummy 1995). Excavation of MIA farmstead and LIA mortuary site at Stanway (Crummy *et al.* 2007).	Excavations at Culver Street and Gilberd School (Crummy 1992) revealed further evidence for ERom military occupation.
21st century	2000s	Examination of LIA ritual significance of River Colne (Willis 2007a).	
	2010s	Synthesis of current knowledge (Gascoyne and Radford 2013).	Examination of Colchester's Roman material culture (Perring and Pitts 2013).

Table 5.1: Summary of background

5.3 ‘People’

5.3.1 Introduction

This scale of evidence inspects ‘people’, or ‘human agents’, within the ETOZ. This scale addresses the ‘agency’ of these actors, defined as both conscious and unconscious acts (Giddens 1984, xxii), and how these actions changed over time. By identifying what people ‘do’, encompassing both the actions themselves and the motives behind those actions, we can begin to understand how social practice and interaction was articulated within this scale of society. Within the ETOZ, evidence for routine practices are evident in where ‘people’ or small social units (i.e. family groups) lived, how they used objects and how they treated the dead. In practical terms, this is accomplished by examining structures associated with dwelling, the production and use of material culture and mortuary and ritual practices, illustrated by individual burials and the material associated with these events.

Through the exploration of agency over time it is apparent that social practices were, in the MIA, broadly uniform, but by the LIA had dramatically diversified, illustrated by a wider selection of pottery forms and new burial rites. The arrival of the Roman invasion force in the conquest period saw the introduction of a diverse set of military identities, which operated in parallel to the continuation (albeit altered) of some LIA traditions.

5.3.2 The Middle Iron Age

Twenty-three circular and sixteen rectangular structures dating to the MIA have been uncovered within the ETOZ, the majority of which (thirty-four) were excavated within a single settlement; Lodge Farm, Tendring (Germany 2007) (A5.2-5.3). Available evidence for south-east Britain indicates that the majority of Iron Age domestic structures were circular in shape (Cunliffe 2005, 269). The structural details of the roundhouses within the ETOZ indicates that they share a similar method of construction, however, this is based on limited evidence for structural remains, i.e. the presence of a drip gully. The variable diameter of the circular structures (6.6-15m) and the presence of entrance porches in some cases (Brooks and Masefield 2005, 9) indicates individual approaches to expressing status and defining domestic space. Where information is available (Table 5.2), nearly half of the ETOZ roundhouse structures have eastern facing entrances (eleven of twenty-three). Pope (2007, 222–223) has recently argued that the traditional model for roundhouses, which posits that entrances normally faced eastwards, is based predominantly on examples from Wessex and does not reflect a detailed analysis of roundhouse structures in northern

and central Britain. This apparent uniformity in the ETOZ therefore, may be a reflection of the limitations of the available data or due to the location of these structures within enclosures that also have east facing entrances (**5.4.2**).

Experimental archaeology, such as that undertaken at Butser Ancient Farm in Hampshire, has the ability to provide an experiential perspective for MIA and LIA roundhouse structures. Reconstruction of the Pimperne House, an Early Iron Age structure excavated at Pimperne Down, Devon, has allowed the investigation of the life span of these structures (Harding *et al.* 1993, 104–5). Examination of the structure after a 10-year period showed it remained almost entirely intact with only some standing posts (the porch structure) found to be rotting at the interface with the ground, presumably due to exposure to the elements (Harding *et al.* 1993, 104–5; Harding 2009, 208). The dwelling, and consequently roundhouse structures in general, could have survived for a significant period, with repairs required on a 8-10 year cycle and perhaps serving multiple generations of a familial group (Harding *et al.* 1993, 106). The reconstruction also suggested that, due to available space, the building could not have been built by a large number of people, and was therefore likely to have been built by a small group, perhaps 3-4 people, over a longer period (Harding *et al.* 1993, 106; Harding 2009, 205). The gathering of materials, however, would have been a labour-intensive and time-consuming activity, possibly requiring outside help (Harding 2009, 205). Overall, the construction of the dwelling was possibly organised, built and maintained by a single familial group, to be passed down through the generations, but aided by outside assistance during some stages. This interpretation has strong implications for the relative importance of this structure to the people who lived within it, as evidenced by the ritual actions (e.g. structured deposition) associated with these dwelling spaces (see below), but also hinting at the wider integration of 'people' into MIA social 'groups' (**5.4.2**).

Structure identifier	Shape	Number	Diameter (range)	Construction	Entrance facing	Reference
Colchester Garrison Project, Colchester - Area 2	circular	1	11.8m	drip gully, internal postholes	E	(Brooks and Masefield 2005)
Doucecroft Site, Kelvedon	circular	1	12m	drip gully	?	(Clarke 1988)
Lodge Farm, Tendring	circular	19	6.6-14.4m	drip gully	E, ?	(Germany 2007, 51–52)
Lodge Farm, Tendring	rectangular	16	2.1-5m x 2.54.9m	Postholes	?	(Germany 2007, 48–50)

South of Marrow Lane farm, Ardleigh	circular	1	15m	Drip gully, internal postholes	SE	(Erith and Holbert 1970)
Stanway	circular	1	15m	Postholes	E	(Crummy *et al.* 2007)

Table 5.2: MIA structures - ETOZ

A number of square and rectangular structures, consisting of four, six and nine posthole arrangements, have also been identified at Lodge Farm, Tendring (Germany 2007, 48–50 - A5.4). These structures have been interpreted as granary stores on elevated platforms, due to the presence of charred grain material in some examples (e.g. 13957, 13958, 14016 in Germany 2007, 91–2). The position of these structures in the settlement has been interpreted as indicating social hierarchy, citing the presence of multiple granaries clustered around a single roundhouse as evidence of control over food resources by a small number of people (Germany 2007, 117–119). However, alternative interpretations better suit our understanding of social stratification, or lack thereof, in the MIA. The limited/weak evidence for social stratification, including the focus on community based agricultural activities and the limited quantity of 'luxury items' (e.g. metalwork, imported goods) points to what Hill (2012, 248), has stated may represent a heterarchical structure in this period. At Lodge Farm, the closely spaced arrangement of the roundhouse structures within a single enclosure perhaps indicates community co-operation and collaboration. A community based society suggests the sharing of resources (in this case agricultural) and, importantly, roles within this social group. The presence of multiple granaries close to one roundhouse may reflect the role of its occupants within the wider community, to tend and care for this resource, rather than as competition or hierarchy. This interpretation is strengthened by the absence of other evidence for social stratification at Lodge Farm.

Handmade pottery and loom weights represent common materials recovered from the MIA sites in the ETOZ. The analysis of MIA pottery from sites at Stanway (Crummy *et al.* 2007) and Abbotstone (Benfield and Pooley 2005) illustrates a marked difference in the inclusions within the pottery fabric. Despite the close proximity of these sites to one another, the pottery evidence has been interpreted as indicating that each site used an individual supply of raw materials and that manufacture was undertaken on an individual basis (Crummy *et al.* 2007, 58–9). While the variation in inclusion type may imply a distinction between these groups, this evidence could plausibly be interpreted as pottery produced at a slightly different date or for a different function. Equally, there is no evidence for pottery manufacture at either site, indicating

either production was undertaken on a site-by-site basis but has left limited archaeological trace (e.g. pottery was fired on an open fire), or that the pottery was made elsewhere. While evidence for pottery trade is limited in Essex in the early-MIA, there are examples of “exotic pieces” originating elsewhere and moving into the area (e.g. Glastonbury ware from Shepton Mallet, Somerset). The general homogeneity of pottery forms in East Anglia may indicate the movement of potters or their products in great numbers across this area during this period (Crummy *et al.* 2007, 59). The MIA pottery at Stanway is represented by a limited range of forms (bowls and jars), each simply decorated, often with fingertip impressions along the rims (Crummy *et al.* 2007, 62). Burnt organic residue was present on a small number of sherds (0.6%), indicating the use of some vessels for regular cooking (Crummy *et al.* 2007, 59). Hill (2002, 145–8) has argued that the ubiquitous MIA bowl and jar were used for a variety of tasks including food storage, preparation and serving. This abundant form has been argued to reflect a carbohydrate rich diet of stews and porridges, which were prepared over time and required limited attendance (i.e. slow stewing). Moreover, Hill (2002, 153) argues that the limited range of pots present in MIA domestic sites suggests that they were produced as needed and likely had “relatively well known histories”, i.e. people knew which pots were for which tasks. As indicated by the recovery of numerous loom weights from MIA contexts in Southern Britain, weaving was likely a routine practice in this period, including in the ETOZ at Stanway (e.g. Crummy *et al.* 2007, 38–44). While the use of wool in weaving was likely, suggesting the possession of sheep, the lack of corroborating animal bone is marked, but explained in part by acidic soils in the ETOZ. Hamilton (1998) has argued for the ritual deposition of loom weights at Mount Caburn, East Sussex and it may be the case that loomweights on domestic sites in the ETOZ may have been contemporaneously afforded a ritual function. However, the weights themselves were each of a triangular shape with no decoration and the contexts for their discovery (usually in pits) provides no accompanying finds. There is little supporting evidence for the interpretation of the use of these weights within social practices in the MIA.

Pottery was also found in ritual contexts in the ETOZ in the MIA. Pits within the centre of three roundhouses, at Stanway (Crummy *et al.* 2007, 30), Colchester Garrison (Brooks and Masefield 2005, 10) and Lodge Farm (Germany 2007, 117), each contained a complete vessel. A fourth example, also at Lodge Farm, was located in close proximity but outside a separate roundhouse (Germany 2007, 117). Each of these features has been interpreted as a ‘special deposit’ (Hill 1995c, 27), placed specifically in order to enhance their symbolism and possibly to commemorate the

construction of these dwellings. While similar to cremation burials, the absence of human bone from within or surrounding the vessels, and the preservation of human remains in similar soil conditions, has meant this interpretation can be ruled out (Brooks and Masefield 2005, 10). These 'special deposits' indicate that some people performed rites associated with the foundation of their domestic structures, however, the relatively low number of these 'deposits' may suggest that either these practices were only associated with particular members of society or that they represented specific approaches to roundhouse construction.

Evidence for the deposition of large quantities of broken pottery in significant contexts (i.e. roundhouse drip gullies, ditch termini, pits) may be interpreted as more than just disposal of waste. It is now widely assumed that material culture found within domestic contexts can potentially be considered 'structured deposition', i.e. 'non-domestic' or 'unusual' (Hill 1995c, 95). At Lodge Farm more than 15kg of pottery was recovered from both ditch termini of an entrance through a droveway (Germany 2007, 49); the largest group of pottery recovered from any context on the site dating to this period. While we must not reject a 'mundane' interpretation of this evidence (Garrow 2012, 110), i.e. disposal, the presence of a large quantity of pottery and its location away from domestic areas does imply that this may represent 'structured' or ritually motivated deposition, possibly the reinforcement of this boundary by people living in this area (**5.4.2**). The discovery of two leaf-shaped currency bars from the enclosing ditch of Enclosure 2 at Stanway (Crummy *et al.* 2007, 33–34) may also indicate 'structured deposition'. The currency bars were considered to be deliberately placed, due to their position on the inner side of the enclosure ditch and as an early deposit in the infill (Crummy *et al.* 2007, 33). Currency bars are a category of artefact found in western Europe, recovered predominantly from significant sites such as enclosure boundaries, rivers or bogs (Hingley 1990b, 94–95). Hingley (2005a, 183) has argued, based in part on the retrieval of predominately whole examples from significant contexts, that the deliberate deposition of currency bars was motivated by ritual beliefs and that these items may have been used as part of ritual practices to celebrate the construction of significant sites. These objects shared an equally utilitarian purpose as 'trade iron'. Further evidence for the dual utilitarian/ritual purpose of MIA artefacts is illustrated by a pit (CF250 – A5.5) from within Stanway Enclosure 2. An iron disc and an iron saw fragment were placed as a 'structured deposit' within this pit (Crummy *et al.* 2007, 30). In this case the importance given to these objects by those who disposed them was reversed; initially they were used as tools and, once their designed function expired, as objects of ritual practice.

A general absence of human remains across Britain in the Early-MIA has been argued indicates that the principal mortuary rite was that of excarnation, which left little archaeologically visible trace (Carr and Knüsel 1997). However, considerable recent debate has highlighted the difficulties in the assumption of excarnation as a widespread rite and the complexity of this mortuary practice (Booth and Madgwick 2016; Madgwick 2008; Tracey 2013). Carr and Knüsel (1997, 171) have argued that excarnation activities in this period took place off-site, evidenced by a lack of "background noise" or randomly scattered human bones within settlement sites. When excarnated human remains are uncovered in southern Britain they have usually been deposited within domestic contexts, such as enclosure ditches (Carr and Knüsel 1997, 171), highlighting the entwining nature of domestic and mortuary practices in the MIA. The similarity in the design of granary structures and excarnation platforms (i.e. a four posthole square arrangement – A5.6) illustrates the parallels between, and potentially crossover of, mortuary and domestic actions in the Iron Age (Bradley 2005, 3–9). Some evidence for ritual practices associated with human remains is represented at Lodge Farm, Tendring. A single pit containing cremated bone (predominantly from a skull) was uncovered within a five posthole structure in the NE corner of an enclosure (Germany 2007, 117). The structure was significant only due to the additional structural element (the fifth posthole), which may indicate it had a unique function, i.e. a shrine (A5.7) and, although it was not securely datable, it was attributed to the MIA due to its proximity (approximately 5m) to the pit. The pit was interpreted by the excavators as a possible unurned cremation burial, dated by C14 dating to 390-190 cal BC (4^{th}-2^{nd} century BC). Interestingly, the majority of the fragments of human remains were from the cranium (Germany 2007, 84) leading to the conjecture that it may have been related to "head hunting and display of martial prowess" (Germany 2007, 117). Other human remains found during the excavation and dated to the Middle Bronze Age by associated pottery and metalwork (Germany 2007, 82) suggest that soil conditions were acceptable to preserve bone. This evidence indicates that this is an accurate depiction of the deposited MIA human remains. Armit (2012, 223) has argued that, although often considered part of a headhunting cult, the presence of cranial fragments within Iron Age settlement contexts was part of a wider range of treatments to parts of the body that reflected a complex "cosmological, religious and ideological understanding". While interpreted elsewhere as reflective of headhunting, perhaps by an elite warrior class, in this domestic context these remains likely represent ritual practices to "mediate between the day-to-day world of the living and the supernatural world" through the deposition of the most recognisable part of the human body (Armit 2012, 223–4). A second MIA

mortuary site, comprising the remains of a single urned cremation burial, was uncovered during investigation at Institute Hall, Kelvedon (Crank 2002). This example is located within an area of known MIA occupation (**5.4.2**) and illustrates the beginnings of burial practices subsequently widely used in the LIA (**5.3.3**).

This evidence for 'people' in the MIA suggests that domestic and ritual practices were articulated within a single environment. This crossover is illustrated by evidence for parallels between ritual acts (structured deposition) and the treatment of the dead (excarnation activities) and the use of domestic space (roundhouse structures) and agricultural activities (granary structures). As Bradley (2005, 28–30) argues, our division of 'domestic' and 'ritual' elements in prehistoric society is one coloured by modern interpretation (**4.5.3**). By contrast, 'people' in antiquity saw a connection "between mortality and the agricultural cycle", albeit in different ways in different areas (Bradley 2005, 204). In the MIA this was rooted in a metaphorical comparison (and connection) between the cycle of life and death for 'people' and the growth, harvest and regeneration of crops (Bradley 2005, 204–5). In the ETOZ this is illustrated partly by the use of similar pottery for both food consumption and as votive deposits, and the structural similarity between granaries and possible shrines.

5.3.3 The Late Iron Age

LIA roundhouses in the ETOZ were similar in form and construction to those of a MIA date (Table 5.2, A5.8 & 5.9), indicating that they were probably also built by a small number of people and had a comparable longevity (**5.3.2**). The roundhouses vary in diameter (7.2-13m) and construction techniques (i.e. post built, drip gully, wall trenches); however, the number of excavated examples is considerably less (MIA: twenty-three; LIA: six). Sharples (2010, 237) has suggested that the small number of known structures in Wessex may indicate the existence of a new archaeologically invisible architectural form of dwelling during this period, however, an absence of evidence makes this interpretation difficult to confirm or deny. A diversification into new forms of domestic structure is represented by three examples of large-scale rectangular buildings uncovered in Kelvedon (Table 5.3, A5.10). While rectangular forms were present in the MIA (Table 5.2), these structures were smaller in size (5-5m) and were likely uninhabited (e.g. granaries). The LIA rectangular forms were broadly uniform in construction (posthole built, wattle and daub walling) but varied in size (2.6-5.5m in width, 5.2-21m in length), potentially indicating the occupation of these structures by different sizes of familial groups or that they served distinct functions, combining domestic applications with other activities, such as keeping livestock, pottery manufacture or ironworking (e.g. Moore 2003, 55). A lack of internal

features and a large number of coins and brooches in Kelvedon Structure 3 has led to the interpretation that this was a mortuary or ritual enclosure (Haselgrove 1997, 66). The number of excavated examples indicates that rectangular structures were the minority during this period, however, two small four-post structures uncovered at Fen Farm, Colchester may additionally be granary structures (A5.11). The preservation of environmental remains was poor in these structures and consequently there was no surviving evidence for crop processing to support this interpretation (Ennis 2008, 8).

Structure identifier	Shape	Number	Diameter (range)	Construction	Entrance facing	Reference
Area J, Kelvedon	Rectangular	3	5.2-21m x 2.68m	wall trench and postholes	?	(Rodwell 1988, 15–22)
Doucecroft Roundhouse 3	Circular	1	7.3m	drip gully and postholes	?	(Clarke 1988)
Fen Farm	Rectangular	2	1.6-1.8m x 1.8-2m	Postholes	?	(Ennis 2008)
Hill Farm	Circular	1	13m	drip gully	E	(Adkins 1985)
Layer-de-la-Haye Treatment Works	Circular	2	7.8-12m	drip gully	?	(Robertson 2005)
Wick Farm	Circular	1	7.2m	drip gully	NE	(Allen and Germany 2009)

Table 5.3: LIA structures - ETOZ

Two major transformations are evident in deposited pottery types within the ETOZ, as elsewhere in south-east Britain: the adoption of wheel-turned pottery and the importation of pottery from the Continent. Hill's (2002, 145) analysis of these changes within East Anglia indicates that the adoption of wheel turned pottery led to the production of a "larger range of types" with a more restricted range of sizes (in comparison to MIA vessels), due in part to the accuracy of the wheel-turning process. The presence of wheel-turned pottery on approximately 80% of LIA sites in the ETOZ indicates widespread adoption of this technology. The diversification of pottery forms included a large number of jars, cooking pots, beakers, bowls, flagons and platters (A5.12). Hill (2002, 148) argues that this diversification generally represents changes in social conventions of dining, represented by a larger selection of table wares and the distinction between pots for cooking and eating. These changes may in turn indicate a change in the types of foods that were prepared, whether local or imported.

Approximately 75% of LIA sites in the ETOZ contain evidence for imported pottery and other goods from the Continent, mainly Gaul and Italy (A5.12). While this data suggests widespread adoption of imports, the overall number of imported pottery

sherds remains low in some cases (e.g. Stanway; Wick Farm, Ardleigh; Ardleigh reservoir). The introduction of goods from the Continent has in the past been considered as “Romanization before the conquest” (Haselgrove 1984, 5–7); i.e. the adoption of a Roman lifestyle prior to AD43, however, this interpretation places too much emphasis on hindsight, by framing it within the subsequent events of the 1st century AD (Willis 1994, 141). Willis (1994, 145) has argued that a detailed analysis of how this material was regarded by Iron Age societies is likely to be complex, encompassing “shifting attitudes towards items and their use”. For sites in the ETOZ, the presence of imported pottery from ‘domestic’ contexts (i.e. within houses at Sheepen; Elmstead Fen Farm; the Chase, Area J, Kelvedon), indicates its use as tableware in these instances. This implies a homogenous attitude to the function of both local and imported pottery in domestic contexts, with the incorporation of imported goods within changing attitudes to dining. The eventual deposition of these imported pottery in significant positions within the settlement space (e.g. boundary ditches, foundation deposits) is also apparent (i.e. Kelvedon; Hill Farm; North of Gatehouse Farm; Ardleigh reservoir) and indicates that ‘people’ were treating some imported pottery as they did all pottery in the MIA (**5.3.2**); i.e. as ‘structured’ deposits forming part of ritual practice. On this scale of evidence, imported goods were not treated as special items but incorporated into both pre-existing routines and newly emerging forms of consumption.

The evidence for LIA burial in the ETOZ indicates that multiple methods were employed, including cremations and inhumations, both in isolation and as part of larger groups. The limited number of remains uncovered suggests that excarnation practices undertaken in the MIA continued into this period. Seven of the known burial sites within the ETOZ are cremation burials, each typically urned within locally made vessels (e.g. A120 bypass; just NE of Elmstead Church; Rivenhall End; West Mersea-Fairhaven Avenue). In some isolated instances imported and/or unusual pots were utilised for cremation vessels, e.g. cremated remains in an Greek bowl at South Elms Farm, Ardleigh (Couchman and Savory 1983). Imported pottery is present within 45% of LIA mortuary sites, including *terra nigra*, *terra rubra*, Amphorae and Gallo-Belgic wares (A5.13). The presence of imported forms indicates some use (in both primary and secondary activities) of these ceramics during ritual and mortuary practices. The motive behind the inclusion of imported material within these burials may be to illustrate the identity of people in death, e.g. wealth and status (Parker-Pearson 2003, 78–9), however, in light of the relative importance of imported material, perhaps an alternative explanation is required. Willis (1994, 145) has argued that the use of

imported goods, in burials or otherwise, may indicate a method of defiance - using an 'alien' product in Britain to challenge the status quo. Alternatively, Willis (1994, 194) has also argued that these products may not have been considered as 'foreign goods' at all, due to long established links to Gaul from the Early Iron Age onwards. While these burials illustrate similar evidence for imported goods, the complexities of the meanings behind these pots were likely diverse and reflect specific motives and individual approaches to burial rites, such as varying rules of inheritance and gift exchange (Parker-Pearson 2003, 94).

The ETOZ is well-known in the archaeological literature for a comparatively large collection of so called 'high-status' burials, particularly the Lexden cemetery, including the Lexden Tumulus (Foster 1986) and Lexden Mount (Hawkes and Crummy 1995), the Kelvedon warrior burial (Sealey 2007) and the Stanway burial enclosures (Crummy *et al.* 2007) (A5.14). These burials contain similar deposited grave goods (e.g. both locally made and imported food and drink containers), which suggest a comparable range of ritual practices, such as the consumption of food and drink during burial rites. However, despite these similarities, each of these burials are characterised by diverse and complex mortuary activities. For example, three different features were excavated from within mortuary enclosure 1 at Stanway including a large underground mortuary chamber, lined with wooden planks and possibly covered by a roof. Cremated human remains, deliberately broken vessels, animal bones and copper alloy objects were found within the chamber (Crummy *et al.* 2007, 101–3). In addition, an urned cremation burial with a small bag of 'Verdigris', a medicine or cosmetic compound, and a pit containing broken funerary goods including strips of copper alloy, possibly forming part of a wooden box, were also uncovered (Crummy *et al.* 2007, 162–170). The diversity of these burials, as well as the associated ritual actions, were mirrored in enclosure 3, which also contained a mortuary chamber, a pyre site and a pit. The chamber was similarly constructed to the example within enclosure 1 and contained cremated remains, a copper alloy pedestal and the broken sherds of twenty-three vessels, including both locally produced and imported wares (Crummy *et al.* 2007, 104–127). Fragments of cremated human remains and copper alloy were present in the pyre site and the pit contained the remains of a wooden 'barrel' and other pyre debris (Crummy *et al.* 2007, 157). The range of preferences presented within the burial evidence at Stanway indicates specific attitudes to the way 'people' were interred and suggests that this responsibility was undertaken by familial groups (i.e. at this social scale), rather than determined by wider collective norms. However, the close similarity of the practices

associated with these rituals, including the preparation of burial space (i.e. construction of burial shafts), the cremation of the dead and the deposition of grave goods, indicates that general belief systems, including the specific acts necessary to undertake burial rites, were shared by 'people' in the ETOZ during the LIA.

Perhaps a more useful way to consider LIA 'high status' burials would be as forming part of a larger set of ritual practices, which were interwoven with, but not entirely dependent upon, the burial of human remains. These practices are illustrated by considering the non-burial features uncovered within the enclosures at Stanway, which were similar in form, position and in the materials deposited, but contained no evidence for human remains (Table 5.4). Pyre debris and other material was buried in pits in a comparable fashion to the burials discussed above, indicating that a similar set of ritual practices were undertaken. The presence of pyre debris rather than human remains suggests that these features represented ritual deposition rather than burial, however, it is difficult to determine whether these ritual and mortuary practices were associated with other burial events undertaken within the enclosure. In order to understand the nuances of these actions by 'people' and 'groups' we must explore the connection between these burials within their immediate setting (**5.4.3**) and the wider landscape (**5.5.3**).

Burial name	Form	Within enclosure?	Goods	Comments	Reference
Pit - Enclosure 1	Pit containing broken funerary goods, small amount of cremated bone	Yes	Pottery, metal alloy strips, part of a wooden object, metal earrings	-	(Crummy *et al.* 2007, 162)
Pit - Enclosure 3	Pit containing wood barrel - filled with charcoal and ash, no bone	Yes	-	Possible pyre debris	(Crummy *et al.* 2007, 157)
Pit - Enclosure 5	Pit containing pyre debris	Yes	Pottery, brooch	Pottery of local origin	(Crummy *et al.* 2007, 160)

Table 5.4: Possible ritual features – Stanway

The LIA saw the beginning of the consumption of imported goods, following the formalisation of trading routes with the Continent, and contemporaneously the adoption of changes to social conventions of dining (separation of cooking and eating vessels). The incorporation of 'new' material culture (imported goods, new pottery forms) within a 'new' burial practice (cremation), indicates the active selection of new forms of mortuary expression and the beginning of the separation or diversification, whether purposeful or not, of these actions from those of the domestic sphere. This

period also saw the introduction of new building forms (rectangular buildings) that incorporate a diverse range of practices (domestic, agricultural, industrial), however, we must not overlook that routines of LIA people who did not entirely adopt new social conventions. This is illustrated partially by the continuation of similar forms of dwelling to those of the MIA (roundhouses), and the probable continuation of excarnation activities. The ETOZ was open to new influences from 'people' travelling to and from the Continent, carrying with them imported goods in a quantity that had never previously been available. Traditions and routines of dining and consumption were forming in the ETOZ in parallel to external influences and consequently routine actions, on this social scale at least, began to change. These new forms of practice, both domestic and ritual, were mediated through pre-existing traditions, to augment rather than replace the routine agency of the ancestors of LIA 'people'.

5.3.4 The Early Roman Period

The available evidence for 'people' in the ERom period demonstrates the introduction of new personal identities, as a direct influence from the Continent, and the continuation of LIA practices. These differences and similarities were in part driven by population growth, as a result of the Claudian invasion of AD43 and evidenced by the increase in the number of identified buildings (sixty). While estimating population sizes in the Iron Age and Roman period is difficult, the number of soldiers stationed at Camulodunum in the post-conquest period can be estimated by the size of the fortresses constructed and the 'standard' numbers of soldiers that each held. This included a single legionary fortress containing approximately 5500 soldiers and an auxiliary fort containing approximately 600 (**5.4.4**). It is likely that a potentially unknown number of dependants, (partners, children, slaves), may have travelled and lived with the military force, whether outside in the canabae/vici or within barrack blocks, as suggested by evidence from sites like Vindolanda (van Driel-Murray 1995). The infusion of a large number of 'people', each with distinct identities, will have had a dramatic effect on day-to-day lives of the indigenous population.

A number of military structures, comprising barrack blocks and associated buildings, have been uncovered within and surrounding the legionary fortress (**5.4.4** – A5.15), representing the introduction of soldiers into the ETOZ in the years following the Claudian invasion (AD43-49). A number of barrack blocks were uncovered during excavations at the Gilberd School and Culver Street and, although the extent of the buildings was not revealed in all cases, each was constructed to a standard layout and size (52m-7m) to accommodate a fixed number of soldiers (A5.16). The barracks were constructed using mortared plinths, construction trenches, daub walls and tile

roofs (Crummy 1992, 128–9). Finds from the barrack blocks, including shield brass, sheet metal and cavalry harnesses, imply that the repair and/or maintenance of military equipment was undertaken within these structures (Crummy 1992, 131). The 'standardisation' of the physical surroundings of these soldiers reinforced, along with other factors (dress, training, language), the structure of the Empire's military community (James 1999b, 16). While a regimented pattern of behaviour comprised a soldier's daily routine, this evidence overlooks the diverse backgrounds from which military personnel originated. Available evidence (e.g. inscriptions, historical texts) indicates that military units in Britain were partly formed from recruits from across the "Celtic" sphere (i.e. Germany, Gaul, Spain) (Mattingly 2006, 168) and Italy, forming a complex mix of regionally specific personal identities.

The diversity of ethnic origin is reiterated partly by the, albeit limited, evidence for burial associated with the military in the ETOZ. Two tombstones, of Marcus Favonius Facillis and Longinius Sdapeze, were recovered from the area to the west of the fortress, perhaps indicating the presence of a military cemetery, although limited further evidence has been uncovered (Gascoyne and Radford 2013, 72). The tombstones, dated to the 1st century AD based on the form of the grave inscriptions, did not describe either of the deceased as veterans, indicating that they were serving members of the military (Wise 2001, 43). These tombstones demonstrate the introduction of burial rites closely associated with a defined military identity in the post-conquest period, and illustrate the diverse origins of the individual soldiers. It has been suggested that Marcus Favonius Facillis may originate from an area of Northern Italy (Phillips 1975, 103), while Longinius Sdapeze has been identified as part of the Thracian Calvary, originally from south-eastern Europe. Wise (2001, 44) argues that damage to the monuments was not representative of hostile attitudes to the military by some indigenous people but was likely the result of their discovery by workmen in 1928 who did not immediately understand their significance.

The barrack blocks described above were accompanied by a series of early timber buildings, located outside of the fortress limits and containing evidence for metalworking (slag and hammer scale) and animal butchery (large assemblage of ox scapulae) (Crummy 1984, 93). These buildings were not directly comparable to the barracks in size or construction, (using beam slots and postholes – A5.16) but were located in close proximity and appear to represent supplementary structures. This variation perhaps implies these buildings were occupied and used by a civilian population of 'people' associated with the fortress and its population of soldiers. Although evidence is sparse, these groups were potentially either the families of

soldiers including 'wives' (although not officially recognized as such until the 2nd century AD) or traders and craftsmen who, at the Roman frontier, may have considered themselves linked to the community of 'soldiers' (Mattingly 2006, 194–5). The close association of these 'people' to the military personnel would have added to the diverse background and complex military identity of incomers to the ETOZ.

Following the initial phase of military structures, a later phase of buildings was constructed to address the changing need of 'people' in the ETOZ (Table 5.5). These buildings were constructed between AD 49-61 and conform to the date of the legion's withdrawal and the establishment of the *colonia*, or veteran's colony, at Camulodunum. This colony was likely populated by a number of retired soldiers that formed part of the initial military presence within the ETOZ. A number of the original military populace may have taken cash payments as their retirement and returned either to their birthplace or another part of the Empire they encountered during their military service (Mattingly 2006, 191). The civilian population, notably the soldiers' families previously kept separate from the garrison, would have also formed part of this new settlement, as well as a number of veterans located elsewhere in Britain, who would have been attracted to the concentration of ex-soldiers within the settlement (Mattingly 2006, 192). The inclusion of these 'people' indicates the continuation of a strong military identity, albeit with a diverse background based on origin and experiences within the army. The *colonia* structures were all rectangular in shape and of a timber construction (postholes, wattle and daub - Table 5.5). Some examples illustrated a direct continuity with the previous military function of this area, in particular a number of the original barrack blocks were modified and reused for domestic purposes (Crummy 1992, 132–3). The initial *colonia* structures, both new and reused, varied in size and layout reflecting the differing needs/requirements of the 'people' who occupied them. While some were clearly domestic structures (Crummy 1984, 103–110, 1992, 132–5), others were industrial in use, e.g. pottery workshops (Crummy 1992, 330). These varying functions indicate that although a shared military background was apparent for many of the *colonia* inhabitants, personal identity was being restructured in light of changing circumstances.

Site name	Shape	Number	Dimensions	Construction	Entrance facing	Reference
Balkerne Lane	Rectangular	8	7.3-36.3m by 6.9-52m	Wattle and daub, stakeholes	NW?, N?, E? (facing street)	(Crummy 1984, 103–110)
Gilberd School	Rectangular	5	18.75-52m by 7-12.5m?	Timber framed building, postholes,	S (facing street)	(Crummy 1984, 132–135)

				piles, daub walls, tile roof		
Cups Hotel, Building	Rectangular	2	8.4m by 3.7m	Timber framed, slots, wattle and daub, masonry wall, bricks	?	(Crummy 1992, 330–333)
Castle Park, House	Rectangular	2	42.7-47.5m by 38.142.1m	Masonry foundations	S (facing street)	(Hull 1958, 81–85)

Table 5.5: *Colonia* structures - ETOZ

The changing circumstances of personal identity in the ETOZ is illustrated further by the examination of post-Boudican structures within the *colonia*. The total destruction of the town by fire during the Boudican revolt of AD 60/61 is evidenced by the presence of the Boudican Destruction Horizon (BDH), a thick deposit of burnt material. Historical accounts indicate a large number perished during the revolt (Cassius Dio's *Roman History*, Book 62.1) and the widespread destruction of the town suggests that few 'people', both veteran and indigenous alike, escaped the devastation. In the post-Boudican period some areas of the town were cleared and new structures were built. While evidence for late 1st century AD buildings is somewhat sparse and incomplete (Gascoyne and Radford 2013, 170–172), those uncovered represent a diverse group in size (4-14.5m in length), construction (masonry wall plinths, palisade trenches, post pits), layout and number (4-10) of rooms (A5.19-5.20). This building evidence highlights, through diversification in form, that the reconstruction was undertaken to suit the differentiating needs of the population, likely for one of two reasons. Either the surviving population used the disaster as a means to break from the military past and rebuild in their own way or the killing of many of the 'people' in the town required a new population to be drawn into the area with different requirements in living space. It is likely that both reasons were present and demonstrates, in light of the destruction, that personal identity within this urban area continued to transform during the late 1st century AD (**5.4.4**).

Some evidence in the ERom period demonstrates the continuity of routine practices from the LIA (**5.3.3**). Of the sixty structures investigated within the ETOZ, twenty-seven (pre-Boudican date) were circular 'roundhouse' buildings similar to MIA and LIA examples (Table 5.2 & 5.3 – A5.21). The majority of roundhouses were uncovered during the excavation of Sheepen in the 1930s and 1980s (Hawkes and Hull 1947; Niblett 1985). These structures greatly varied in size (1.5-25m in diameter) and, although evidence is sparse, shared a similar form of construction including vertical posts and either wattle and daub or earthern walls (Table 5.6 – A5.22). This diversity in form indicates a varied range of functions and reflects the number of 'people' who

inhabited them. The continued use of roundhouse structures in the immediate post-conquest period indicates that routine practices, and the traditions and beliefs supporting them, remained fixed for some 'people', implying the perpetuation of an indigenous identity in some areas. This interpretation is supported by a recent examination of the pottery at Sheepen, which based on the similarity in forms and fabrics suggests the continuity of the pre-conquest *oppidum* community following the invasion (Perring and Pitts 2013, 237–8). The local population was now, however, living under a permanently based, and possibly oppressive, regime. The continuation of traditions may therefore indicate the impulse to resist this invading force. Mattingly (2006, 472) has argued that the longevity of the roundhouse tradition from the LIA into the ERom period could itself be seen as "a sort of resistant conservatism", i.e. refusing to partake in the trappings of a Roman imperial identity. However, this interpretation likely reflects only a single motivating factor to the wider persistence of routines and traditions from the LIA, such as ignorance to other choices, or as suggested by Webster (2005, 170–177) for certain military and later contexts, the dwellings of a slave labour force.

Site name	Shape	Number	Dimensions	Construction	Entrance facing	Reference
Sheepen	Circular	25	1.5-37.7m x 2.7-23.2m	Various	?	(Hawkes and Hull 1947, 66–104)
Doucecroft site, Kelvedon	Circular	1	6.6m	Drip gully	E	(Clarke 1988)
Langley Green	Circular ?	1	6.1m	Drip gully	?	(McMaster *et al.* 1974, 21)

Table 5.6: 'Roundhouse' style structures - ETOZ

'Roundhouse' style structures were constructed in parallel to a number of rectangular timber-built buildings, which had significantly increased in number from the LIA to ERom period. These buildings were similar in construction style to LIA examples, but represented a diverse range of functions (A5.23-5.24) including agricultural buildings at Little Oakley (Barford 2002, 19) and domestic structures in Kelvedon (Rodwell 1988, 12–13). Two rectangular structures at Sheepen were interpreted as possible military buildings, perhaps 'stores' or 'offices' (Hawkes and Hull 1947, 38). However, evidence for Gallo-Belgic and Roman imported pottery, as well as Claudian coins and brooches from these buildings, could suggest store houses associated with trade with the Continent (contra Hawkes and Hull 1947, 90–1). The diversity of functions present in these rectangular structures is similar to those constructed in the LIA (**5.3.3**), and further indicates the continuation of some routines and activities into the ERom period. Despite the introduction and parallel co-existence of a number of diverse and

foreign identities, a number of the traditions and beliefs held by indigenous people continued into the post-conquest period.

The continuation of cremation as the predominant burial rite in the ERom period signifies a continuation of mortuary practices from the LIA. The majority of ERom cremation burials were placed in ceramic urns mostly of local origin, however, samian ware from Gaul (Niblett 1985, 22) and amphorae from Italy (Powell 1963, 257) were included as grave goods in some cases, as well as jewellery, glass objects and Roman coins. As discussed above (**5.3.3**), the inclusion of imported material within burials of this period does not necessarily reflect the adoption of 'Roman' practices, but is instead likely to indicate the continuation of diverse approaches to internment also present in the LIA, i.e. the use of material culture due its 'foreign' rather than 'Roman' association. A series of burials dating to the immediate post-conquest period recently identified at Stanway (Crummy *et al.* 2007, 35–55) are, although diverse in nature, remarkably similar to those interred on this site prior to the conquest, consisting of cremation burials, burial chambers and high status grave goods (A5.22).

While the evidence indicates the continuation of burial practices from the LIA to ERom period, the main differences lie in the quantity and diversity of associated grave goods. In the ERom period this included local and imported pottery (Gallo-Belgic ware, amphorae, samian), mirrors, glass ware (bowls, bottles), wooden containers (boxes with iron fittings), copper alloy objects (brooches, jugs), weapons (spears, shield bosses) gaming boards and surgical instruments (needles, forceps, retractors, knife, scalpel, saw) (A5.25). This increase is likely driven partly by access to an expanding trade network with the Continent resulting from the arrival of the Roman military. The excavators argue that while the inclusion of imports is not in itself an indicator of high status, the presence of grave goods, the form of the burials and the rituals associated with them, imply that these people were of some importance (Crummy *et al.* 2007, 428). Specific social identities have been attributed to many of the post-conquest burials illustrated by their descriptors e.g. the Doctor's Burial, the Warrior Burial, the Brooches Burial and the Mirror Burial. However, it should be remembered that these identities have been placed onto the deceased by those who excavated them and do not necessary reflect their role or status during their lifetime. Moreover, the excavated grave goods that led to these descriptions were likely placed by those participating in the internment of the dead and therefore reflect their personal identities and/or relationship to the deceased, rather than the identity of the deceased person themselves (Parker-Pearson 2003, 3). The assignment of titles to these burials potentially clouds our interpretations of the evidence, which implies wider

communal action in the internment of these individuals. The excavators have argued that some of these burials may represent more than one person, illustrated by the Doctor's Burial where a wide selection of grave goods – including a gaming board and surgical instruments - may indicate two or more distinct identities (Crummy *et al.* 2007, 429). Furthermore, the items within the grave suggest both the knowledge of some Roman medical procedures (strainer bowl, surgical instruments) and "native magic" (possible divination rods, jet bead) (Eckardt 2009, 375). The weight of the cremated bone in these burials, much less than the 2kg thought to be produced by cremation, further supports complex mortuary rites in this period, suggesting the disposal of human remains in multiple ways (Crummy *et al.* 2007, 433). Each of these elements indicates that these burials were not simply the internment of a single person but formed a component within a complex set of ritual acts undertaken on a wider social scale (**6.4.4**).

The Claudian invasion of AD43 introduced a large military force into the ETOZ, united through an enforced military identity and irrevocably changing the balance of power in this area. This interpretation is supported by evidence for a uniform structural form (barrack blocks), a shared military dress (military equipment) and, albeit limited, evidence for common burial rites (tombstones). However, the examination of evidence on this social scale highlights the diversity and complexity within this military group, illustrated by the varied mix of origins of the soldiers and the presence of a supporting civilian population (families, traders), suggesting a range of regionally specific identities. These foreign 'people' lived in parallel to those who continued to observe some LIA practices, illustrated by the continuation of roundhouses and the rite of cremation. However, personal identity in this period should not be viewed simply as a dichotomy between the indigenous population and Roman invaders, but a complex set of relationships that was articulated by power and violence. The use of force by members of military against the indigenous population would have formed part of their day-to-day lives in the post-conquest period (Mattingly 2006, 91–2), illustrated possibly in the ETOZ by the partial human remains of six people found within the Legionary fortress ditch, the majority of which were pieces of cranium (Crummy 1984, 94–5). This evidence may indicate the killing of some indigenous people during the ERom period (although these may have represented military deserters), with social interaction characterised thus by a complex set of exchanges, including separation, resistance and co-operation. Despite the withdrawal of the Legion and the establishment of the *colonia,* military traditions continued in the settlement (reuse of military barrack blocks) and potentially attracted a number other

'foreign' groups to this area (other army veterans), which created even greater complexity in the personal identities present during this period. Animosity towards the military by the indigenous population is demonstrated by the destruction of the *colonia* during the Boudican Revolt of AD60/61, leading to changing personal circumstances for the surviving population and likely the introduction of new 'people' into the ETOZ into the late 1st century AD.

5.3.5 Conclusions

Through the exploration of this social scale, we can identify the changes occurring in social conventions and routines within the ETOZ from the MIA to the ERom period. The evidence for these practices is apparent in the ETOZ through an examination of the structures that 'people' lived in, the material culture they used and the rites and processes associated with the burial of the dead.

The comparison of evidence for 'agency', or action over time, allows the exploration of changing attitudes to personal identity and the articulation of social practice. The evidence for the combination, in both practice and location, of ritual and domestic action in the MIA implies a close connection between belief systems of 'people' and the agricultural cycle (**5.3.2**). Subsequently, the diversity of methods of consumption and ritual/mortuary agency in the LIA indicates a wider variety of practice and the separation of both domestic and ritual action. While this may have been prompted by a new availability of goods and ideas from the Continent, these new practices were expressed through pre-existing routines and rites established in the MIA, implying that external imposition was not the only stimulus for this change. This interpretation is supported by evidence that many adopted new identities, illustrated by the widespread use of imported material culture (**5.3.3.**), as well as the alteration of previous routines to accommodate new practices, implying choice rather than an enforced social policy. The arrival of soldiers and their families saw the introduction of a larger number of people into the ETOZ, each from a specific regional origin, and bringing diverse domestic and ritual practices not previously seen in the ETOZ. The penetration of these people into a pre-existing social system – insofar as there was interaction - was likely viewed by the indigenous population as the arrival of a single 'foreign' identity, reinforced by a shared set of exclusive practices in the military community and expressed by the new arrivals through violence and suppression immediately following the Claudian invasion. The strongest evidence of a divide between the citizens/subjects of the Roman Empire and the indigenous population is the continuation of LIA traditions, both in domestic and mortuary spheres, in parallel to a new and dominating force. These changes may not have altered these daily

routines but instead changed the motives behind them, perhaps as an act of conspicuous defiance of an invading force, or at least evidence of incommensurable ways of living in the first decade or so of occupation. Just as the identities of the indigenous population had been modified in light of changing circumstances (the Claudian invasion), so too did the personal identities of the incoming population who, following a largely military dominated post-conquest period, altered military conditions to suit a new 'civilian' lifestyle. Moreover, following the Boudican revolt of AD 60/61 it appears that personal identities continued to change within the *colonia*, with changes in structural form likely indicating the formation of a new population.

This consideration of the evidence has also begun to uncover how 'people' may have interacted with divergent identities and how the similarities between them may formed bonds within broader social groups, each with its own unique social conventions and structure. Within the discussion given above, these 'group' dynamics are most obvious when examining the Roman army, where identity on a personal level was articulated with others within a Imperial military group 'institution' (cf. Jenkins 2004, 217). These institutions may affect our use of the available evidence, as while we struggle to reconstruct settlements in the MIA, beyond the confines of a single site, in the Roman period a legionary fortress can be all but reconstructed based upon a small amount of evidence and similar examples from across Britain. How the dynamics of these social 'groups' were articulated is examined within a broader set of archaeological evidence and incorporates the discussion within this section.

5.4: 'Groups'

5.4.1 Introduction

Through the investigation of 'groups' we can examine the collective identity of 'people' within the ETOZ, which stresses similarity over difference (Jenkins 2004, 80). These 'groups', in the broadest sense, form one of two types: a social group characterised by a "collective internal definition" or a social categorisation, determined through "collective external definition", whether consciously or not (Jenkins 2004, 82). The distinction between these types is significant in understanding how and why these social 'groups' form. However, it is imperative to recognise that the two are also interrelated, insofar as social groups are typically fashioned by a mixture of both external and internal influences. An externally imposed category or label may become internalised over time and even shift from a stigmatised identity to an empowering one. Within the ETOZ, the evidence for social 'groups' includes shared social spaces, communal actions that may indicate shared belief systems, common purposes and

regimented structures. ‘Institutions’, a social group defined internally and externally by fairly rigid patterns of behaviour (Jenkins 2004, 127), are likely to be important in this social landscape. Each of these social ‘groups’ are established and change over time. Through the examination of evidence from 300 BC-AD100, we can track their progression and impact on other groups, through co-operation and conflict.

Through exploring collective identity in the ETOZ it is apparent that by the end of the MIA, close community ties were articulated in a number of different ways to accommodate a greater desire for isolated domestic space. In the LIA the creation of new communal areas was motivated by the connection between the agricultural cycle and ritual belief, but was expressed differently in different areas, suggesting fragmentation of the *oppidum* community. The arrival of the Roman military, an established institutional body, saw the introduction of a sharply separated social ‘group’ from that of the indigenous norm, illustrated through a distinct communal identity defined within a separate area of social space. With the introduction of the military, indigenous groups began to partially reform through reaction to external rule, to either “resist, ignore, accommodate or exploit” the introduction of a new ruling group into the ETOZ (Given 2004, 10).

5.4.2 The Middle Iron Age

Architecture in the MIA (**5.3.2**) was present within two distinct forms of enclosed space located across the ETOZ; small and large enclosures. A number of small enclosures, defined by enclosure ditches and ranging from 350m^2-1500m^2 (Table 5.7 – A5.26), were generally square in shape, apart from two examples at Abbotstone that had oval enclosure ditches (Benfield and Pooley 2005). The enclosure ditches were V or U shaped in profile and varied in width (1.25-4.9m) and depth (0.37-1.8m). While evidence for an interior bank as part of the enclosing earthwork is lacking in these examples, the spatial patterning of internal features suggests that such a feature may have been present in some instances (Stanway; Abbotstone; West House Farm). Each enclosure contained a single roundhouse, suggesting that they represented single familial groups. Evidence for both agrarian (field boundaries, evidence of grain, granary structures) and pastoral activities (droveways, animal bone remains) were present indicating they may have been farmsteads.

Site name	Ditch length (metres)	Area (m^2)	Person hours	Structures present?	Reference
South of Marrow Lane farm, Ardleigh	104	659	2048	Y	(Erith and Holbert 1970)
Stanway	140	1440	1840	Y	(Crummy *et al.* 2007)

Abbotstone RDE 1	127	896	968	N	(Benfield and Pooley 2005)
Abbotstone RDE 2	125	1104	204	N	(Benfield and Pooley 2005)
Church Lane, Colchester	104	4050	695	N	(Partridge 1993)
Colchester Garrison Project, Colchester - Area 2	183	2495	2354	Y	(Brooks and Masefield 2005)
Fiveways Fruit Farm	73	355	484	N	(Brooks and Holloway 2009)
Colchester-West House Farm	348	7445	6628	N	(Hawkes and Crummy 1995)
Lodge Farm NE enclosure	314	6098	2050	Y	(Germany 2007)
Lodge Farm SE enclosure	265	3030	1179	Y	(Germany 2007)

Table 5.7: MIA enclosures - ETOZ (including labour estimates)

Prehistoric enclosure boundaries in Britain were previously considered as purely a defensive or practical measure (e.g. containing livestock), however, it is now generally accepted that their construction was also motivated by social factors, perhaps as a method of social exclusion or an indicator of status (Bowden and McOmish 1987, 82; Hingley 1990a, 96). The layout of MIA enclosures in the ETOZ, and the position of roundhouse within them, indicates that social display was important to some 'groups' in this period. While roundhouse entrances were previously interpreted as constructed to face eastwards following a cosmological alignment (Oswald 1997, 87), recent research has suggested this may be regionally specific (Pope 2007). While many of the MIA roundhouse entrances in the ETOZ face eastwards (**5.3.2**), this alignment was likely related to and/or influenced by the construction of the enclosing earthworks. The orientation of enclosure entrances correlate in the majority of cases with the entrances of the domestic structures and it has been argued that both were purposefully constructed to be visually impressive for 'people' entering the enclosure (Brooks and Masefield 2005, 9). At Area 2 Garrison the substantial size of the enclosure ditch by the entrance (1.3-2.3m width) was large in comparison to the size of the ditch located beyond the view of the visitors, behind the roundhouse (0.5-0.75m). This hypothesis could equally be argued at Ardleigh (A5.27) where the roundhouse structure conceals a shared ditch (between the structure and the enclosure) and thereby masks a visually unimpressive section of the enclosure. Furthermore, the unusual south-west facing enclosure entrance at Abbotstone corresponds with the (later) roundhouse structure (Benfield and Pooley 2005, 12). Whether this interpretation could be argued for all cases is debatable (i.e. Stanway, where the width of the enclosure ditch is consistent), however, it does indicate that display and status were important considerations for those familial or social 'groups' who constructed and occupied them.

The evidence above indicates that MIA enclosures were designed partly to accommodate inherently self-interested pursuits such as ideas of status and display, perhaps to impress a social 'group'. However, Wigley (2007, 184) argues that this interpretation privileges the physical form of these enclosures over the "process that resulted in their creation". Practicality suggests that co-operation would have been required to construct enclosure sites, due to the volume of labour necessary to excavate ditches and build banks. Labour estimates (**4.5.6**) indicate that the effort required for construction ranged in effort from approximately 600 to 2400 person-hours per enclosure (Table 5.7), equivalent to twenty-four people working 10 hour days for 10 days. While the lower estimates may have been achievable over an extended period by a single family, it appears more logical that relationships between small 'groups' would have been required to construct earthworks. This action would have additionally aided in forging or strengthening relationships between social 'groups' due to the sharing of labour resources, assuming limited settlement hierarchy.

A larger enclosure type containing multiple roundhouses was also present in the ETOZ in the MIA, illustrated by Lodge Farm, Tendring, where excavations revealed nineteen roundhouses within two separate enclosures (only partially excavated). The surviving enclosure ditches were shallow in depth (0.45-0.88m), indicating that they were not defensive in function, but represented a symbolic divide (Germany 2007, 52–3). Based on the size of these enclosures and the number of dwellings present within them, these sites appear to have housed larger groups of 'people'. Evidence for the construction of four new roundhouses within the north-eastern enclosure suggests that it was extended at some point during the MIA to accommodate the growth of this 'group' (Germany 2007, 52). Archaeological evidence also indicates that the roundhouses in the south-eastern enclosure were initially unenclosed, but were later enclosed and then sub-divided (Germany 2007, 52–3). This created two smaller enclosures each containing a single roundhouse, and thus similar in layout to the smaller enclosures discussed above. While the larger enclosures likely required more person-hours to construct, this is not reflected in the data as neither enclosure ditch was totally uncovered (Table 5.7). However, estimates based on the general size and shape of the enclosures indicate that they will have required the largest quantity of labour to build (Table 5.8 – A5.28). The enclosure at West House Farm may represent a similar sized enclosure, due to the overall area it encompasses, however, only limited excavations have taken place to identify the extent and nature of the enclosing earthworks (Hawkes and Crummy 1995, 137).

Enclosure name	Person-hours	Area
NE Enclosure	2318	8283
SE Enclosure	1643	8378

Table 5.8: Labour estimates - Lodge Farm

In juxtaposition to the construction of roundhouse structures (**5.3.2**), the creation of enclosure earthworks would have required, in some cases, the procurement of large quantities of labour, a greater amount of time and collaboration or obligation between social 'groups'. Wigley (2007, 185) has suggested that the creation and maintenance of these boundaries, as collaborative efforts, may have been undertaken at the same time as other significant events, such as the exchange of goods (e.g. agricultural produce) or potentially the connection of social 'groups' through marriage ceremonies. In contrast to the small numbers associated with roundhouse construction (**5.3.2**), the construction of an enclosure earthwork lends itself to the gathering of a large 'group', each working on different areas of the enclosure, and through its creation the imposition of a static boundary, which was less open to question or later change (Bevan 1997, 184). This co-operation was partially an affirmation by the community that the inhabitants of the enclosure had a right to the land it was built upon and possibly that surrounding it (for farming), while physically defining exactly what that space was (Wigley 2007, 185).

The importance placed upon these enclosure boundaries is evident, where information is available, from the structured deposition of remains within them. The placement of broken pottery within enclosure or droveway ditches implies deliberate 'placed' deposits, and consequently, ritual action by 'people' within these settlements (**5.3.2**). This repeated practice was likely undertaken by the majority of inhabitants within the Lodge Farm enclosure (indicated by the large quantity of material uncovered) and suggests that certain rituals were shared by the larger social 'group'. The ritual actions may have been undertaken on a regular basis by multiple members of the community in order to reinforce the importance of enclosure ditches and thus signify the cohesion of the social 'group'. This interpretation is supported by the deliberate placement of two currency bars within the Stanway enclosure ditch, which perhaps aided in the creation of spatial boundaries through the deposition of a unusual and therefore significant votive item (Hingley 2005a, 197). While the currency bars at Stanway likely represent the actions of a small group of 'people' (i.e. a familial unit), the structured deposition within the enclosure ditches at Lodge Farm indicate a comparable activity undertaken by a larger 'group', attributable to the entire community and creating bonds between multiple familial units. These shared ritual

practices are particularly important in the MIA in light of the lack of evidence for communal areas of mortuary practice, and further highlights the strong connection and/or crossover between domestic and ritual activities.

Three sites dating to the MIA (Little Oakley; West of Tendring; Dead Lane, Little Clacton) are known from a limited amount of evidence, comprising ditches, pits and postholes. The lack of identifiable information may indicate the degradation of archaeological remains, however, evidence for occupation in other periods in close proximity suggests that this is, in some cases, a true representation of occupation in the MIA (e.g. LIA and ERom remains at Little Oakley). Although these sites are difficult to interpret based on limited physical evidence, they may represent temporary or seasonal activity, likely the movement of livestock in summer months for improved pasture. This may aid in our understanding of the movement of 'people' and social 'groups' across the landscape in this period (**5.5.2**).

The evidence for 'group' dynamics in the MIA appears to support contradictory interpretations, incorporating both individualism and wider community involvement. Within a number of small enclosures, the corresponding position of the roundhouse and enclosure entrances implies that familial groups were concerned with display and social status. These concerns reflect the desire of the enclosure inhabitants to positively present their domestic space to visitors, in contrast to practicalities such as the defensive limitations of the ditches, due to their width. However, this interpretation privileges *form* over *process* (Wigley 2007, 184) and an estimation of labour requirements illustrates the need for community co-operation and support, even for relatively small enclosure sites. The sharing of resources implies the forging of relationships between social units, which may have been undertaken in parallel to other significant events that also bound people together as a single 'group', such as the exchange of gifts. The large-scale enclosure sites, i.e. Lodge Farm, Tendring, illustrate communal sharing of resources and belief systems in a much clearer sense, shown by the sharing of domestic space (occupied by a number of roundhouse structures) and shared ritual practices (the common practice of structured deposition).

While the dating evidence for these enclosures is limited, the large-scale enclosure at Lodge Farm, Tendring, may provide a tentative sequence of events in terms of the changing nature of 'groups' in this period. Stratigraphic evidence at Lodge Farm indicates that after the extension of enclosure space to accommodate new roundhouses in the north-eastern enclosure, the south-eastern enclosure was sub-divided to create enclosures surrounding single roundhouse structures (Germany

2007, 52–3). This implies, albeit based on limited evidence, that the requirement of familial units in large communal enclosures were exchanged to create individual domestic space. However, it appears that this change was not motivated by a desire to retreat from a communal existence, evidenced by the need for outside assistance for boundary creation and maintenance. Moreover, the belief systems of people in the MIA, through the combination of domestic and ritual action (**5.3.2**), were shared on a communal level to integrate social units, now separated into individual domestic spaces, into a single broad social 'group'.

5.4.3 The Late Iron Age

Enclosed space in the ETOZ in the LIA was similar in shape and layout to MIA examples (A5.29), each defined by a single bank and ditch and containing evidence of domestic structures in some cases (Hill Farm; Wick Farm; Kelvedon–Area J, Layer-de-la-Haye; Doucecroft). A larger number of LIA enclosures were uncovered in the ETOZ (fourteen), however, they on average enclosed a smaller area than those of a MIA date (Table 5.9). Many of the LIA enclosures have been interpreted as farmsteads, indicated by the presence of domestic dwellings and adjacent field systems. The increased number of farmsteads from the MIA implies the expansion of agricultural exploitation within the ETOZ. An increase in population in the LIA may be the result of the movement of 'people' or 'groups' into the ETOZ from other areas (Hill 2007, 23) and/or the growth of families already within this area, subsequently fragmenting into a number of new enclosures. These enclosures were constructed both within and exterior to the linear earthwork system that defined the LIA territorial *oppidum* (**5.5.3**).

Site name	Ditch length (metres)	Area (m^2)	Person hours	Structures present?	Reference
Area J, Kelvedon	69	632	117	Y	(Rodwell 1988, 15–22)
Birch Pit Enclosure 1	146	5133	793	?	(Benfield and Spurgeon 2008)
Chitts Hill	64	1815	N/A	?	(Petchley 1973)
Doucecroft Enclosure A	25	449	908	Y	(Clarke 1988)
Doucecroft Enclosure B	40	1135	115	Y	(Clarke 1988)
Gatehouse Farm	395	10474	1142	Y	HER
Gosbecks – Phase 1	457	13992	22204	?	(Hawkes and Crummy 1995, 95–105)
Gosbecks – extension	297	11790	14430	N	(Hawkes and Crummy 1995, 95–105)
Hundred Acre Field 1	326	9069	N/A	N	(Hinchcliffe 1981)

Hundred Acre Field 2	147	1296	N/A	N	(Hinchcliffe 1981)
Hundred Acre Field 3	138	1566	N/A	N	(Hinchcliffe 1981)
Layer-de-la-Haye Treatment Works	220	3136	440	Y	(Robertson 2005)
Pitchbury	676	32044	52790	N	(Hawkes and Crummy 1995, 138–154)
Wick Farm	53	548	141	Y	(Allen and Germany 2009)

Table 5.9: LIA enclosures - ETOZ (including labour estimates)

A trend towards the construction of smaller enclosures in the LIA, compared to that of the MIA, is illustrated by the lower estimated person-hours required for construction; ranging between approximately 100-900 person-hours (Table 5.9). This trend could indicate that either some 'people' did not want larger enclosures during this period, or that labour was no longer shared. In either scenario, the co-operation present in the MIA was less than in the LIA and indicates that the validation of enclosed space or the forging of relationships (through shared labour) were no longer articulated. Despite this, it is likely that some co-operation between 'people' would have still been required to provide the skills and experience necessary to construct enclosures and to offer labour to ensure the enclosures were constructed at a reasonable pace.

Pitchbury hillfort and Gosbecks are two exceptions to the trend for smaller enclosures in the LIA and may help to explain a change in the focus of communal effort within social 'groups' (A5.30, A5.31). Gosbecks, otherwise labelled 'Cunobelin's farmstead', is a large trapezoidal enclosure measuring approximately 100m across and defined by an imposing earthwork, measuring in places 5.5m in width and 2.5m in depth (Hawkes and Crummy 1995, 95–7). While excavation of the site was confined to the enclosure ditches, some evidence of internal occupation including a possible roundhouse and pits has been interpreted from cropmark evidence. Furthermore, field systems have been identified in areas surrounding the enclosure and interpreted, based on size and layout, as used for both arable and pastoral farming (Hawkes and Crummy 1995, 104). A series of trackways or droveways, orientated both north-south and east-west, also surround the central enclosure, possibly utilised to move animals, supporting the assertion of a partly pastoral economy. Two interpretations have often been proposed for the site. The first holds that Gosbecks was predominately agricultural in function based on the presence of field systems and droveways, while the second suggests based on the size and position of the enclosure in relation to the LIA linear earthwork system, that it represented "the occupation site of the highest

social status" (Hawkes and Crummy 1995, 104), attributed to the historical leader Cunobelin. This interpretation is partially based on the assumption that a similar importance was afforded the site in the LIA as in the Roman period, in which a temple and theatre were constructed in this area (Rogers 2008, 45). While each interpretation is based on the known evidence of the site, they offer a simplistic view of the wider social and ritual importance of the site to surrounding social 'groups'.

A more intricate understanding of the Gosbecks enclosure, and potentially other sites within the ETOZ, considers both functional and ritual activities. At Gosbecks, there is evidence for communal activities and possible processional movement, which may indicate that the site served more than just an agricultural function. Gosbecks has previously been compared to the LIA Viereckschanzen enclosures on the Continent, each defined by square earthworks with a single entrance. While the understanding of these sites is currently debated, they are considered to be both functional (domestic) and ritual in nature (Bradley 2003, 10–11), The earliest enclosing element (Phase 1) would have taken approximately 22,200 person-hours to construct (Table 5.9), the equivalent of approximately 20 people working ten hour days for 111 days. This estimate implies the mass organisation of 'people' for a single purpose. Furthermore, a second line of ditches added to the southern and eastern sides of the enclosure has been interpreted as a trackway leading to a possible entrance (Hawkes and Crummy 1995, 96 - A5.32). This trackway would have taken approximately 14,400 person-hours, or the equivalent of 20 people working ten hour days for 72 days to construct. While traditionally considered a 'funnel' for driving livestock into an enclosure, Moore (2012, 410) has suggested that this type of entrance, often associated with banjo-enclosures, may equally form an embellishment to these earthworks to "enhance the human experience of these foci". Trackways associated with the enclosure may have served as processional routeways whose importance lay both in the movement of animals through droveways and the movement of 'people' to and from this enclosure. The overall importance of the enclosure is supported by the large quantity of labour required to construct and maintain the enclosing ditches and trackways. This interpretation is intriguing, but also tentative and requires examination within a broader set of archaeological evidence (**5.5.3**).

A similar interpretation, combing both the practical and the ritual, could be put forward for Pitchbury hillfort. Considered a partially bivallate hillfort, the ramparts at Pitchbury enclose an area of approximately 1.9 hectares with a single NW facing entrance (Hawkes and Crummy 1995, 138–9). While enclosed completely by a single ditch and bank, a second line of earthworks is present on the eastern side, indicating that the

site may be “unfinished” (Hawkes and Crummy 1995, 141). Several excavations have revealed extensive plough damage across parts of the ramparts and the interior, however, forty-one small pits have been uncovered and excavated, six of which were dated to the prehistoric period and thirty-five that were sterile (Hawkes and Crummy 1995, 143). The interpretation of Pitchbury as a ‘hillfort’, despite its relatively low topographic position, has hindered the understanding of the excavated area and how it was understood and utilised by communities in the LIA. The estimated labour required to construct the earthworks, for example, measured approximately 53,000 person-hours or the equivalent of 50 people working ten hour days for 106 days (Table 5.9). This labour would have needed the organisation of a large ‘group’ who could dedicate a significant portion of time and effort. The unfinished nature of the enclosure may be due to the difficulty of organising labour or persuading ‘people’ to actively participate. The motive behind the construction of the enclosure is unclear, due to the lack of surviving remains. The excavated features within the interior are notable for the lack of architecture or objects relating to domestic occupation, however, the numerous excavated pit features are reminiscent (in size and shape) of storage pits, usually for grain. Storage pits in other hillforts have sometimes also used for structured deposition, e.g. The Caburn and the Trundle, Sussex (Hamilton and Manley 2001) and Danebury, Wessex (Cunliffe 1992). While the archaeological evidence is limited due to the plough damage of the internal features, the creation of this enclosure perhaps formalised a significant position in the landscape, allowing ‘groups’ from within the ETOZ to congregate and undertake communal rituals. These rituals may have been connected to the agricultural cycle, indicated by the albeit sparse evidence for storage and/or votive pits within the enclosure interior.

Sites of specialist activity also emerge in the ETOZ for the first time in the LIA. A series of LIA salt working sites, locally known as ‘Red Hills’, due to their appearance as small mounds of burnt material, have been identified and excavated along the ETOZ coastline and the Colne Estuary. Salt working activities intensified in many places in LIA Britain, suggesting salt was produced and used by large ‘groups’ of people, although not necessarily extracted as a communal activity (Morris 2007, 438). It has been suggested that salt production was linked to the agricultural cycle, with salt used to “flavour foods, preserving meats, make cheese, cure hides, and for ‘licks’ for livestock” (Willis 2007a, 116). Salt production would have likely been a seasonal activity, due to factors such as “solar evaporation and marine saline levels” and may have been combined with sheep rearing that moved seasonally to areas of the salt marsh for summer pasture (Willis 2007a, 116). While there is some suggestion that

the intensification of salt production in the LIA indicates the trade of such products, this is difficult to determine due to the lack of excavated salt containers in other places and consequently can only be conjectured in the ETOZ (Morris 2001, 400–1). Recent research has also suggested that salt held a symbolic meaning, linked to the significance placed on watery contexts in the LIA (**6.5.3**) and evidence for structured deposition, and human and animal burial associated with these production sites (Hathaway 2013). Evidence for these processes is lacking for sites in the ETOZ, partially due to limited excavations undertaken on Red Hills in this area. However, these activities may have been undertaken as part of a wider communal agricultural network and within a complex set of ritual activities (see below).

Evidence for coin production and import/export activities have been uncovered during the excavations at Sheepen. In the 1930s evidence for a LIA mint was uncovered, evidenced by mainly bronze and silver coins, and a number of copies of Roman republican *denarii* (Hawkes and Hull 1947, 49). Excavations at Kiln Road, to the south of the original excavation, revealed 600 fragments of coin flans or moulds, which although did not represent in situ evidence of the manufacturing process, do suggest the extent of coin manufacture in the ETOZ (Hawkes and Crummy 1995, 131). Haselgrove's (1987, 170) analysis of the LIA coinage from Sheepen indicates the earliest minting occurred in the Late Augustan period (late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD) with an increase of coinage loss (and potentially production) stretching to the Tiberian period (to AD37). Other industries at Sheepen included possible bronze working, suggested by the large number of locally made pre-conquest 'Colchester' type brooches (Hawkes and Hull 1947, 49), derived from a simple Gallo-Belgic form (Bayley and Butcher 2004, 148–9). Evidence for the import (and export) of goods from Sheepen is illustrated by a large selection of pottery from Gaul and Italy, glass (bowls, cups, dishes) and brooches (Hawkes and Hull 1947, 49). The absence of granaries has been interpreted as indicating that agriculture was not undertaken on the site but that food was grown and brought to Sheepen from elsewhere (Hawkes and Hull 1947, 48). This may indicate the exchange of goods with other 'groups' in the ETOZ, through co-operation and trade, to allow new industries to thrive. Willis (2007a, 121–122) has suggested that the rich assemblage of material culture at Sheepen may also indicate that "feasting, festivals and offerings" were a feature of this area, encouraged by its proximity to the lowest tidal point of the Colne, interpreted as a meaningful boundary between fresh and seawater (**5.5.3**). The ritual function of Sheepen is also illustrated by the continued recognition of the significance of the area in the Roman period, illustrated by the construction of temples on the site

(Willis 2007a, 121). As seen within other territorial *oppida* in Britain (e.g. Haselgrove and Millett 1997, 285–6) ritual action was often associated with evidence for metalworking, further demonstrating the connection between ritual practices and the production process (Willis 2007a, 121). The archaeological evidence at Sheepen implies that the social 'group' associated with production/exchange activities in this area envisaged the economic and industrial importance of the site in parallel to its sacredness.

The practicalities of the creation of social ties in the LIA are illustrated partially through evidence for shared mortuary practices. A number of small burial groups (2-12 internments mostly consist of urned cremation burials) are known across the ETOZ (A120 Bypass; South Elms Farm; Ardleigh; Vince's Farm, Ardleigh; Fairhaven Avenue, West Mersea), as well as a small number of single cremation burials (Sand and Gravel Pit Southwest of Keelars Farm; Fen Farm; Fox Street; Grounds of Elm Park; Abbey Field; Rivenhall End). These sites are separated from, but located in close proximity to, LIA farmsteads implying that small social 'groups' undertook mortuary activities within discrete areas in the ETOZ. One of the largest burial groups in the LIA is the Lexden cemetery, dated to 50-10 BC (Hawkes and Crummy 1995, 164) and enclosed partially by a line of the linear earthwork system (**5.5.3**). The cemetery was uncovered in the late 19th-early 20th centuries due to the chance discovery of a number of urned cremation burials (A5.33). The interpretation of the site is therefore limited by available published information. The location of this discrete group of burials has been mapped by Hawkes and Crummy (1995, 164) and includes twenty-seven vessels within ten groups, each of which probably denotes more than one burial (A5.32). Some of the cremation burials likely pre-dated the construction of the earthwork that defined the cemetery (Hawkes and Crummy 1995, 175). These burial groups were located in close proximity but separate from domestic sites, indicating a desire by social 'groups' to create specific spaces for burial, in contrast to MIA mortuary traditions (**5.3.2**). Furthermore, the evidence implies that there was a desire, in some instances, to share burial space with other 'people' (e.g. the creation of cemeteries), forming a single 'group'. The motives behind the separation of mortuary practices from domestic contexts may not be an ideological shift from MIA traditions but purely a socially beneficial one. As the LIA population grew in the ETOZ and more complex social links were created with other 'groups', the advantages of shared burial space may have allowed greater social and political ties with other communities.

The site at Stanway (A5.34) may help to understand the specific practices and motives for shared burial space within the ETOZ, illustrating that the creation of LIA cemeteries grew partially from traditions and beliefs held in the MIA. The site at Stanway, located beyond the linear earthwork systems of the *oppidum* (**5.5.3**), consisted of four enclosures chronicling a period of mortuary activity from the mid-1st century BC to the late-1st century AD (**5.4.4**). The LIA phase of the site (mid-1st century BC-AD43) consisted of the construction of two enclosures (1 and 3) on the site of a previous MIA farmstead (**5.4.2**). Enclosure 1 was constructed immediately adjacent to the MIA farmstead earthworks, now abandoned but likely still partially visible (Crummy *et al.* 2007, 69). Enclosure 1 was rectangular in shape, measured 98m by 92m and had no identifiable entrance (A5.34). Enclosure 3, later in date, was approximately square in shape, measured 74m by 70m and had an eastern entrance, mirroring that of the MIA farmstead, which may have also still been visible when it was constructed (Crummy *et al.* 2007, 69). While these enclosures were structurally comparable and adjacent to the MIA farmstead, their purpose, as an area for burial, was novel. Enclosure 1 contained three features; a mortuary chamber, an urned cremation burial and a pit containing broken funerary goods, while Enclosure 3, contained similar features including a mortuary chamber, a pyre site and pit (**5.3.3**). The droveway associated with the MIA farmstead was retained in use during the LIA (**5.5.2**), substantiated by the relative positions of Enclosures 1 and 3, and was potentially transformed from a droveway to an area of procession associated with mortuary practices (**5.5.3**).

The material from Stanway illustrates an array of mortuary evidence (**5.3.3**), but also how ritual practices were articulated on a 'group' level. This is demonstrated partly through the understanding that actions/specific rituals associated with the interment of these burials were not isolated events but associated with practices undertaken by the wider social 'group'. For example, feasting and drinking were a major component of these rituals, evidenced by the remains of broken flagons, beakers and amphorae both in the burials themselves and within the enclosure ditches (Crummy *et al.* 2007, 72). The excavators have interpreted this evidence as representing specific funeral events rather than repeated commemorative events, however, the wider importance of the site indicates otherwise. The importance of these enclosures is evident by their proximity to the MIA farmstead and the continued use of trackways across this site and beyond, suggesting that movement to and from this place was as evident, and possibly important, in the LIA as it was in the MIA (**5.5.3**). Furthermore, the inclusion of multiple burials within these enclosures indicates that the enclosures themselves

represented small areas of mortuary space, interpreted as “the funerary arrangements for at least a few of the members of a relatively high status family unit” (Crummy *et al.* 2007, 444). The explanation of the other features in the enclosures is however more problematic and has been assigned a functional explanation by the excavators of the site, i.e. an area of buried pyre debris. While this is probable in some cases (e.g. enclosure 3), the pit containing broken funerary objects (jar, bowl, wooden box, earrings, finger rings) in Enclosure 1 does not fit this pattern and could in isolation be interpreted as a votive deposit. This interpretation implies that the site may have been visited repeatedly for purposes of veneration. The deposition of pottery and animal bone in pits within LIA mortuary enclosures at Brisley Farm, Ashford has similarly been interpreted as ritualistic or votive offerings associated with two warrior burials (Stevenson 2013, 137). These acts of veneration could explain the presence of cremated human remains within the enclosure ditch of the MIA farmstead, which may have still been considered an important part of the site and in the LIA adopted as an area in which to deposit human remains (Crummy *et al.* 2007, 47).

The motive behind acts of veneration at Stanway could be the remembrance of important individuals buried within the enclosures (i.e. an elite member of society or a community leader). However, the evidence associated with these burials and the mortuary enclosures suggests more complex and community involved ritual and mortuary practices. This interpretation is supported partially by the effort required to construct the funerary enclosures (Table 5.10) indicating the labour of a large organised ‘group’. The evidence for repeated visits to the site, in parallel to the lack of evidence for areas of explicit LIA ritual activity within the ETOZ (apart from sparse evidence for a temple site at Kelvedon – Rodwell 1988), implies that the site at Stanway may have acted as an area for congregation. This interpretation is supported by the construction of these enclosure in an area that had connections to the past, i.e. the MIA farmstead, which suggests an importance of this place in the wider landscape (**5.5.3**). The evidence suggests that, symbolically if not physically, the practices of communities in the LIA were influenced by pre-existing rites established in the MIA, where there was arguably limited separation between the ritual/spiritual from the domestic/practical. While activities associated with burial and ritual changed over time, a strong association with the past remained important to LIA communities.

Enclosure name	Person hours	Area
1	5677	7985
3	3934	2999

Table 5.10: Labour estimates for construction of Stanway enclosures

In summary, the articulation of domestic enclosures in the LIA continued from practices adopted in the MIA, with most familial groups inhabiting small enclosures rather than participating in communal domestic habitation. New ways of expressing an evolving, complex 'group' identity were undertaken in parallel to changes within routine practices (**5.3.3**), accomplished through the construction of large-scale complexes, which intertwined the practical and profane. In contrast to the separation of domestic and mortuary space in the LIA, these complexes (Stanway; Gosbecks; Pitchbury hillfort) combined ritual action with evidence for the agricultural cycle, whether as contemporary activities (Gosbecks; Pitchbury) or from past undertakings (Stanway). The construction of these enclosures paralleled, and were perhaps contemporary with, other large-scale and labour intensive projects undertaken within the ETOZ in the LIA, namely the construction of the linear earthwork system (**5.5.3**). The construction of the enclosures illustrates that just as new practices, both domestic and ritual, were mediated through pre-existing traditions on a personal level, so were 'group' identities reconstituted during the LIA in order to accommodate both new practices and pre-existing MIA customs.

5.4.4 The Early Roman Period

Direct evidence for continuity of 'group' practices from the LIA to ERom period is demonstrated by the continued use of some enclosure sites, e.g. Birch Pit western extension (Benfield and Spurgeon 2008) and Doucecroft site, Kelvedon (Clarke 1988), or the construction of new farmstead enclosures in areas of previous occupation, e.g. Hill Farm, Tendring (Heppell 1997). The continued occupation of these farmsteads illustrates the sustained importance of agricultural activities across these periods. Other sites may equally show continuity of occupation, i.e. Gosbecks, but have yet to be extensively investigated. The endurance of these enclosures implies the persistence of social 'groups' in this period and, despite the arrival of the Roman military in AD43, that these groups followed pre-existing indigenous traditions. There is little evidence for direct contact between the social 'groups' who occupied these enclosures and the Roman military (Wacher 1997, 114), however, it is likely that the introduction of the military force did have an effect on indigenous groups, although not always represented by direct suppression (see below).

The Roman military institution, as discussed above (**5.3.4**), was characterised, partly by a number of shared characteristics (dress, training, language, physical environment), which provided the structure for this social 'group' (e.g. James 1999b). Two forts, a legionary fortress and a possible auxiliary fort at Gosbecks, illustrate the physical presence of the Roman military in the LIA *oppidum* following the Claudian invasion of AD43 (A5.35). An additional fort has also been identified at Kelvedon, to the east of the linear earthwork system. These military enclosures were built to a standard shape (rectangular with rounded corners) and size in order to accommodate a specific deployment of troops. The legionary fortress accommodated a legion of troops (5,500 soldiers in 20 hectares) while the auxiliary fort accommodated either infantry or mixed infantry and cavalry units (approximately 480 to 600 soldiers in 1-2 hectares) (Mattingly 2006, 131–2). The earthworks enclosing these forts were greater than any of the enclosures of preceding periods (Table 5.11) and an estimation of the person-hours required to construct this element of the legionary fortress indicates that it took approximately 69,000 person-hours, equivalent to approximately 1000 people working 12 hour days for six days. A more detailed assessment of labour requirements for this type of military site was undertaken by Shirley (2000) for Inchtuthil, a late first century AD legionary fortress located near Blairgowrie and Rattray, Perth and Kinross, Scotland. Shirley (2000, 156) concluded that the total labour requirements of the complex defences and internal structures equated to approximately 2.2 million person-hours, the equivalent of the entire legion (5500 people) working 10 hour days for 45 days. These forts were also constructed to accommodate and utilise the existing linear earthwork systems (**5.5.3**). The auxiliary fort at Gosbecks was constructed against Heath Farm dyke, part of the LIA linear earthwork system (Wilson 1977, 186). These forts illustrate the power of the Roman military both physically, to quickly construct these strongholds, and symbolically, illustrating dominance over the indigenous population. The position of these forts within the *oppidum* equally enforced submission from the local population (**5.5.4**).

Name	**Area** (m^2)	**Person Hours**
Legionary Fortress	209497	68998
Gosbecks Fort	19676	19676
Kelvedon Fort	55242	55242

Table 5.11: Labour estimates - military enclosures

The withdrawal of the Legion from the ETOZ and the construction of an urban settlement (*colonia*) in AD49, dramatically altered the manner in which the social 'group' who inhabited this settlement were perceived by, and portrayed themselves,

to surrounding communities, despite their military associations (**5.3.4**). While much of the construction of the *colonia* followed the lines of the earlier military fortress, in relative position, the reuse of barrack structures (**5.3.4**) and reuse of the military street grid (Crummy 1984, 5–6), fundamental changes took place which altered the perception of this space to surrounding communities. The substantial legionary ditch was neglected in places (Balkerne Lane) and backfilled in others effectively leaving the *colonia* with no defences (Crummy 1984, 8). The *colonia* also expanded to the east beyond the limits of the previous fortress (Wacher 1997, 116). These elements indicate that the emerging urban community felt that they were not in direct conflict with neighbouring 'groups' and felt sufficiently safe to discard their defences and expand this settlement into new areas. While it is tempting to suggest that subjugation was the motivator for "friendly relations" between these communities, this interpretation fails to appreciate the choice of the surrounding communities to include themselves within this emerging urban way of life (Given 2004, 67–8), or continue to operate in the way that their ancestors did. While some indigenous 'groups' continued to occupy the farmsteads constructed in the LIA and scattered across the ETOZ, others 'groups' may have interacted and even joined the emerging *colonia*.

In the ERom period the site at Sheepen was employed as an industrial site comprising metal and leather working, in parallel to areas of domestic occupation, illustrated by a series of roundhouse structures (Niblett 1985, 24). Following the establishment of the Roman *colonia* at Camulodunum in AD49, immediately adjacent to Sheepen, the domestic occupation and industrial activities at Sheepen were greatly expanded (Niblett 1985, 25–6). Hawkes and Hull (1947, 52–53) have interpreted this expansion as evidence of indigenous 'groups' submitting to Rome, becoming a "subject working class to the Roman citizens of the *Colonia*". Excavations at Sheepen in the 1970s revealed fragments of military metalwork that have been interpreted by Niblett (1985, 24) as scrap awaiting reuse rather than evidence for metalworking for military equipment. Following the formation of the *colonia*, the metalworking industry expanded to also include "more 'day-to-day' requirements such as fittings for furniture and carts, domestic items, toilet articles and brooches" (Niblett 1985, 25). This evidence suggests an industry that operated beyond military requirements and was stimulated by new inhabitants of the *colonia*, who provided a more diverse set of needs (**5.3.4**). It appears that following the Claudian conquest the community at Sheepen consisted of craftspeople, initially co-operating with and working under military supervision, but later flourishing under the opportunities afforded by the nearby creation of the *colonia*.

The construction of archaeologically visible ritual and mortuary sites was intimately involved in the consolidation of non-military or 'civilian' settlements from the AD50's onwards. Several small cemeteries have been identified in the area surrounding the *colonia*, including at Sheepen, Lexden, and groups surrounding Kelvedon (Table 5.12 – A5.36). Cemeteries in the Roman period were usually constructed outside of the urban centre and in towns without a defining boundary (e.g. a defensive circuit), such as the ETOZ, may have acted as a marker between the central urban area (i.e. the *colonia*), and exterior rural areas (Goodman 2007, 65–66). Due to the fragmentary nature of the archaeological remains, little is known of the structure of these cemeteries, however, there is limited evidence for differentiation between the burials themselves (**5.3.4**) that might represent different social 'groups'. The diverse personal identities identified in the ETOZ in this period (i.e. military, non-military affiliates, indigenous people – **5.3.4**) indicate that the differentiation between areas of burial for different social 'groups' is likely, albeit difficult to isolate.

Name	Reference
Gutteridge Wood, Weeley	(Wade 2008, 35–37)
Kelvedon Area J	(Rodwell 1988, 42)
Kelvedon Roman cemeteries	(Rodwell 1988)
Lexden - Roman cemetery	(HER)
Near Beverley Road	(Hull 1958, 254)
Near Creffield Road	(Hull 1958, 254)
North Cemetery	(Hull 1958, 257)
Sheepen Cemetery	(Niblett 1985, 22)
St Botolph's Vicarage	(Hull 1958, 258)
St Peter's School, Coggeshall (CG2)	(Clarke 1988)
The Avenue	(Crummy 1992, 344)
The North-east cemetery	(Hull 1958, 257–258)
Turner Rise, Colchester	(Shimmin 1996)

Table 5.12: Summary of ERom cemeteries - ETOZ

The formation of specialised areas for ritual practices within the *colonia* demonstrates the continued connection between the social 'groups' who occupied the town and the Roman Empire. The Temple of Claudius is one of few so called "classical style" temples constructed in Britain and was built in the eastern extension to the *colonia*, in addition to other public buildings such as a theatre (Crummy 1984, 8). The temple, dedicated to Emperor Claudius the conqueror of Britain and constructed in AD55 following his death, would have been a large rectangular structure with a porch and triangular pediment approached by steps (Mattingly 2006, 282). Ceremonial and processional activities linking the temple and public buildings in the town may have been undertaken during in the post-conquest period (i.e. Esmonde Cleary 2005) and

may have been a magnification of the rigorous and "traditional framework" of religious practice present in the Roman military (Mattingly 2006, 215). Romano-Celtic temples elsewhere in the ETOZ may represent 'syncretism'; the joining of indigenous ritual beliefs with that of Roman practices. A small round temple within a gravelled *temenos* uncovered at Kelvedon was preceded by a possible Late Iron Age version of a similar shape and structure (Rodwell 1988, 136). While this appears to illustrate mutual reconciliation between the Roman military and indigenous 'groups', this is a simplistic interpretation that does not take into account the greater social complexity between these 'groups' following the invasion of AD43. Webster (1995, 157–8) has argued, based on epigraphic evidence, that syncretism may be asymmetrical, i.e. that it represents Imperial power rather than indigenous co-operation. For example, the construction of the Temple of Claudius in the *colonia,* specifically dedicated to the conqueror of Britain, could be viewed as a colonial act of a ruling power (Mattingly 2006, 214–5) and a stark and constant reminder to indigenous social 'groups' within the ETOZ.

Discontent caused by the construction of the Temple of Claudius was stated by Tacitus to be one of the causes of the Boudican revolt of AD60/61 (Tacitus' *Life of Agricola*, Chapter 31), which, along with the entirety of the town and its inhabitants, was destroyed during the uprising. Although there is limited evidence to corroborate such an interpretation, the fragile and complex relationship between the urban community and the surrounding indigenous population likely meant that there was varying and divisive reactions to the destruction of the town. The urban population were the intended victims, however, while other social 'groups' likely fled, hid or stood back, some locals who operated in defiance to the Roman Empire, may have participated in the violence. Based on evidence from Culver Street, the reconstruction of the town started approximately 15-20 years after the devastation (Crummy 1992, 30), in which the overall structure of the *colonia* was retained including the reestablishment of the streets and the layout of building plots (Crummy 1992, 27–29). This continuity suggests that despite the likely altered makeup of the urban population (**5.3.4**) the *colonia* was reconstructed to reflect its pre-Boudican state. The reconstruction also included the rebuilding of the Temple of Claudius and public structures in the eastern annexe, suggesting that the pre-eminence of the town continued (Gascoyne and Radford 2013, 99–100), perhaps in defiance to the destruction caused the by uprising and its participants.

Despite the foundation of new places of communal ritual and mortuary activities in the ERom period, it is apparent that some sites retained their importance from the LIA

and suggest the continuation of some ritual practices, likely performed by indigenous social 'groups' who inherited rites from their ancestors. For example, the funerary enclosures constructed in the LIA at Stanway (**5.4.3**) were added to by two further enclosures (A5.37) in the immediate post-conquest period (AD43-55). Enclosure 4 was constructed against and incorporated the ditch from Enclosure 3 (of a LIA date) while Enclosure 5 was constructed shortly afterwards to form a row of three areas of enclosed space (Crummy *et al.* 2007, 69–84). The physical continuation of these enclosures corresponds to the similarity of the burials and other features located within them (**5.3.4**) and indicates that the rites and practices undertaken were continuous, despite the arrival of the Roman military. The continuation of rites is further illustrated by the deposition of deliberately broken pottery within the ditches of Enclosure 4 (88 vessels) and Enclosure 5 (10 vessels including two amphorae), similar to those practices documented for the LIA (Crummy *et al.* 2007, 74, 83). These communal actions aid in the interpretation of the individual graves themselves (**5.3.4**) illustrating that these enclosures do not represent a simple familial cemetery, as suggested by the excavators (Crummy *et al.* 2007, 444), but rather a series of complex ritual actions conducted on a community scale.

In the post-conquest period the incoming Roman populace were, despite their diverse origins (**5.3.4**), united within a shared social 'group' defined by a distinct military identity. The distinctiveness of this 'group' was also apparent in the construction of domestic space, i.e. initially fortresses and later the *colonia*, which were settled by many who shared a distinct military origin (**5.3.4**). The definition of this social space illustrates a distinct separation from the occupation sites of indigenous 'groups', while the labour required to construct these installations stresses the self-reliance of this social 'group'. Indigenous 'groups' in this period followed similar trends to those established in the LIA, albeit changed by the introduction of, and interaction with, the incoming Roman military and associated community. While there is little evidence for the interaction between the military and the indigenous 'people', there is some evidence for exchange at a 'group' level, e.g. the production of metalwork at the industrial site of Sheepen. This is not to say that all indigenous 'groups' wanted to co-operate with the Roman military and some actively avoided interaction with the military institution, illustrated in part by the continued occupation of LIA agricultural areas and farmsteads. Despite the intrusion of the military into the ETOZ, there is little evidence for physical resistance from occupants of the ETOZ prior to the Boudican Revolt of AD60/61. Although led by social 'groups' based further north (i.e. the 'Iceni' in Norfolk), this revolt likely included some local contributors who took an opportunity

to actively participate in the destruction of the *colonia* and its inhabitants. Through the reconstruction of the town, the urban populace was renewed as a social 'group,' partially in order to organise and rebuild but also by the trauma itself. This event likely caused further animosity and separation, in a social sense, between those who lived within the *colonia*, and those who considered themselves separate from this settlement.

5.4.5 Conclusion

Through the exploration of evidence for 'groups' it is apparent that 'collective identity', whether internally or externally defined, changed dramatically within the ETOZ from the MIA to the ERom period. However, it is important to place these changes within a wider context, particularly the evidence for 'people' or personal identity. As stated by Sharples (2010, 92), "any analysis of the community must begin by discussing the means by which relationships are formed between individuals".

In the MIA, social 'groups' were expressed initially through co-operation in the construction and sharing of domestic space and the consolidation of agricultural activities, both agrarian and pastoral. This is demonstrated at Lodge Farm, Tendring, where domestic and ritual activities were undertaken by 'people' in one area of enclosure, which through communal living and shared routine turned 'people' into a unified social identity. Although evidence is limited, this sharing of domestic space either evolved in the MIA into a desire to create smaller enclosures to define single social units, or was practiced in parallel to communal living arrangements. The construction of small farmsteads (which continued into the LIA) did not illustrate the breaking up of communal social 'groups' but the expression of collective identity in different ways. Using shared labour and knowledge social 'groups' supported the construction of individual enclosures for its members, who forged relationships in new ways and allowed the affirmation by the collective the right to live and farm in specific locations. The LIA saw the continuation and growth of social 'groups', in part through the reorganisation of communal resources into the creation of places of communal ritual space, such as at Stanway, Pitchbury Hillfort and Gosbecks. These sites were each constructed to enclose space where 'people' could congregate and undertake ritual practices in association with agricultural activities, but required the use of large quantities of labour to construct them. However, these enclosures equally illustrate different arrangements of form including the number of enclosing earthworks, the use of ditches and banks and in the general layout. This individuality may illustrate different social 'groups', illustrated by the introduction of new routines of 'people' (dining conventions, layout of dwellings, burial practices) and the desire for like-

minded people to form new social collectives. It must be remembered that these activities were undertaken in parallel to large-scale communal projects during this period, e.g. the construction of the linear earthwork system (**5.5.3**). The invasion of the Roman military in the post-conquest period saw the introduction of a new social institution into the ETOZ, which despite the diversity of its members, was unified through shared a collective military identity. A unified military identity continued in this area even after the withdrawal of the Legion and was integrated into the urban settlement of the *colonia*, perhaps drawing others with a similar background to settle there. Indigenous 'groups', in light of this colonial rule, had varied responses to Roman occupation, whether to co-operate and take advantage of the situation (i.e. the metalworking industry at Sheepen) or to ignore (as much as possible) this new 'group', illustrated by the continuation of occupation of farmsteads from the LIA into this period. While there is little evidence for organised social resistance 'groups' in the ETOZ, the sacking of the *colonia* in the Boudican Revolt of AD60/61 illustrates the scorn with which the military was regarded by some in East Anglia and likely reflected the opinion of some 'groups' within the ETOZ who were directly affected by the presence of the Romans.

This examination of social 'groups', in parallel to and interwoven with the evidence for personal identity, has illustrated how and why some of these 'groups' formed and in some cases how they interacted with one another. However, this evidence needs to be addressed in light of the interaction between 'people' and the wider landscape, which they inhabited. The landscape of the ETOZ was inscribed with meaning by those who occupied this area and it is through the understanding of the relationship between 'people', 'groups' and the landscape over time that we can comprehend the development of the *oppidum*.

5.5 'Regions'

5.5.1 Introduction

The regional scale of evidence examines the landscape of the ETOZ, including its physical characteristics and the spatial distribution of sites. However, this analysis will examine much more than "a history of things done to the land" (Barrett 1999b, 26). As discussed above (**3.4.2**), the definition of landscape within this thesis represents what Thomas (2001, 173) describes as a "lived landscape"; one which incorporates an understanding of the agency of 'people' and 'groups', and the dynamic relation between the two, within the wider structure of the ETOZ. It is important to remember that the ETOZ landscape was comprehended through a specific context or meaning

by the people who inhabited it and that this context likely changed over time. This is particularly relevant to a landscape changed through colonial control, which may incorporate the introduction of new social 'groups' but also changes within indigenous 'groups', whose viewpoint was steeped in tradition but altered through circumstance. The consideration of this regional evidence must be undertaken with care, due to the affiliation of some communities to distinct political entities in the LIA and ERom periods, as evidenced through numismatic and historical accounts (Hill 2012, 252). By attributing a regional identity to these 'groups' and the landscapes they inhabited before considering the archaeological evidence, we are colouring our view of what this evidence tells us about past societies. A discussion of these political entities will form part of a later chapter of the thesis (Chapter 7).

Through the examination of evidence on a landscape scale it is apparent that MIA 'groups' articulated relationships through the construction and maintenance of routeways through the ETOZ. While previously held through collective memory, the construction of these routeways defined and reinforced 'paths' through the ETOZ, physically transforming the relationship between social 'groups' and the landscape (Tilley 1994, 27–8). In the LIA, the definition of important places in the landscape was constituted through the construction of a massive linear earthwork system, which defined the territorial *oppidum* and required the collective efforts of the community at large, dramatically transforming the ETOZ landscape. In the ERom period, the Roman military positioned new areas of occupation within important places or locales defined within the LIA territorial *oppidum* and consequently, along with the construction of an extensive road system, demonstrated their power to the indigenous population. However, many features of the LIA territorial *oppidum* (e.g. the linear earthwork system) were left in place (albeit altered), perhaps illustrating the formation of a 'middle ground' by colonial rulers (see Gosden 2004).

5.5.2 The Middle Iron Age

The MIA settlement pattern across the ETOZ is dispersed, with areas of occupation stretching from Kelvedon in the west, to the Tendring peninsular in the east (A5.38). These sites represent a variety of forms including enclosures and evidence of unenclosed or temporary occupation sites (**5.4.2**). The form and structure of these small enclosure sites indicates that they represented isolated farmsteads whose location is partially influenced by surrounding areas of open land utilised for mixed agricultural activities. The interpretation of the ETOZ as representing a mixed farming landscape is based on the presence of a number of field systems and drainage ditches representing arable fields (Colchester Garrison Area 2; Doucecroft site,

Kelvedon) and the presence of a number of trackways or droveways indicating the movement of livestock (Stanway; Abbotstone). These route systems may also suggest that these farmsteads and their inhabitants were interconnected, not just physically but also socially and politically.

Evidence for trackways and droveways, defined by parallel linear ditches spaced between 6 and 20m apart, were present at both Stanway and Abbotstone, leading to and from the enclosures in a north-south orientation (Benfield and Pooley 2005, 8; Crummy *et al.* 2007, 30). These trackways or droveways have traditionally been interpreted as being utilised for the movement of livestock, such as cattle, sheep and pigs, from enclosures to areas of pasture beyond the farmstead (A5.39). The excavators of the site at Stanway have suggested that the trackway may have been "integrated with a droveway or a system of droveways leading to fields and areas of pasture" (Crummy *et al.* 2007, 31). The position of a number of sites, both with evidence for trackways and orientated along a broad north-south linear distribution from Stanway, supports this interpretation (A5.40). This may include Fiveways Fruit Farm located 600 metres to the north of Stanway (Brooks and Holloway 2009, 30), although no evidence of a droveway was uncovered, and at Abbotstone, where elements of an east-west orientated trackway suggests that there may be additional elements to this droveway system that have yet to be identified (Benfield and Pooley 2005, 8). Segments of two droveways have similarly been uncovered at Lodge Farm, Tendring, running in both a north-south and east-west orientation (A5.41). While further evidence for trackways or droveways has yet to be uncovered on other sites on the Tendring peninsular, the evidence at Lodge Farm may suggest that farmsteads in this area were similarly interconnected.

The presence of these trackways/droveways at these sites were interpreted by the excavators as symptomatic of the agricultural activities undertaken in the MIA, however, the experiential consequences of the construction and use of these routes may reveal evidence for social transformations in the ETOZ in this period. An estimation of the person-hours required for the construction of these trackways indicates that these features took as much effort as the enclosures adjacent to them (Table 5.13). It could be argued that these trackways, in addition to the enclosure sites discussed above (**5.4.2**), required community assistance and co-operation to construct them and thus aided in the forging of relationships between social 'groups'. These relationships would have also required a certain degree of longevity, ensuring the repetition and renewing of social ties to maintain these trackways over an extended period.

Site	Total excavated ditch length (m)	Person hours
Abbotstone	575	311
Lodge Farm, St Osyth	417	756
Stanway	130	460

Table 5.13: MIA trackways

The motivation for the construction of these droveways may have developed from purely practical reasons, i.e. the movement of livestock to pasture, however, the social implications of the creation of these routes may be illustrative of the relationships between social 'groups' prior to their construction. For example, co-operation and social relationships would have been required to enter into a program of works for the construction of these trackways, and the formalisation of these features would equally have followed "previous networking of movements" (Tilley 1994, 30), i.e. paths that already existed. The physical construction and maintenance of trackways would also have been transformative, as Tilley (1994, 30) suggests, in the maintenance of "social linkages and relations between individuals, groups and political units". The maintenance of social connections would have been accomplished partially through the shared requirement of physical labour, but also the physical connection that these 'paths' created between such 'people' and 'groups', and the social interactions between those 'people' originating through the daily use of these routeways. Moreover, the changing importance of these sites over time (i.e. Stanway) equally altered the use and meaning of these routeways, perhaps as avenues of pilgrimage (**5.5.3**).

An examination of the MIA landscape in the ETOZ illustrates the creation of networks of route systems, which connected settlement sites with each other and areas of agricultural field systems and fields of pasture. The physicality of these droveways provided a practical function, to allow the movement of livestock with ease from between areas of pasture, but also inscribed these movements, likely undertaken as part of the agricultural cycle, into the landscape itself. As suggested above, the creation of these paths was based upon previous movement across the landscape, which had hitherto been maintained in memory (Tilley 1994, 30). The collaborative effort involved in the construction of the droveways would have created and maintained social connections between the community but also may have useful in addressing disputes through social interaction and the creation of physical connections between 'groups' (Giles 2007a, 110–111). These actions imply an active desire to create and maintain social bonds between 'groups' through the medium of

shared action across the ETOZ landscape. Despite this, it is important to note that evidence for unenclosed sites within the ETOZ in the MIA is located in separate areas from that of enclosure sites and connecting trackways. This suggests that not all movement across the landscape of the ETOZ was inscribed in this way and perhaps the connections that are represented as droveways in the archaeological record represent the most significant and/or most contentious places in the landscape for 'people' in the MIA.

5.5.3 The Late Iron Age

The construction of a series of linear earthworks in the first century BC, known locally as Iron Age 'dykes', demonstrably altered the structure of the LIA landscape within the ETOZ. The earthworks were constructed to a length of approximately 16.5km, defining an area of approximately 84,000 hectares (A5.42). The earthworks were each formed of a ditch, approximately 6-12m in width and 3m in depth, and an internal bank, which may have reached 2-3m in height. A viewshed analysis by the author (**4.5.6**) illustrates that the visibility of the earthwork system was restricted to areas that lay in immediate proximity of the *oppidum* (A5.43). This evidence may indicate that the linear earthwork system was constructed primarily for the inhabitants and visitors to the ETOZ rather than for adversaries, who would view the *oppidum* landscape from a distance. The earthworks appear to form a linear boundary between the River Colne to the north and the Roman River to the south and have been interpreted as defining several areas of occupation including the site at Gosbecks and later the Lexden cemetery (Hawkes and Crummy 1995, 52–55). The construction of the earthwork system limited and focused the movement of people into particular directions across the ETOZ landscape, defining settlement space and altering the way that people interacted with one other.

A detailed analysis of the chronology of the linear earthwork system has been put forward by Hawkes and Crummy (1995), although the dating and phasing of this system is tentative as it is based on a limited amount of excavated evidence (Table 5.14). The labels given to each earthwork are reflective of the places in which they are located and the investigation of the system since the 18th century. The first phase of the linear earthwork system is considered to be the construction of Heath Farm Dyke and Gosbecks Dyke, which appear to have partially enclosed the farmstead and associated field systems present at the Gosbecks enclosure site (**5.4.3**). The enclosure of this area is indicated by the curving shape of the earthworks around the site and has been interpreted as either pre-dating or contemporary with the construction of Gosbecks itself (Hawkes and Crummy 1995, 99). An opening in Heath

Farm Dyke, through which a small stream runs, lies immediately to the west of the Gosbecks enclosure and may reflect the position of various trackways leading to and from the complex. These routes may indicate the communal movement of livestock to the Gosbecks enclosure or ritual procession across the ETOZ towards the burial site at Stanway (**5.4.2**). Hawkes (1995, 52) has suggested that the earthwork would have enclosed a “very big expanse of country, stretching south to the Roman River” and including a number of field systems beyond those identified surrounding the Gosbecks enclosure site. Numerous archaeological investigations through the Heath Farm earthwork, one of the most well investigated sections of the linear earthwork system, have revealed distinct variation in the manner and size of the excavated ditch, interpreted as the work of a series of ‘groups’ excavating different segments (Hawkes and Crummy 1995, 32–3). Evidence for gang working is unsurprising considering the large amount of labour required to construct this single earthwork, approximately 204,000 person-hours or the equivalent of 200 people working ten hour days for 100 days (Table 5.14). This evidence suggests the primary phase of earthwork construction represents the efforts and organisation of a series of social ‘groups’.

Earthwork	Phase	Length (m)	Construction time (person hours)	Source (Hawkes and Crummy 1995)
Gosbecks Dyke	1	1393	19689	p26-7
Heath Farm Dyke	1	3081	203803	p120
Lexden Dyke	2	2028	892177	p34-45
Sheepen Dyke	2	908	86629	p70
Moat Farm Dyke	2	1260	115043	p34-45
Oliver's Dyke	3	1638	149556	p46
Kidman's Dyke	3	2057	399770	p33-34
Laver Ditch	3	455	5788	p109
Prettygate Dyke	3	1004	15752	p46
Berechurch Dyke	4	3149	229499	p159
Barnhall Dyke	4	843	34502	p159
Shrub End Dyke	4	2762	112725	p56

Table 5.14: LIA earthwork systems - ETOZ

The second phase of the linear earthwork system included the construction of three earthworks - Lexden Dyke, Moat Farm Dyke and Sheepen Dyke - in the area to the north of Gosbecks surrounding the River Colne (A5.44). These earthworks define two further areas of occupation within the ETOZ, demonstrated by the shaping of the earthworks around the position of areas of occupation; the Lexden cemetery (by the Lexden and Moat Farm dykes) and the mint at Sheepen (by Sheepen Dyke). Although the dating of the Lexden cemetery and Lexden dyke is questionable, it is believed

that at least some of the cremation burials pre-dated the construction of the earthwork (Hawkes and Crummy 1995, 175). Consequently, it appears that the construction of the earthwork was not a prerequisite to the origins of the cemetery, but rather a later addition, that formalised a place in the landscape that gained significance over time. The construction of the Lexden dyke, constituted approximately 87,000 person-hours, or 200 people working ten hour days for 44 days. The extension of this earthwork to the north, the Moat Farm Dyke, additionally required approximately 115,000 person-hours for its construction, or more 57 days of labour at the same rate. The scale and effort of this construction again suggests a collective effort, requiring the labour and co-operation of the community as a whole, potentially to support and provide legitimacy to the mortuary actions associated with Lexden cemetery. The construction of the Sheepen dyke, which surrounded the site shortly after its foundation in the early 1st century AD, equally illustrates the definition of a significant place by the linear earthwork system. Although the extent of the occupation at Sheepen is difficult to determine (Hawkes and Crummy 1995, 163), the available evidence indicates the presence of a mint, metalworking activities and a centre for the import/export of goods (**5.4.3**). The estimated labour required to construct this earthwork was approximately 87,000 person-hours, the equivalent of 100 people working ten hour days for 87 days. While the effort required to construct the Sheepen Dyke is less in comparison to those discussed above, the amount of labour is still significant and again indicates the mass organisation of 'people' for the purpose of the definition of this important place in the ETOZ. This significance may be attributable in part to its position of the site at the lowest tidal point of the River Colne, at the interface between sea and fresh water, potentially "a culturally meaningful boundary" for Iron Age people (Willis 2007a, 121–122).

Interestingly the occupation zones defined by the linear earthwork systems described above each differ in apparent function; Gosbecks is inherently agricultural, while Lexden represents a cemetery and Sheepen an industrial area. The definition of these sites is likely associated with their relative importance as perceived by the social 'groups' who occupied and experienced these places. This importance will have partially lain in the function of these areas, but also in the position of these places in the landscape of the ETOZ and consequently the ritual importance that these locations may have held. The position of the earthwork system in close position to, and defining the space between, the River Colne and Roman River, highlight the importance of these watery contexts for the position of the *oppidum* and consequently the area that the earthworks define (e.g. Rogers 2008). The river systems may have

been utilised for the transportation of goods both to and from the Continent, but also as naturally occurring boundaries and potentially areas of ritual activity, as highlighted by Willis (2007a) and argued for the site at Sheepen. Just as Sheepen may have shared both a interrelated economic and ritual function (Willis 2007a, 121), an equally mixed function should not be overlooked for each of the other locations (e.g. Gosbecks – **5.4.3**).

Following these initial stages of earthwork construction, two further phases, each occurring in quick succession, were undertaken to reinforce these existing boundaries. These included the construction of Oliver's Dyke to the south of the Roman River and the construction of Prettygate Dyke, the Laver Ditch and Shrub End Dyke to establish a firm connection between the earthworks surrounding the river systems (A5.44). The construction of Kidman's Dyke appears to provide a second line of earthworks in the area surrounding Gosbecks and, considering the establishment of the Stanway enclosures to the west, may have been undertaken to reinforce and aggrandise the entrance and pathway between these two areas. While it has been argued above that the ritual and mortuary practices undertaken at Stanway were important for the wider community (**5.4.3**), it appears that it was necessary for this site to be excluded from the activities within the linear earthwork system. While the majority of sites that lay to the west, and consequently exterior to the linear earthwork system, were associated with the 'people' and 'groups' who occupied the *oppidum*, a group of sites do appear to define a separate settlement at Kelvedon. This LIA occupation appears to have been precursor to a Roman settlement, and included areas of occupation, a possible temple (**5.4.3**) and a routeway leading to the north-east. While this settlement appears to suggest an entirely separate social 'group' existing in close proximity to the LIA earthworks described above, there is little evidence, apart from distance, to suggest a difference in the communities who occupied these two areas. If the communities in the LIA perceived this landscape, i.e. the *oppidum*, as a single area of settlement, then it is conceivable that the occupation at Kelvedon was not a separate settlement in itself but instead represented an outlying but equally interconnected social 'group'.

The construction of the LIA earthwork system vastly altered the physical experience of the ETOZ. The locations of these earthworks were designed to reflect the position of new and important places in the LIA (Sheepen; Gosbecks; Lexden), none of which were occupied in the MIA. While this evidence appears to suggest the veneration of new areas in the ETOZ in the LIA, this fails to appreciate specific meanings attributed to 'natural' areas of the landscape during the MIA (e.g. Bradley 2000). The importance

of watery places in the landscape is reflected by the construction of the earthworks to connect the lines of the Colne and Roman river and define the industrial site at Sheepen, located at the River Colne's lowest tidal point. The meaning and importance of these locales were already embedded in the social consciousness of the community in MIA, however, this importance was not physically articulated until the establishment of occupation in these locations, and later, by drawing attention to these significant places through the construction of the surrounding earthworks (Giles 2007a, 110–111). Sharples (2007, 180) has argued that earthworks could themselves be representations of natural elements of landscape, incorporating both wood (timber) and stone (masonry) and embedding these elements into the monument itself. The linear earthwork system was not simply a physical boundary, which separates or divides those from the inside to that of the outside, but instead a permeable barrier, which may have controlled movement but did not necessarily restrict it. The gaps between the earthworks may have acted as 'signposts' for processional movement through the landscape from one important location to another (Stanway to Gosbecks). The establishment of these earthworks become a physical representation of the social will of the communal 'group', inscribed through its construction and reinforcing its belief systems.

5.5.4 The Early Roman period

The arrival of the Roman military in the post-conquest period had a dramatic effect on the organisation of the ETOZ (A5.45). These changes were initially undertaken through the construction of large military enclosures (**5.4.4**) linked to a formalised road network, but also the alteration of the existing LIA linear earthwork system (**5.5.3**). The establishment of a Roman military base at Colchester has been considered an "early disposition" for the invading force following the Claudian invasion, in order to establish control over a "key central site" (Mattingly 2006, 136–7). The positioning of the forts within the ETOZ was a significant statement by the military and was highly structured to invoke submission from the indigenous population. The legionary fortress was constructed adjacent to an area of occupation near Sheepen, while the auxiliary fort was constructed in close proximity to the large farmstead at Gosbecks. These sites were considered important places in the ETOZ in the LIA (**5.5.3**), each demarcated by the construction of the linear earthwork system (Hawkes and Crummy 1995, 163). The establishment of military sites in these significant locales would have provided a clear message of power and dominance by the military over the indigenous population, and may have been strategically positioned to supervise the indigenous 'people' occupying the ETOZ (Mattingly 2006,

134). The lack of archaeological evidence for destruction of the ETOZ in the post-conquest period indicates this area was taken with little resistance during the invasion of AD43, possibly as part of a deliberate military strategy to retain control but not destroy this area. The animosity of the local populace to the Imperial dominance of these locales is visible in the events of the Boudican Revolt of AD60/61, where the town was almost completely destroyed while the archaeological evidence suggests limited destruction of the surrounding area.

The retention of elements of the LIA *oppidum* is evident from the alterations to, rather than destruction of, the linear earthwork system in the post-conquest period (Table 5.15). The Sheepen Dyke, located approximately 500m to the west of the legionary fortress, was backfilled following the conquest (Hawkes and Hull 1947, 51), however, the site continued to be occupied, and even expanded, during this period (**5.4.4**). Furthermore, two earthworks were constructed in the ERom period, in order to reinforce the north-south orientated Shrub End Dyke, creating the Triple Dyke (A5.46), and the Prettygate Dyke was reversed i.e. a new ditch was excavated to the south of the bank, to replace the LIA northern ditch (Hawkes and Crummy 1995, 46). Another large-scale earthwork, Grymes Dyke, was constructed following the transformation of the legionary fortress into the *colonia* (Hawkes and Crummy 1995, 178). The person-hours to construct these earthworks required the efforts of one hundred people working 12 hour days to complete the Triple Dykes in 78 days and Grymes Dyke in 456 days. Moreover, these ditches were unlike the military-style ditches of the legionary and auxiliary fortresses but instead were constructed in a similar style to those of a LIA date. The construction style may indicate the use of indigenous slave labour (Hawkes and Crummy 1995, 59) or potentially co-operation from local 'people' and 'groups', either to reinforce relations with their new military rulers or due to a shared desire to redefine the ETOZ landscape in light of new circumstances.

Site	Phase	Ditch length (m)	Person hours	Reference (Hawkes and Crummy 1995)
Triple Dyke - ditch 2	5	2762	93108	p56
Triple Dyke - ditch 3	5	2762	107357	p56
Prettygate Dyke reversed	5	1004	15752	p46
Grymes Dyke	6	5533	547435	p112

Table 5.15: ERom earthwork systems - ETOZ

The construction of a road network following the Claudian invasion was vital to the facilitation of military control and civil administration and linked the legionary fortress

and later, the *colonia*, to major towns established in Britain (Mattingly 2006, 256). The position of the legionary fortress and other forts, such as at Kelvedon, dictated the routes of these road systems, however, the location of these roads also mainly conformed to the gaps in the linear earthwork systems. While the exact routes of the roads across the ETOZ are partially open to question, it appears that the military utilised existing route systems rather than infilling the earthwork ditches to create direct paths across the landscape. There was some slighting of the Lexden Dyke (Hawkes and Crummy 1995, 68–69), however, the conscious decision to avoid the destruction of this system indicates both a desire to maintain the ETOZ *oppidum* but also to overwrite indigenous forms of movement across this area. Given (2004, 50–1) has suggested that road networks were a constant reminder to indigenous peoples of the external power of the Roman Empire, leading to and from points of control, such as military camps and later towns. These routes facilitated some forms of oppression such as the extraction of taxes (Given 2004, 56) but also facilitated easier movement within and beyond the limits of the ETOZ.

Despite the impact of the Roman military on this landscape, it is important to understand that many of the routine practices undertaken by 'people' and 'groups' in the LIA continued during the post-conquest period. Available evidence suggests that agricultural activities in areas within and outside of the linear earthwork systems, salt working on the Tendring peninsular and external trade through the River Colne continued throughout this period, albeit altered by Imperial control. Part of the continuation of these practices was to ensure that important trading routes survived beyond the invasion, illustrated by the placement of the legionary fortress/later *colonia* overlooking the Colne valley. However, a number of indigenous 'groups' likely continued, as far as possible, their day-to-day routines, avoiding the oppression potentially faced by interacting with the military and passively resisting the impacts of the Roman Empire (Given 2004, 56).

The landscape of the ETOZ and much of southern Britain changed significantly after the Roman invasion of AD43. Within the ETOZ itself, the positioning of new military forts in important places within the LIA *oppidum* (Sheepen; Gosbecks) and the creation of a new road system were stark reminders of the power the Roman Empire now held over this area. Despite these intrusions, the physical structure of the LIA *oppidum*, with some exceptions, was left unaltered in the post-conquest period and new elements were even incorporated into the existing linear earthwork system, e.g. the Triple Dyke. This concession may be due to the co-operation of some indigenous social 'groups' with the Romans and the practicalities of colonial rule, which may have

required the continuation of many activities, such as agriculture and import/export, to meet the demands of the military and later *colonia*. However, these acts of dominance were not accepted by all and the destruction of the *colonia* during the Boudican Revolt, saw the indigenous population (from within and beyond the *oppidum*) oppose Imperial dominance of the ETOZ. Furthermore, while it is apparent that the meaning-laden landscape of the LIA was irrevocably altered in the post-conquest period, the importance placed on certain locales would have continued despite outside interference. For example a number of temples were constructed at both Sheepen and Gosbecks in the Roman period (Rogers 2008, 45) and a cemetery continued at Lexden (Hawkes and Crummy 1995, 169). While the frame of reference in which these locations were venerated had changed, the meaning inscribed in these places was perpetuated.

5.5.5 Conclusion

The examination of the ETOZ 'landscape' illustrates that, from the MIA onwards, the perceptions of this region changed dramatically, incorporating elements of meaning from both past and new concepts. This is what Barrett (1999a) describes as a 'mythical landscape', one which incorporated elements from the past, onto which new meaning and activities were played out. The meaning attributed to a landscape is constituted through an understanding of the relationships between personal and group identity and as such the conclusions of earlier sections dealing with 'people' and 'groups' will be incorporated into this discussion.

In the MIA, social groups created and maintained a system of routeways, which interconnected occupation sites and aided in agricultural activities. These 'paths' (Tilley 1994, 30) were likely pre-existing routeways, formed earlier in the Iron Age by the 'people' who lived and farmed this area, and inscribed into the landscape by collective memory. Through the construction of these routes, 'paths' were physically marked in the landscape, aiding in the definition of social space to overcome areas of contention, allow the formation of new relationships and strengthen pre-existing ties between 'groups'. These routes were likely in use into the LIA, indicating continued agricultural activities across the ETOZ and perhaps the persistence of MIA social ties. The tradition of creating physical structures across the landscape was continual into the LIA, illustrated by the linear earthwork system, which not only pooled labour but also demonstrated the collective desire and ideology of 'groups' across the ETOZ. These earthworks defined and drew attention to important places in the landscape that while previously unoccupied were likely representative of ritual associations with 'watery contexts'. This understanding illustrates that as a gradual

process across these periods, the relationship between social 'groups' and their interaction with the ETOZ landscape was changing. While previously important locales were shared in memory, and perhaps kept secret from outsiders, they were now physically defined and utilised in part for ritual practices. Furthermore, just as the construction of droveways in the MIA, the construction of the linear earthworks helped to forge social bonds and overcome disputes over land, particularly in light of the definition of a new type of settlement, a territorial *oppidum*. In the ERom period, the landscape reflected the military dominance and control of the ETOZ through the occupation of places deemed important in the LIA and the construction of road systems and new earthworks, each demonstrating the power of the Empire over the indigenous population. However, despite these introductions very little of the landscape structure established in the LIA was removed. There is limited evidence for the destruction of Iron Age farmsteads or other domestic space in this period, indicating that the Roman authorities wanted to create what Gosden (2004, 110) describes as "a middle ground"; introducing new "cultural resources" to the area but not impeding the ongoing links and trade between the ETOZ and the Continent. Whether these new ideas were "used, refused, or subverted" (Gosden 2004, 110) by the indigenous population is a mixed picture. While on one hand the *colonia* was subject to violence by some during the Boudican revolt, on the other important places in the *oppidum* landscape held their significance late into the Roman period.

5.6 Chapter Summary

The MIA permanent settlement in the ETOZ followed the reintroduction of people to the area, following the improvement of the climate in the 4th/3rd century BC and attracted by the availability of new areas for agricultural activities (Haselgrove 1999, 168). Initially communal settlements were formed, such as Lodge Farm, Tendring, in order to pool resources and exploit new areas for both arable and pastoral farming. Daily life consisted of undertaking both domestic and ritual action within a single environment, with no apparent division between the routines of domesticity and farm life and rites such as structured deposition. It has been suggested that these shared practices illustrate the belief in the connectivity between the cycle of life and death for both 'people' and crops, through growth, harvest and regeneration (Bradley 2005, 204–5). While these routines were initially undertaken within shared space and as part of the social 'group', the success of the agricultural activities in the ETOZ, and perhaps the result of a steady growth in population, saw the fragmentation of domestic space into individual enclosure sites. While the fragmentation illustrated a greater interest in social display by some 'people', this change was not motivated by

a desire to retreat from communal co-operation. The communal nature of MIA 'people' is illustrated by the need for outside assistance in the construction of enclosures (both as labour and knowledge) and the continued shared ritual importance placed on boundary earthworks. Hill (2007, 21) has argued that the presence of a number of successful farmsteads, practicing mixed farming, suggests communally owned or controlled land. The continued success of this agricultural system was reliant on continued community co-operation and support, articulated through the sharing of resources and undertaken in parallel to other significant events that bound the community together, such as gift exchange or intermarriage. The construction of a system of trackways across the ETOZ formalised these social connections and physically connected settlement sites, increasing the viability of agricultural activities (i.e. as droveways for livestock). These 'paths' through the landscape, previously only held in collective memory, aided in creation of a shared history for multiple social 'groups' and consequently stronger social connections across the ETOZ.

While conspicuous efforts were made in the MIA to unify the populace, the LIA in the ETOZ is defined by fragmentation and massive social change. The archaeological evidence indicates the continuation of some domestic practices, illustrated by the dominance of the roundhouse as the main form of dwelling, however, these routines were undertaken in parallel with new practices including the use of new forms of pottery, suggesting different dining practices, and imported goods in both domestic and funerary contexts. The diversity of burial forms (cremation, excarnation, inhumation), in parallel to how material culture was used in those burials (whole deposits, purposefully broken) and other ritual contexts (foundation deposits, structured deposition), indicates that experimentation was a key factor in both the form and the expression of identity in the LIA. The chaotic trial of new social practices is also apparent on a communal level, where the construction of a variety of enclosures of varying form and structure (Stanway; Gosbecks; Pitchbury), which combined ritual action with agricultural activities, also illustrates the diversity in the expression of 'group' identity. It was through the construction of these sites that an attempt was made to create social cohesion, perhaps with the result forming a number of social collectives who articulate their belief systems in similar but slightly different ways. This structure probably best reflects a 'segmentary society', defined by Hill (2007, 2012) as a series of 'groups' each led by an important or influential family. The formation of the oppidum was contingent on the co-operation and cohesiveness of these social 'groups', illustrated by the substantial organisation, construction and maintenance of the linear earthwork system and the decision to live

and co-operate with one another within one area. The continued distinction between social 'groups' is apparent in the definition of multiple foci of activity (Sheepen, Gosbecks, Lexden) that reflect specific motivations.

The Roman invasion and occupation of Britain in AD43 dramatically changed the social structure of the ETOZ. Emerging social systems in the LIA *oppidum*, whether dominative or collaborative, were stunted by new colonial controls enforced by the Roman Empire. Initial subjugation of the area was met with limited resistance, and consequently limited violence, with new areas of occupation established by military forces. It is likely that this initial military occupation was expressed by limited social interaction between the indigenous population and military forces, in itself a complex and diverse social collective. However, it is naive to believe that violence (in all forms) against the indigenous population by the military would have not formed part of day-to-day lives following the conquest (Mattingly 2006, 91–2). The establishment of the *colonia*, although occupied by a new social 'group' with a shared military background, relied on co-operation with the indigenous population, a deliberate strategy to allow the mechanics (i.e. agriculture, trade) of this settlement to continue. Gosden (2004, 26) describes this as a 'Middle Ground colonialism', creating an accommodating and relational environment in order to take advantage of the resources of the ETOZ. This co-operation is illustrated in part by the continued veneration of LIA ritual sites in the landscape (Gosbecks; Sheepen) through the construction of temples/shrines in these areas later in the Roman period. Furthermore, there is evidence for the willingness of some indigenous social 'groups' in this period (Sheepen) to collaborate within the military, and later the colony, in order to take advantage of the situation. This being said, the destruction brought by the Boudican Revolt, albeit originating from outside the ETOZ, illustrates the continued fragile relationship between the Empire and the indigenous population in the decades following the invasion of Britain. Overall therefore the evidence from the ETOZ sheds considerable light on the social structures and the activities of 'people' across this dynamic period. The next chapter turns to the other major case study of the WSTOZ to explore similar themes.

Chapter 6: The West Sussex Territorial Oppidum Zone

6.1: Introduction to case study area

This chapter analyses the archaeological evidence from the MIA to ERom period within the West Sussex Territorial *Oppidum* Zone (WSTOZ). The extent of the study area (**4.6.3**) covers much of the county of West Sussex, including the coastal plain and the South Downs, and incorporates part of the county of Hampshire (A6.1). The chapter begins by considering the history of research into the Iron Age and Roman periods within the WSTOZ (**6.2**), in order to understand how current perspectives, and possible biases, may been formed. As for the previous case study, the main sections of the chapter deal with the archaeological evidence for each social scale - 'people', 'groups' and 'regions' - summarised at the end of each section and drawn together in a final summary. As stated above (**5.1**), an interrogation of the evidence for the WSTOZ will address the research questions (**2.5**) and generate a number of themes to facilitate comparative study.

6.2: Background to archaeological knowledge of the Iron Age / Roman period

The table (6.1) below details the history of research into the Iron Age and Roman remains within the case study area from the 17th century onwards. The role of the WSTOZ has previously been understated in the examination of Iron Age and Roman Britain, despite its potentially pivotal role in the conquest narrative, however, a number of syntheses have been produced to summarise the archaeology of these periods (Drewett *et al.* 1988; Henig 2002; Rudling 2003b). There has been little detailed investigation of the WSTOZ, however, it is often discussed in syntheses of other LIA territorial *oppida* but as a peripheral comparison (e.g. Fulford and Timby 2000). Hamilton's (2007) examination of the Iron Age evidence in the British Eastern Channel Area explores changes in the LIA as a combination of continuing MIA traditions and the effect of contact with the continental zone. Specific analysis of this *oppidum* has often been considered from a 'Roman' perspective, one which emphasises the historical sources strongly in their interpretation and attributes the changes occurring in the LIA as a result of contact with the Roman Empire (Davenport 2003, 101; Rudling 2003a, 111–114). However, a large number of sites across the WSTOZ demonstrate continuity from the LIA to Roman period, e.g. Ounces Barn (Bedwin and Place 1995), North Bersted (Bedwin and Pitts 1978), Westhampnett cemetery (Fitzpatrick *et al.* 1997) and Hayling Island temple (King and Soffe 2001, 2008).

Period	Date	Iron Age research	Roman research
Antiquarian tradition	17th -19th centuries	Investigation of Chichester entrenchments (Aubrey, Sabatier), Excavations at Trundle (Curwen 1931), Thundersbarrow (Curwen 1935) and Harrow Hill (Holleyman 1937) hillforts.	1st century AD Purbeck marble inscription found in 1723. Dedicated to Temple of Neptune and Minerva, and mentioning Togidubnus (Bogaers 1979, 243).
	19th-early 20th centuries		Excavation of Roman villas; Bignor (Lysons 1817), Angmering (Scott 1938, 1939) Southwick (Winbolt 1932).
Pre/Post-war development	1930s/40s	Chichester Entrenchment, re-examined by Williams-Freeman (1934).	Chichester Excavation Committee established in 1947 to examine bomb damaged areas prior to reconstruction (Down and Rule 1971, v). Excavation of the Roman remains at East Pallant House in 1949 (1952, 167).
	1950s	Number of excavations increased following post-war redevelopment (Hamilton & Gregory 2000, 59).	
Pre-PPG16 – 20th century	1960s	Chichester Entrenchments re-surveyed (Bradley 1971). Debate over date of earthworks (Holmes 1968; Bradley 1969).	Discovery/excavation of Fishbourne Roman Palace (Cunliffe 1971).
	1970/80s	Excavation of LIA farmsteads; North Bersted (Bedwin and Pitts 1978), Copse Farm, Oving (Bedwin and Holgate 1985). Excavation of Hayling Island temple (1976-81).	Systematic excavation of Roman town due to development (Down and Rule 1971; Down 1974, 1978, 1979, 1981, 1989; Down and Magilton 1993). Down (1988) argued for military origin to town. Excavation of 1st century AD Roman villas; Watergate Hanger (Rudling 1997), Chilgrove (Down 1979).
Post PPG16	1990s	Excavation of Westhampnett Iron Age site (Fitzpatrick *et al.* 1997, 2008) during construction of A27 bypass. Excavation of MIA 'open' settlement, Chalkpit Lane, Lavant (Kenny 1993) and LIA farmstead, Ounces Barn (Bedwin and Place 1995).	
21st century	2000s	Piecemeal publication of Hayling Island temple (e.g. Briggs *et al.* 1992; King and Soffe 2001, 2008, 2013). Reanalysis of MIA hillforts on South Downs (Hamilton and Manley 2001), Chichester (Davenport 2003) and Fishbourne Palace (Creighton 2006).	New research and developer-led excavations at Fishbourne Roman palace (e.g. Manley and Rudkin 2003). Critique of military origins for town (Magilton 2003). Calls for early work to be re-interpreted (Manley *et al.* 2007, 51–52).
	2010s	Re-excavations of Devil's Dyke, Halnaker. Optically Stimulated Luminescence dated fills of ditch to Iron Age (Garland 2011; Doherty and Garland 2015).	Further research on Fishbourne Roman Palace (Allen and Sykes 2011).

Table 6.1: Summary of background

6.3 ‘People’

6.3.1 Introduction

This scale of analysis is concerned with the actions of ‘people’ in the WSTOZ from the MIA to ERom period (**3.5.3**). Through the available evidence the ‘agency’ of people is reflected both in domestic (e.g. structures, architectural features and the use of material culture) and ritual practice, (e.g. treatment of the dead, associated mortuary rites). In evaluating this evidence we must consider the inter-relationship of these practices and how they operated as a cohesive set of social conditions in which ‘people’ operated. For example, the structured (or ritually motivated) deposition of objects did not only occur as part of burial rites, but also formed part of the day-to-day actions of ‘people’ in the past. An integrated approach attempts to transcend the dichotomy between the domestic and ritual, or the actions associated with the ‘living’ and the dead’, to see how they relate a unified set of social norms, albeit changing over time (**3.5.4**).

While the MIA evidence is suggestive of a limited range of practices undertaken by ‘people’ (i.e. human agents) in the WSTOZ, the LIA was characterised by a greater range of choices and the establishment of a diverse set of daily practices, in both domestic and ritual spheres. This period of experimentation continued into the ERom period, with the introduction of new ‘people’ from the Empire, and access to a greater range of material culture, leading to a complex mix of social norms for both indigenous and foreign populations.

6.3.2 The Middle Iron Age

Architectural forms in the past were “dictated by the social conventions and practical needs of their occupants” (Goodman 1999, 145), combining both the daily routines undertaken within them and the wider social practices of those who occupied them. Described here as “dwellings”, which appear in a variety of forms in different societies (Brück and Goodman 1999, 4), the way structures were used can tell us about the social relations between those who occupied them and wider social ‘groups’ (Goodman 1999, 145) (**6.4.2**). The limited archaeological evidence associated with roundhouses creates problems in their interpretation - e.g. whether they served a single or multiple function(s), as dwellings, byres or stores (Brück and Goodman 1999, 3) – however, an examination of structural form can inform on the varied practices undertaken within these spaces (e.g. Pope 2007, 215–221).

The WSTOZ lacks visible archaeological evidence for Early Iron Age architectural structures, however, thirty-one MIA structures have been excavated on a small

number of occupation sites (Table 6.2, A6.2-6.3). While there is some tentative evidence for structures within enclosed sites, e.g. traces of building platforms at the Trundle hillfort (Hamilton and Manley 2001, 27), the majority are located within two 'open' settlements of closely spaced post-built circular structures. Thirteen examples were uncovered at Chalkpit Lane, Lavant (Kenny 1993), and five at Westhampnett (Fitzpatrick *et al.* 2008) (**6.4.2**). These dwellings were similar in structure (i.e. post-built, drip gullies), but varied in size from 3.65-8.9m in diameter and only a small number had evidence for porches. This evidence indicates that decisions about expressing status and defining domestic space were undertaken at a household level. As previously discussed (**5.3.2**), Oswald (1997, 87) has suggested that the majority of Iron Age roundhouses followed a common cosmological model, with doorways consistently orientated to the east/south-east. The entrances of MIA roundhouse structures in the WSTOZ faced multiple directions (Table 6.2), potentially as they were orientated and constructed around a shared communal space (e.g. Chalkpit Lane - Kenny 1993, 28), privileging concerns of community cohesiveness over the availability of light and shelter. The position of roundhouse entrances may equally reflect social hierarchies within the wider 'group', with access to preferable conditions for light and shelter (e.g. east/south-eastern facing entrances) restricted to certain important 'people' (e.g. Pope 2007, 214).

Structure identifier	Shape	Number	Diameter (range)	Construction	Entrance facing	Reference
Chalkpit Lane	Circular	13	3.65-8.9m	post built	E, E/SE, NW, W, ENE, ESE, ?	(Kenny 1993, 28–9)
Chalkpit Lane	Rectangular	5	1.7-3.5 x 1.25-2.2m	post built	?	(Kenny 1993, 28–9)
North Bersted	Circular	1	4.9m	drip gully	S	(Bedwin and Pitts 1978, 301–2)
Harting Hill Hut 1	Circular	2	6.3-7.1m	post built, cut into side of hill	N	(Keef 1950, 179–187)
North Bersted	Circular	1	4.9m	drip gully	S	(Bedwin and Pitts 1978, 301–2)
Selhurstpark Farm A – ESE	Circular	1	8.2m	Unknown	SE	(Anelay pers comm)
Shopwhyke	Circular	1	9.8m?	drip gully	?	(Wessex Archaeology 2004)
Westhampnett	Circular	5	5.2-7.8m	post built	SE, ?	(Fitzpatrick *et al.* 2008, 150–153)
Westhampnett	Rectangular	4	2.5-3.3 x 2-2.7m	post built	?	(Fitzpatrick *et al.* 2008, 153–155)

Table 6.2: MIA structures - WSTOZ

Nine small rectangular four-post structures, associated with the roundhouses discussed above, were also found at Chalkpit Lane and Westhampnett (Table 6.2). These structures were interpreted by the excavators as granaries, partially due to their comparison to other known examples (**5.3.2**) but also through the recovery of carbonised plant remains suggesting they were used to store beans, wheat and spelt (Fitzpatrick *et al.* 2008, 177). While prior interpretation argued that grain storage in this period was undertaken in underground pits, excavated evidence in south-east Britain indicates that these pits were likely used in parallel to above ground storage (Fowler 1983, 183). Granary structures likely co-existed with underground pits depending on the amount of grain produced and the differentiation between the need for long and short term storage. The structures reflected the quantity of grain that was required on domestic sites, in order to feed the occupants of dwellings and associated livestock.

The material culture recovered from MIA occupation sites in the WSTOZ included evidence for handmade pottery, animal bone remains, worked flint, fire cracked flint, saddle querns and metalworking residue in varying quantities (A6.4). The presence of saddle querns and some metalworking residue indicates food and craft production on some sites, undertaken by the inhabitants as necessity dictated. The animal remains indicate that cattle was predominant, followed by sheep, pigs and goats, and show some variance in diet (Fitzpatrick *et al.* 2008, 178). The pottery assemblages suggest that pots were handmade from locally sourced materials (London or Gault clay, flint pebble from Coastal Plain) and represented a limited number of sizes and forms, usually jars and bowls (e.g. Bedwin and Holgate 1985, 222; Fitzpatrick *et al.* 2008, 162–165). For East Anglia, Hill (2002, 145–148) has argued (**5.3.2**) that the limited functional differences between the size/decoration of MIA pots, likely meant that they were used for a variety of tasks (e.g. food storage, preparation serving) and reflect easily prepared meals of stews and porridges that could be left to cook/keep warm. The pottery assemblages at many MIA sites contain examples of ‘saucepan’ style pots, uniformly characterised as vertical sided pots and jars found across southern Britain (Cunliffe 2005, 104). Within Sussex, a regionally specific version of this pottery style was identified by C.F.C Hawkes (1939) during excavations at the Caburn hillfort, later defined by Cunliffe (2005, 104) as the ‘St Catherine’s Hill-Worthy Down style’. These pots were characterised by a distinctive decoration of lines and dots and were distributed across an area of approximately 70km^2. Hamilton (2002, 52–3) has argued that micro-scale analysis of the Iron Age pottery in Sussex (including the WSTOZ) indicates a number of decorative motifs on Saucepan pottery

that suggest a more moderate distribution (20km east to west along the coast), reflecting the distance that 'people' travelled for raw materials. Saucepan pottery was likely made by 'people' within the WSTOZ during this period, reflecting a low level of craft specialisation and limited contact between 'people' and communities further afield (Hamilton 2003, 77).

Despite apparently limited interaction with those outside the WSTOZ, there is some evidence of contact (whether direct or indirect) with other parts of Britain and the Continent in the MIA. This contact is illustrated by the presence of Dressel 1A Amphorae from Italy, recovered from stratified contexts at Carne's Seat, Westhampnett (Holgate 1986, 45) and three La Tène brooches uncovered at Westhampnett Bypass Area 4, which have parallels to examples to Cambridgeshire, Wiltshire, Dorset and Somerset (Fitzpatrick *et al.* 2008, 159–160) (Table 6.3). The presence of this material suggests contact between 'people' in the WSTOZ, other areas of Britain and the Continent, either directly or 'down the line' exchange through as of yet unidentified area of trading (e.g. ports). The deposition of brooches within settlements has in some cases been interpreted as deliberately placed or 'structured deposits' (Fitzpatrick *et al.* 2008, 179–180). The recovery of Amphorae sherds at Carne's Seat could arguably be seen as part of a significant deposit, particularly as the consumption of its contents (wine) was relatively rare in this period. This interpretation is reinforced by the significance of the site as a banjo-enclosure (**6.4.2**).

Name	Details	Date	Context	Reference (Fitzpatrick et al 2008)
ON 57004	La Tène 1Bx type, copper alloy	Late 5th-early 4th Century BC	Recovered from upper fill (50061) of early to MIA well 50060 (dated by pottery)	p159-160
ON 57011	La Tène 1A type, copper alloy	Middle 5th-early 4th Century BC	Recovered from MIA pit 50085 (dated by pot and brooch)	p160
ON 57012	La Tène 1Ca type, iron	300BC to 275BC-250BC	Recovered from MIA pit 50522 (dated by brooch)	p160

Table 6.3: MIA brooches - Westhampnett

The evidence for death in the MIA is connected to the areas in which 'people' lived and the actions they undertook as part of their day-to-day lives. A lack of formal evidence for burial across Britain in the MIA (**5.3.2**) indicates that excarnation, the removal of flesh from the body through multiple methods, was the principal rite as it leaves a limited archaeologically visible trace (Carr and Knüsel 1997; Carr 2007). A limited number of disarticulated remains have been uncovered from WSTOZ sites, including a jaw bone, a piece of skull, fragments of a femur and an ulna from pits and

postholes within the Trundle Hillfort (Hamilton 1998, 37–8); two femur bones from two different individuals and seventeen cranial fragments from an infant recovered from ditch contexts at Copse Farm, Oving (Bedwin and Holgate 1985, 232); and eight pieces of cranium and part of a mandible from North Bersted (Bedwin and Pitts 1978, 339–340). Hamilton (2003, 79) argues that the remains from Copse Farm and North Bersted should be treated with caution as these sites were occupied both in the MIA and LIA and it is difficult to determine the original context of the human remains. Although limited in quantity, this evidence indicates that 'people' in the MIA were in some cases returning excarnated remains to areas of domestic activity. The relative scarcity of the disarticulated remains indicates that this was a particular mortuary practice undertaken by some 'people', possibly to reinforce the importance of a certain place in the landscape. The choice of the Trundle hillfort for the placement of human remains may be related to the general importance of this site to the wider community (**6.4.2**, **6.5.2**). No evidence for activities associated with excarnation have been uncovered from MIA sites and consequently it is difficult to identify locations or particular structures associated with de-fleshing. It has been argued that this rite may have had a strong connection to domestic contexts (Carr and Knüsel 1997) and Carr (2007, 447) suggests that "four posted platforms either on or off the settlement" may have been utilised for exposure/de-fleshing of the dead. These structures are similar to granaries uncovered at Chalkpit Lane and Westhampnett and suggest the crossover of mortuary and domestic practices in the Iron Age (Bradley 2005, 3–9). While four-post structures have been interpreted in multiple ways (e.g. Fitzpatrick *et al.* 2008, 147), this may be reflective of the changing or interconnected nature of these structures over time, both in terms of function, transforming from grain storage to burial platform, but also how they were viewed by the 'people' who lived near to and interacted with these buildings.

While excarnation practices were widely adopted in this period, evidence for a single site of cremation within the WSTOZ possibly indicates the changing nature of attitudes towards life and death in the MIA. A small burnt deposit discovered at Northney Road, Hayling Island was interpreted by the excavators as the remains of a pyre associated with cremation (Wessex Archaeology 2006). The deposit was located within a small east-west gully and contained a number of finds including twelve sherds of saucepan pottery with tooled decoration, likely from a single vessel (Wessex Archaeology 2006, 6–7). The absence of burnt human remains makes this interpretation speculative, however, the remains of a single vessel may indicate a cremation pot, interred in close proximity to the cremation platform. A second NW-SE

curvilinear gully uncovered in close proximity to the MIA deposit, also contained burnt material but no dating evidence (Wessex Archaeology 2006, 5). These remains suggest that repeated cremation activities were undertaken on Hayling Island, potentially due to the ritual significance of this area during the MIA and LIA (**6.5.2**).

The evidence for 'people' in the MIA indicates close ties between the social practices undertaken and a limited range of social differentiation. These practices are illustrated by the similarity in households (structures) and items routinely used (material culture - saucepan pottery), however, some variations in choice suggests that different personal identities were beginning to emerge. These changing identities are illustrated partly by the introduction and deposition of a limited selection of items from elsewhere in Britain and on the Continent (La Tène I brooches, Dressel 1 amphorae). Evidence for burial and ritual activities in the MIA appears diverse, represented by a small amount of evidence for both excarnation and cremation. This diversity may in actuality represent an overlap of the practices involved, as evident in the LIA (**6.3.3**). What is apparent are the changing attitudes to where these activities were taking place, with excarnated remains closely associated with domestic contexts, while cremation potentially took place in isolated locations (**6.5.3**). Together this evidence demonstrates the beginnings of new forms of social practice by 'people' in the MIA, creating a more diverse range of identities that continue into the LIA.

6.3.3 The Late Iron Age

The similarity in which 'people' occupied dwellings in the MIA and LIA is evident in the comparison of examples across the WSTOZ (Table 6.4, A6.5-6.6). The size, shape and construction techniques (post-built, drip gullies) of roundhouse structures remain consistent into the LIA, apart from the absence for porches, demonstrating this choice in structural feature was abandoned. While roundhouses indicate continuing traditions, the LIA structures occur in smaller groups and in pockets isolated from one another (Copse Farm; Chilgrove; Cattlemarket, Chichester). The isolation of these structures, in contrast to the MIA, signifies that less interdependence between households was either necessary or desired, however, the presence of some small groups of roundhouses indicates that some social connections between 'people' were maintained in certain locations. Nine excavated LIA roundhouse structures are present within the WSTOZ. For Wessex, Sharples (2010, 237) has suggested, that the absence of evidence for houses during the LIA may suggest that a new architectural form was established that was more "susceptible to destruction". Harding (2009, 149) has argued that the continuity of new forms of building (e.g.

rectangular structures) from the LIA into the ERom period "has resulted in their being obliterated or obscured as a result of later rebuilding or re-use of the same sites".

Structure identifier	Shape	Number	Diameter (range)	Construction	Entrance facing	Reference
36 Fishbourne Road East	circular	1	8.8m	drip gully	S?	(Kenny and Magilton 1995, 14)
Cattlemarket	circular?	3	3.3–5.6m	post built	?, SW?, NE	(Down 1989, 56–60)
Chilgrove 1, West Dean	circular	1	7m	post built	?	(Down 1979, 53–6)
Chilgrove 1, West Dean	rectangular	1	11.3 x 5.2m	post trenches	?	(Down 1979, 53–6)
Copse Farm, Oving	circular	1	7.6m	drip gully	W	(Bedwin and Holgate 1985, 219)
Copse Farm, Oving	rectangular	1	2.3 x 2.3m	post built	?	(Bedwin and Holgate 1985, 220)
Wick 2?	rectangular	1	13 x 13m	drip gully	?	(Gilkes and Lyne 1993)

Table 6.4: LIA structures - WSTOZ

The adoption of new structural forms in the LIA changed how 'people' interacted with their immediate environment and the routines and practices that occurred within them (A6.7-6.8). The emergence of rectangular forms of building became an established feature of LIA south-eastern Britain (Moore 2003, 54–5). While previous interpretation suggests there is little evidence for such buildings in the WSTOZ (Davenport 2003, 106), a re-interpretation of the archaeological evidence argues for the presence of LIA rectangular structures underneath Chichester, beyond three roundhouses found at the Cattlemarket (Davenport 2003, 106; Manley *et al.* 2007, 45). Twenty-two post-built rectangular structures, measuring between 4-15m in length and currently dated to the 1st century AD, have been uncovered within the Roman town of Chichester (A6.9). Excavated in the 1970/80s, these structures were originally interpreted as military buildings in line with theories of a military origin to the Roman town (Down 1988). However, results of a detailed examination of the excavation data and finds show that of the twenty-two examples uncovered only four have been securely dated to the 1st century AD, while another four contained military equipment, suggesting a military association. The similarities in the size and structure of the rectangular buildings at Chichester to the LIA structures uncovered in the Forum Basilica at Silchester (Fulford and Timby 2000), suggests that these rectangular structure may represent a LIA domestic settlement underneath the Roman town of Chichester

(A6.10). While limited evidence for occupation of the structures was recovered (e.g. floor surfaces) due to truncation by later Roman deposits, the variation in the size of these structures might suggest that each was unique in function. While domestic debris associated with structures at Silchester (Fulford and Timby 2000) indicate rectangular buildings would serve in some instances as areas for domestic practice (cooking, sleeping), Moore (2003, 55) has argued that LIA rectangular structures "may have performed a multitude of functions". Although evidence is limited, this new form of dwelling may have, through its different structure and layout, altered the daily routines of 'people' and how they lived in their domestic space, with different rooms allocated for different tasks in contrast to a single circular area that may have been partitioned.

A number of structures at Fishbourne Roman Palace, previously understood to be of 1st century AD date, have also been argued to have LIA origins (Creighton 2001, 2006; Manley and Rudkin 2003). Creighton (2001, 9–11, 2006, 54–61) has argued that several of the timber buildings (Timber Building 1 and 2) and a gravel road, excavated by Cunliffe in the 1960s/70s, likely represent a Pre-Roman or specifically Augustan phase of settlement (A6.11). This argument is based upon the discovery of equivalent LIA gravel roads at Silchester (Fulford 1993, 16) and parallels between the timber buildings and those excavated at Gorhambury, St Albans (e.g. Building 5 and 10 - Neal *et al.* 1990, 29) (A6.12). A similar timber building (Structure C1 – A6.13), stratigraphically early but with limited dating evidence, was also uncovered during rescue excavations associated with the construction of the A27 (Cunliffe *et al.* 1996, 17–18). Although interpreted by the excavators as representing a military building, they do suggest that it was contemporary with Timber Building 2 and consequently it may also be LIA in date (Cunliffe *et al.* 1996, 17). While Creighton (2006, 59) suggests that these buildings represented "a high status settlement of some sort", as a precursor to the Roman palace, an alternative explanation is evidenced by the similarity between these structures and storage buildings uncovered at Gorhambury, St Albans (Neal *et al.* 1990, 29), indicating that they may represent a LIA trading complex or port. This interpretation is supported by the position of the Fishbourne complex at the end of Fishbourne Channel, which was likely navigable during this period (Manley 2007, 49). This argument further implies that 'people' in the LIA were exploring different types of structure to live and work in, but also that, through exchange, social links were created to 'people' and 'groups' on the Continent.

The importance of cross channel exchange to 'people' in the WSTOZ is apparent in the increase of imported goods visible in the archaeological record (pottery, brooches,

coins). LIA assemblages consist of a mixture of hand/wheel thrown, decorated/undecorated and local/imported pottery (A6.14). At Copse Farm (Oving) and North Bersted, there is evidence for both 'saucepan' type pottery, usually attributed to the MIA and wheel-thrown or 'Aylesford Swarling' type pottery (Bedwin and Holgate 1985, 220). Hamilton (2002) has demonstrated that 'saucepan' type pottery, based on Wessex radiocarbon chronologies, spanned approximately three centuries and was therefore made and used in parallel to new technologies, i.e. wheel thrown ceramics. Hill (2002, 145–8) has argued that the onset of these technologies allowed the production of a larger range of pottery forms (jars, dishes, long necked bowls, beakers, butt beakers, flagons), which represents a change in social attitudes to dining (**5.3.3**). A larger range of ceramics would have changed how meals were prepared and served by 'people' in the LIA and consequently the way that the dining table looked and the manner and types of food eaten (Hill 2002, 145). The continuation of the use of handmade ceramics, however, indicates that, through personal choice, past traditions were incorporated into, and helped form, new dining practices. Imported pottery, predominantly from Gaul and Italy (Samian ware, Amphorae, *Terra Rubra*, *Terra Nigra*, Gallo-Belgic wares, North Gaulish wares) are present on approximately 32% of LIA sites. Furthermore, copies of imported pottery forms were present at Shopwhyke (Oving) and Madehurst. Hamilton (2007, 98) suggests that the presence of some imports, such as amphorae, on rural sites, e.g. North Bersted (Bedwin and Pitts 1978) and Copse Farm (Bedwin and Holgate 1985), indicates that these vessels and/or their contents were not particularly difficult to obtain. This evidence does not suggests a pervasive new tradition that affected 'people' in the LIA but rather "a fluidity of community and personal choices", which fall within a range of practices emerging during this period (Hamilton 2007, 98).

The merging of practices, both from MIA tradition and continental imports, is also visible in the changing nature of burial rites in the LIA. Continuity with MIA rites is illustrated by the deposition of excarnated remains within LIA settlement sites, including disarticulated human remains recovered from enclosure ditches at Copse Farm, Oving (Bedwin and Holgate 1985, 232) and North Bersted (Bedwin and Pitts 1978, 339–340). The limited amount of excarnated remains recovered from settlement boundaries might suggest that deposition in this context was a selective process, however, the depth of the LIA enclosure ditches at Copse Farm and North Bersted (surviving to between 0.6-1.2m) likely provided a better environment for the collection and survival of human remains. While it is difficult to determine the pervasiveness of these rites in the LIA, the action itself implies a connection between

the dead and the past, with the living and the present. These remains, and their deposition in domestic sites, represent the presence of the 'ancestors' within that settlement and perhaps "implied a concern with place and ancestral claims to it" (Carr 2007, 449).

Cremation burial became the predominant mortuary rite in the LIA in the WSTOZ. One hundred and forty one cremation burials have been excavated across the WSTOZ, of which the majority (136) were present at the Westhampnett cemetery (Fitzpatrick *et al.* 1997). The use of this rite by 'people' throughout this period is evident from the early date of burials from the Westhampnett cemetery (100-40 BC) (Fitzpatrick *et al.* 1997, 203–8), while burials from Graylingwell dated to just prior to AD43 (Williams-Freeman 1934). The cremation burials at Westhampnett were placed in a variety of shaped pits (circular, square, oval, rectangular, irregular) and were mostly unurned, however, they may have been placed in a textile or leather container that have since rotted away (Fitzpatrick *et al.* 2008, 180). A number of pyre goods (brooches attached to the body, joints of meat placed on the funeral pyre) and grave goods (pots placed within the burial cuts) were included in 50% of burials (Table 6.5, A6.15). The excavators note that there were gaps in the graves suggesting that "other materials, such as wicker or wooden vessels, items or clothing or textiles, food stuffs….may also have been deposited" (Fitzpatrick *et al.* 1997, 221). While these burials indicate the desire for a large 'group' from diverse households to deposit the dead in a shared space (**6.4.3**), they also illustrate the general diversity of choices undertaken by 'people' in the mortuary rites of familial members. This diversity is illustrated by the variation in the inclusion/exclusion of certain grave goods and the choice of placing objects/meat joints on the pyre itself.

Name	Details	No	Sex	Adult	Urned?	Animal bones?	Finds	Reference
Graylingwell, Chichester A	Pots dated to AD40-50	2	? (2)	? (2)	Y (2)	N (2)	Dated to AD40	(Williams-Freeman 1934)
Hardham	Buff urn with black burnish	3	F (1) ? (2)	Y (1) ? (2)	Y (3)	N (3)	Small grey beaker in urn, red brown saucer	(Winbolt 1927, 95–6)
Westhampnett	Unurned/urned cremation burials with grave goods	136	F? (24) ? (107) M? (5)	Y (117) N (19)	Y (4) N (128) ? (4)	Y (35) N (101)	Wooden vessels, iron staples, brooches,bracelet, knife, gold frags, ring, iron nails, winged belt hook, gold stater.	(Fitzpatrick *et al.* 1997)

Table 6.5: LIA cremation burials - WSTOZ

An examination of the cremated human remains at Westhampnett reveals that low proportions (approximately 5%) of the cremated body were included in each burial (Fitzpatrick *et al.* 1997, 213). This quantity led the excavators to sub-divide burials from 'memorials' (those which contained less than 30g of cremated bone) and suggesting that the quantity of bone represented one "choice amongst many others in the mortuary rituals such as the sacrifice of animals or the placing of pyre and/or grave goods" (Fitzpatrick *et al.* 1997, 214). This evidence supports the importance of personal choice as playing a role in the form of cremation burials, but also the likelihood that other mortuary practices (e.g. excarnation) were performed in parallel. The general absence of children from the Westhampnett cemetery indicates that they may have been subject to separate mortuary rites that did not include cremation (Fitzpatrick *et al.* 1997, 227).

The adoption of cremation implies a change in mortuary practices, however, Carr (2007, 446–7) has argued that many aspects of excarnation/cremation burial rites have much in common and that excarnation possibly occurred as part of an initial stage of cremation (A6.16). 'People' in the LIA may have been willing to attempt new forms of rites on a personal level because they were still ideologically connected to, and therefore continued to practice, traditional beliefs. The diversity of practices may imply the experimentation of these two parallel rites in this period. Hamilton (2007, 90), has argued that the cremation burial tradition itself in this area may have several trajectories, both directly from Gaul and as part of the 'Aylesford' cremation traditions. This would suggest that "cremation was a tradition that was open to and adaptable to more than one type of ceremony" (Hamilton 2007, 90) and was likely reflective of personal choice.

The merging of burial practices is illustrated partly by a number of 'other' burials also excavated within the Westhampnett cemetery. Twenty-seven pyre sites or pyre-related features (which also contained cremated human remains) were identified in the cemetery by their shape (X, Y or T shaped cuts- suggesting ventilation channels) and the presence of pyre-related debris (charcoal, burnt soil, human remains, animal bone, pyre goods) (Fitzpatrick *et al.* 1997, 18). Although described as 'pyre' sites, these features share similarities to the general characteristics of the cremation burials discussed above (e.g. Fitzpatrick *et al.* 1997, 231). They included low levels of cremated remains (suggesting some of the human remains were removed) of 'people' of both sexes and a range of ages, as well as possible grave goods (Table 6.6, A6.17).

The pyre debris included animal bones (pig, sheep) and a number of copper alloy and iron brooches, rings and iron nail fragments, indicating the placement of offerings on the pyre. The presence of nails suggests remains from the structure of the pyre itself or wooden vessels in which cremated remains were placed. The lack of pyre-related debris in the cremation burials discussed above was interpreted by the excavators as reflecting the "relative ease with which cremated bone can be retrieved from the bed of ashes of the pyre" (Fitzpatrick *et al.* 1997, 213). These pyre features appear to have been utilised in similar ways to the cremation burials above, but equally demonstrate the complexity of mortuary rites present during each burial, e.g. the placement of possibly intentionally broken pottery at the base of these features in some instances (Fitzpatrick *et al.* 1997, 233–234). The primary use of these features as pyre sites is a likely possibility, however, these sites may have also been re-used as areas of internment. These actions may have occurred towards the end of the use of the cemetery when the pyres were not needed anymore, however, evidence for the potential mixing of the fills (Fitzpatrick *et al.* 1997, 18), may suggest revisits and the internment of multiple sets of human remains. These pyre features illustrate the same diverse personal choices present for different stages of the mortuary rituals associated with excarnation, cremation and burial of the dead.

Name	Details	Sex	Adult	Animal bones?	Finds
Westhampnett	Pyre-related features, redeposited cremated remains, cremated remains within postholes	? (34) F? (3)	Y (19) N (4) ? (4)	Y (6 including unidentified, pig and sheep remains). N (21)	Iron nail fragment, brooch (iron), penannular object (copper alloy), melted object (copper alloy), curving bar (iron), needle (iron), melted object (copper alloy), Ring (iron), structural ironwork

Table 6.6: Pyre sites containing cremated remains – Westhampnett. After (Fitzpatrick *et al.* 1997).

A single inhumation, an inherently individual burial rite, was uncovered in the WSTOZ. A so-called 'Warrior burial' was revealed as a single inhumation within a LIA settlement at North Bersted (Taylor and Weale 2009). The burial contained a range of grave goods including unusual items such as a copper alloy helmet and two semi-circular sheets with lattice decoration, possibly from a shield (A6.18). Preliminary analysis indicates that some of these grave goods, including some of the metalwork and pottery, have parallels with examples on the Continent and were likely imported into the WSTOZ (Taylor and Weale 2009, 11). 'Warrior burials' are a rare occurrence in south-east Britain, with only fifteen having been discovered to date. These burials

represent a geographically widespread phenomenon, stretching from the south-coast of England to Scotland (Hunter 2005, 50–1). While representing an individual, and likely personal choice in burial rites, current interpretation suggest that 'warrior burials' were given the persona of a warrior in death, whether they fulfilled that role in life or not (Hunter 2005, 50). The 'warrior burial' at North Bersted represents a richly furnished grave indicating wealth and connections (whether through trade or personal contact) to the Continent; and their burial being undertaken with some care, with the body laid on a possible bed and pillow (Taylor and Weale 2009). This evidence suggests someone who was "worthy of some unusual treatment" (Hunter 2005, 50). While it is assumed that these burials represent an individual and 'elite' member of LIA society, the wider context of these burials at sites in south-east Britain, such as Brisley Farm (Stevenson 2013) and Mill Hill, Deal (Parfitt 1995), illustrate the complex role that these burials played at wider social scales, accruing a cult or 'heroic' status following their interment (Hamilton 2007, 93; Stevenson 2013, 179). The further importance of the burial as part of wider society (**6.4.3**) and as a location within the surrounding landscape (**6.5.3**) will be discussed below.

Evidence for LIA shrines/temple sites allows us to examine the practices and associated choices behind structured deposition in non-burial settings. These practices form a direct change from the MIA, where people deposited items of importance in domestic contexts, to one where specific places in the landscape were chosen for ritual practices (**6.5.3**). Hayling Island Temple, a mid 1st century BC circular temple, located on the western edge of the WSTOZ, was a major site for the deposition of artefacts, including a large number of LIA coins, two currency bars, fibulae, martial equipment, vehicle fittings, some fragmentary human remains and a large assemblage of animal bones (King and Soffe 2001, 115–116). This ritually motivated deposition was cumulatively undertaken by a large collection of 'people', however, the relative diversity of the deposited items indicates personal choice. The diversity may reflect the wealth or social standing of the 'people' who were depositing votive items at the temple, i.e. depositing what they could afford, or could reflect particularly specific attitudes to what was considered important enough to leave at the site, i.e. person-specific choices as to what was 'special' or appropriate to deposit.

Animal remains illustrate some of the specific actions undertaken at the temple including ritual sacrifice and consumption. These actions are apparent through the domination of pig and sheep in the animal bone assemblage, while cattle are almost completely absent (King and Soffe 2001, 116). This evidence has been interpreted as representing a degree of personal selectivity in the animals sacrificed, and

potentially consumed, illustrated by preferences for offering of “better cuts of meat” and the presence of tableware (King and Soffe 2001, 116–117). The presence of currency bars at the temple has also been argue to represent a deliberate and ritually motivated deposition, perhaps as part of ritual practices to celebrate the construction of significant sites (Hingley 2005a, 183). An assemblage of martial equipment was also recovered at the Hayling temple, including iron socketed spearheads, fragments of edge binding, terminal knobs for shields and three belt hooks for baldrics (King and Soffe 2001, 116). This type of material is reminiscent of that uncovered at the North Bersted warrior burial and suggests a wider scale of preference (by social ‘groups’) for deposition of this material as part of ritual practices. The coin assemblage recovered from inside the temple included a number of LIA coins, both from the WSTOZ and Gaul, as well as a number of Roman Republican coins. This can be interpreted as part of the wider contact between ‘people’ within the WSTOZ and the Continent. The number of coins from different locations suggests that on a personal level individual items were chosen as ‘special items’ for deposition at the temple, not because of its association with the Roman Empire or elsewhere, but because of their relative uniqueness.

Analysis of the distribution of finds, taking into account some truncation on the northern part of the temple site, indicates that finds deposition focused on the south-east corner of the temple courtyard (King and Soffe 2001, 117) (A6.19). Several classes of artefact followed this distribution including coinage, brooches, rings, edge binding, ironwork and the currency bars. This zonation indicates that particular movements were undertaken by ‘people’ entering and depositing material at the temple, i.e. on the left hand side of the entrance as entered (King and Soffe 2001, 117). It has been suggested that perhaps the northern or ‘right hand’ side of the temple courtyard was reserved for animal sacrifice (King and Soffe 2001, 121). Some items, including coinage, were also deliberately bent or broken before being deposited in the temple, which may represent “sacrificial intent” (Briggs *et al.* 1992, 2). These artefacts illustrates some of the personal ritual actions undertaken at Hayling Island, so that these objects could not “re-enter the realm of the everyday” (King and Soffe 2013). While the finds deposited suggest a wide variety in choice as to what was special enough to deposit at the temple, the identification of these ritual acts suggests a regimented system in what was expected once ‘people’ arrived at the site. For example a high proportion of plated silver coins over copper cores, has been suggested might represent forgeries, or coins specifically made as “temple deposits” (King and Soffe 2013, 9). While not prestigious items, they were, along with the

majority of finds recovered from the temple, handled, treated and deposited in a particular way. The ritual practices of deposition present at Hayling Island are reflected in other sites within the WSTOZ, indicating that these rites formed part of the collective actions of 'people' across this landscape (**6.4.3**). Four possible shrine structures (20277, 20657, 20761, 20562) have been uncovered at the Westhampnett cemetery (Fitzpatrick *et al.* 1997, 15–18). While there was limited material culture associated with these structures, a small amount of broken domestic pottery and some pyre-related debris was uncovered within the shrines, indicating the consumption of food and drink and the deposition of material associated with cremation rites.

The evidence for personal action in LIA illustrates dynamic change, combining practices and beliefs established in the MIA and incorporating them with new ways of living and treating the dead. Evidence for pre-existing traditions are found in the continuation of some forms of households (roundhouses) and mortuary practices (excarnation). However, these established routines were intimately associated with new types of structure (rectangular buildings) and the adoption of new types of burial (cremation), likely originating from the Continent. The evidence at a personal scale of analysis suggests that each of these practices forms part of a complex pattern of overlapping new traditions that begin to emerge during this period. These changes are typified by evidence for burials, which show a range of personal choices in the implementation of mortuary activities (excarnation, cremation, ritual feasting, structured deposition) and individual approaches to how these burials should be displayed (varying pyre and grave goods). These changes are articulated on a personal level and, in light of a range of new options, illustrate the experimentation with new social norms for 'people' in the LIA, leading to a greater complexity in social structure.

6.3.4 The Early Roman Period

The social organisation of 'people' can be extracted by the examination of dwellings, particularly the layout, design and the objects found within them (Smith 1997, 5). The evidence for ERom structures within the WSTOZ represents a range of construction styles and techniques, predominately characterised by rectangular timber structures. The buildings include evidence for postholes, beam slots and masonry foundations (Avenue de Chartres A; Chapel Street Health Clinic - A6.20). These structures varied in size from 3-7m in width and 5-22m in length (A6.21), relating to the varying functions of these buildings and the personal circumstances of the inhabitants (Perring 2002, 48).

The majority of ERom structures uncovered in the WTOZ were located in an area clustered underneath modern Chichester, suggesting a general pattern of structural form relating to the town of *Noviomagus Reginorum* (**6.4.3**). The basic unit of housing within urban space in Roman Britain was the 'strip house', a long rectangular structure split into a number of rooms and usually multi-purposed, with back rooms used as domestic space and front rooms, which flanked the street, used for commercial activities (Brothers 1996, 59). Although evidence for ERom buildings within Chichester is slight (due to subsequent development), a number do appear to conform to this layout, due to their rectangular shape and a single example of a shop at South Street, Chichester (Down 1974, 3). While these buildings generally conform to a 'strip house' style, e.g. Structure 1 at Cattlemarket (Down 1989, 66 - Fig 12.3), a close examination of the floor plans of some structures illustrates a greater diversity in form. Building O.1 at Area 5, Chapel Street, represents a more complex structure consisting of six to nine rooms in a grid (Down 1978, 115 - Fig 7.37) (A6.22). The variation in building plans indicates personal approaches to the layout of domestic (and possibly commercial) space and likely the diversity of the families who occupied these buildings. Although limited in nature, an examination of the material culture recovered from these buildings also supports this diversity, illustrated by the variance in the origins (local and imported) and form of the recovered pottery assemblages. A general increase in imported goods (arretine and samian ware) suggests stronger trade links to the Continent and more direct access to these goods for 'people' in this period.

As argued above (**6.3.3**), a number of early rectangular structures underneath modern Chichester may be LIA in date. Due to the lack of stratified floor deposits within these structures (Down 1988, 29), it is difficult to determine exact dating sequences, however, a number of structures have been dated to the post-conquest period either through stratigraphic relationship with later features or from recovered finds evidence (A6.20). The similarity in the location, form and structure of LIA and ERom buildings (A6.23) indicates the longevity of this style and the continuation of the specific interactions between 'people' and their domestic space. The routines established in the LIA continued and expanded in this period, forming the core of a new settlement at Chichester.

While previous research suggested a military origin for Chichester (Down 1988), our growing understanding of the post-conquest period makes this interpretation unlikely (Magilton 2003, 159–162; Manley 2007, 51–2). The military origins of the town were based on two pieces of evidence; the similarity of the earliest timber buildings to

military structures, and the recovery of military material culture within some buildings. These finds include fragments of belt buckle, armour, harness hooks and brooches. While the plan of the structures does not provide enough evidence for a military function (**6.3.3**), a small assemblage of military finds was found within some buildings (Table 6.7). This evidence suggests that the structures, and the 'people' who lived in them, had some association with the military without defining these as specific military buildings. Perring (2002, 61) argues that "serving soldiers were frequently billeted in towns and posting stations, where imperial business demanded their presence". This interpretation would explain the presence of military equipment in some structures within the town of *Noviomagus Reginorum,* where central administration would have played a significant role. Creighton (2006, 48–50) argues the presence of chain mail in pre-Roman 'high-status' burials may suggest knowledge and use of Roman military armour army prior to the invasion, however, there is little evidence to suggest that the use of Roman armour was a pre-existing or continuing tradition in the WSTOZ.

Structure name	Shape	Dimensions	Construction	Finds	Reference
Area 3 Trial trench A, Tower Street Building A	rectangular	15.5 x 6.5	beam slot	None	(Down 1978, 139–140)
Area 3 Trial trench A, Tower Street Building B	rectangular	9.9 x 7	beam slot	Military equipment – Two large fibulae, fragment of armour. Claudian samian ware	(Down 1978, 139–140)
Area 3 Trial trench A, Tower Street Building C	rectangular	5.3	post built	None	(Down 1978, 139–140)
Area 4, Clemens' Yard C - Building J1	rectangular	6.1	stone packed postholes	Military equipment - belt buckle and fragment of armour	(Down 1978, 54)
N. of St Mary's Hospital, Chichester B	rectangular	1.5	post built	Military equipment - bronze harness hook	(Down and Rule 1971, 19–21)
N. of St. Andrew Oxmarket, Chichester	rectangular	6 x 5.8	post built	Fibula brooch (possibly military? - Aucissa) - sealed by a layer containing South Gaulish ware (85-115) and 12 sherds of samian	(Down 1974, 107)

Table 6.7: ERom 'military' buildings - ETOZ

A new form of building complex, centred on the 'villa', were also introduced into the WSTOZ in the ERom period suggesting a change in the way 'people' were living in rural areas. Defined in this instance as the main house of a rural farm estate (Smith 1997, 11), excavated examples include Angmering (Wilson 1947; Gilkes 1998, 1999), Bignor (Aldsworth and Rudling 1995) and Chilgrove (Down 1979). These villas have been identified, along with a number of others across Sussex, as representing a comparatively early group compared with elsewhere in Britain (Cunliffe 1971; Black 1987). Fishbourne Roman Palace (Cunliffe 1971) forms an exception to the other villa buildings, however, in general these early structures were small rectangular masonry buildings, consisting of a collection of four or five rooms in a linear arrangement (A6.24). While previous interpretations of villas have considered them as a typically 'Roman' design, resulting from the implantation of Roman citizens from the Continent, recent research has suggested that villas may have been occupied by a variety of social 'groups' including a pre-existing and indigenous local wealthy elite (Mattingly 2006, 372; Perring 2002, 72). Evidence for pre-existing LIA occupation is present on a number of WSTOZ villa sites, as well as a number of sites that became villas in the early 2nd century AD (e.g. Bignor, Watergate Hanger). Rudling (1998, 50) has argued that the majority of villa buildings and estates in Sussex grew directly from indigenous farms. At Chilgrove, a possible LIA roundhouse constructed in the 1st century BC was followed by the construction of a masonry villa building by the early 2nd century AD (Down 1979, 42). Rudling (1997, 6–7) has also argued that a 1st century AD masonry circular structure formed a precursor to a three room 'cottage villa' at Watergate Hanger, although there is limited stratigraphic evidence to support this chronology. Unfortunately, in the relevant grey literature reports, a detailed synopsis of the 1st century AD finds assemblages (A6.24) was lacking in a number of cases (Sidlesham, Spes Bona, Wolver Brow), and where information was available it focused predominantly on the finds that dated the villa sites to this period. This data suggested that locally made wares, common in the LIA, were present in some cases (e.g. Angmering - Gilkes 1999, 64) but that Gaulish Samian ware was also present (e.g. Chilgrove - Down 1979, 200). Although limited in nature, this evidence mirrors that of the LIA sites discussed above (**6.3.3**) and demonstrates changes apparent across the transition where personal choices were dictating the use of certain types of pottery over others.

Although some exceptions exist, villa structures in Britain traditionally represent the creation of a diverse range of dwellings, closely related to wealth generated by associated large agrarian estates. Consequently, the creation of a villa structure may

demonstrate the manner in which a family displayed their prosperity derived from agriculture (Hingley 1989, 159). In some cases, this new architectural form reflects the desire of indigenous people to express their identity in a new way, facilitated partially by greater access to resources from the Continent, especially following the Claudian invasion. Scott (1990, 164) argues that the creation of these new forms of structure saw the "reordering of domestic space in response to the reordering of social relations".

Fishbourne Roman Palace, also listed as an ERom Sussex villa, remains an exception to the more simplistic villa forms (A6.25). As stated above (**6.3.3**), a number of early structures at Fishbourne arguably date to the LIA. Following this early phase, a number of structures were constructed and ultimately demolished in the post-conquest period, leading to the construction of a large courtyard villa, or 'palace', dated to AD75 (A6.26). These structures represent a range of construction types, sizes and probable functions, with some features of domestic dwelling present, such as verandas. Manley and Rudkin (2003, 137–138) have proposed a chronology that suggests Masonry Building 3, timber buildings 4-7 and at least part of the Proto-Palace were contemporary structures. These structures, likely representing varying functions, may have indicated the diversity of 'people' who occupied this estate. The Flavian Palace was constructed in approximately AD75, incorporating part of the structure of the 'Proto-Palace', while demolishing the Second Masonry building to accommodate the new western range. The rooms and layout of the Palace has also been interpreted as representing three different sections; the official, the semi-public (e.g. visitors) and the private (Cunliffe 1971, 150–151). This interpretation suggests a multi-functional space incorporating the needs of permanent residents, regular and occasional visitors and workers within various sections of the structure. The sophisticated construction techniques (columns, internal wall plaster) of later buildings, particularly the Proto-Palace and the Second Masonry building, have been interpreted as representing the "presence of such specialists, such as architects, masons…" etc., in their construction (Cunliffe 1971, 75). The Palace itself used a variety of stone sources from the Continent for particular architectural details (Perring 2002, 106). Cunliffe (1971, 149–150) has argued that the mosaics uncovered at Fishbourne compare both in design and quality with that of the 1st century AD mosaics of Italy, suggesting that the floors were laid by immigrant craftsmen conversant with the most-up-to date developments in Rome. These additions reflect the changing functions of these structures and the shifting preferences of the 'people' who occupied them.

Traditional explanations for the occupancy of the Fishbourne structures have attributed it to the client king 'Togidubnus', based predominantly on the increased wealth of these structures and apparent desire of their inhabitants to adopt 'Roman' style ways of living (Cunliffe 1971, 74–6). This interpretation assumes the occupation of the site by a single family over a significant period, however, if our interpretation of the LIA structures is correct and they represent storage buildings associated with a growing trade network and/or accumulation of resources (**6.3.3**), perhaps we should examine the post-conquest structures as an extension of these activities. The relative differentiation between the size and form of the structures at Fishbourne (A6.27-6.28) and the continuity of many of these structures, suggests that they served various functions (i.e. domestic, storage, work areas) for a large group of 'people'. The introduction of specific styles of decoration in some structures, particularly the Proto-Palace and Flavian Palace, suggest that over time status was displayed in different ways and that more direct links grew with the Continent and the Roman Empire. The buildings were perhaps constructed by groups of 'people' from elsewhere in the Empire who, following the conquest, took advantage of the growing trade routes with Britain and took over the pre-existing complex at Fishbourne. This interpretation is supported by the discovery of a 1st century AD mosaic underneath the 'dolphin mosaic', which depicted a town wall with crenellations and external towers (Grew *et al.* 1981, 364). Creighton (2006, 151–153) has argued that this may have represented imagery to influence the local elite to build defences elsewhere. The demonstrated links to the Continent, through the design of the Palace, and its appearance at a relatively short interval following the Claudian invasion, supports an interpretation of the introduction of a wealthy or powerful family to this area from elsewhere in the Empire or indeed Rome itself.

The evidence for mortuary rites illustrates a change in ritual practice following the Claudian conquest of Britain, combining LIA methods of burial with stronger connections to the Continent. Initially this is visible in the placement of cremation burials uncovered both in locations used in the LIA and new areas (Table 6.8, A6.29). While there is currently no supporting evidence, we must not exclude the possibility of excarnation practices continuing into the ERom period. As suggested above, this rite may have been undertaken in parallel to, or as part of rites of cremation, and this is supported by the limited number of ERom burials overall. While there are a number of isolated cremation burials represented in this period (Goodwood Estate; Northney Road; Selhurstpark Farm), the vast majority were excavated in two cemeteries, both of which continued in use into the 2nd century AD: Westhampnett (Fitzpatrick *et al.*

1997, 242–286) and St Pancras (Down and Rule 1971, 53–126). The post-conquest cremations were unlike LIA examples in that they were predominantly urned, however, they also contained a number of grave goods and, in some instances, evidence of the inclusion of animals as part of the cremation rite (e.g. Fitzpatrick *et al.* 1997, 253). In a direct comparison between the cremation burials at Westhampnett and St Pancras, Fitzpatrick (1997, 284) notes that there was a "similar range of grave goods placed by mourners at both cemeteries". While generally the evidence for find type supports this statement (pottery vessels, glassware, hobnails), it obscures the complexity of mortuary practices, with grave goods reflecting the identities of the deceased through the eyes of those who participated in burial. This complexity is supported by an analysis of the grave goods at Westhampnett that suggests jars were present in the majority of graves (81%), but that the burials of older people had a larger amount of grave goods and imported goods (Fitzpatrick *et al.* 1997, 283). This greater quantity could represent a larger accumulation of goods collected by a person over a longer life or the greater number of connections made with others in the community.

Despite apparent similarities, the evidence indicates that mortuary rites associated with cremation in the LIA and the post-conquest periods were remarkably different. The presence of a single pyre-related feature in the ERom phase of Westhampnett cemetery indicates that in this period the actual cremation rite was undertaken away from the cemetery (Fitzpatrick *et al.* 1997, 279–280). In addition, no shrines were located on the site, providing further evidence that specific mortuary practices associated with the burials were changing. The quantity of cremated remains deposited within these burials also implies change, representing a significantly higher amount than that found in burials dating to the LIA (Fitzpatrick *et al.* 1997, 280–281). The quantity of cremated remains still represented only a 'token' of the total amount for a single person (Fitzpatrick *et al.* 1997, 280) and some of the human remains may have been deposited elsewhere. Furthermore, the absence of pyre-related material from these burials suggests that methods for the recovery of cremated remains had changed and, potentially, became more refined.

Name	Details	Sex	Adult	Urned	Animal bones	Finds	Reference
Goodwood Estate, East Dean	Urned burial	? (1)	? (1)	Y (1)	?	Iron lamp holder, Samian vessels, coarse wares	(Bone 1989, 22–23)
Northney Road	Unurned burial	? (1)	Y (1)	N (1)		Sherds of coarseware pottery from a bowl, small iron	(Wessex Archaeology 2006, 4–6)

						fragment, worked flint	
Selhurstpark Farm, Boxgrove B	Urned burial	? (1)	? (1)	Y (1)	?	None	(Anelay 2006)
St Pancras, Chichester A	Urned burials	? (10)	? (10)	Y (10)		Belgic vessel, Flavian samian dish, beakers (decorated), samian cup (Trajan-Hadrianic date), decorated urn, samian plate (Domitian - Trajan), cup and beaker (Trajan), coin of Domitian, carniated urn, coin of Titus, Bronze brooch, rectangular bronze mirror, glass bead	(Down and Rule 1971, 91–99)
Trojan Brickfield, Selsey	Unurned burials	? (2)	? (2)	N (1) Y (1)	? (2)	Charcoal, three greyware pots.	(HER)
Walwyn Close, Birdham	Possible urned burial	?	?	Y?	?	None	(Stevens 2003)
Westhampnett Bypass Area 2	Urned burials	M (1) M? (2) F? (2) ? (7)	N (1) Y (11)	N (2) Y (10)	N (10) Y (2 – sheep, goat)	Pottery includes jar, flagon, platter, beaker poppyhead beaker, cup and bowl, hobnails, iron fittings, conical glass jug	(Fitzpatrick *et al.* 1997, 249)

Table 6.8: ERom cremation burials/cemeteries - WSTOZ

Despite changes occurring in burial rites, some ritual practices remained unchanged during the post-conquest period, including the structured deposition of certain types of material culture at temple sites. The LIA timber shrine at Hayling Island was replaced in the ERom period by a circular limestone *cella*, surrounded by a square boundary wall and a porch on the eastern side (King and Soffe 2008, 140). A number of artefacts deposited at the site in the post-conquest period - including pottery, glass objects and animal bones (also present in the LIA), coins and brooches (King and Soffe 2008, 141) - indicate the continuation of ritually motivated deposition. King and Soffe (2008, 141) have argued that there was a change in the type of votive deposits at Hayling, with the majority of LIA finds representing military equipment and horse trappings, while the ERom assemblage was more domestic in nature. This change may reflect what was available for 'people' to deposit in each period, however, it may also represent a change in what was considered a 'special' item following the invasion. The introduction of new identities into the WSTOZ in this period would have

had a direct effect. For example, an inscribed stone altar was found at Hayling Island, dedicated by an officer of the *Legio IX Hispana* (Grew *et al.* 1981, 369), a legion that formed part of the Claudian invasion and was stationed in Britain afterwards. This evidence suggests that ritual deposition at Hayling was not just undertaken by local inhabitants and their descendants, but also new 'people', including military personnel who were introduced into the WSTOZ. A second possible temple at Ratham Mill has been identified through aerial photography and has been conjectured to date to the ERom period due to similarities in morphology (King and Soffe 1983). Field walking of the site uncovered a large quantity of 1st century AD pottery, suggesting that domestic material may have been deposited as part of the rituals undertaken at the site (King and Soffe 1983, 264), although further investigation is required.

The evidence for the post-conquest period illustrates the alteration of existing indigenous identities and the introduction of foreign groups, and as such new identities, into this area following the Claudian invasion. The evidence also suggests both continuity and change of domestic and ritual practices. Rectangular structures continued from the LIA into this period, however, particular styles present elsewhere on the Continent, were also adopted, reflecting new ways of undertaking domestic routines. Cremation practices also continued in this period, although the manner in which cremations were undertaken (away from the site) and the goods associated with the burials themselves (increase in imported material) indicates changes in the choices behind these practices and how they were undertaken. This evidence indicates that some LIA traditions were adopted and adapted in light of external influences from the Continent and the Roman Empire. These influences were felt in subtle ways; either through the continued consumption of goods from Gaul and Rome, but also through the introduction of new 'people' and 'groups' into the WSTOZ in the immediate post-conquest period. There is limited evidence on this scale of evidence to suggest the threat of violence from an invading military force, however, it is likely, based on contemporary accounts and due to the presence of Roman soldiers, that fear/tension formed part of the daily routine for the indigenous population. Despite this, the evidence also suggests that there was co-operation with those from the Continent, who were interested in, and exploiting, the expansion of trade with Britain. 'People' in this period were continuing to change their daily lives in new ways, merging pre-existing routines with those originating on the Continent. What is apparent at this scale of evidence is that these changes were not only influenced by pressure but instead cultural contact with Rome and its citizens.

6.3.5 Conclusions

This scale of analysis has allowed the identification of particular forms of personal identity through the examination of material culture, the structures 'people' inhabited, the burial practices adopted and evidence for rituals through structured deposition in significant locations. This evidence has allowed the consideration of daily routines and practices across time, reflecting changing social conventions and consequently the identification of social 'groups'.

The evidence for the MIA on this social scale appears to suggest a limited range and variation in social practices, illustrated by similar domestic structures, a small range of material culture and a restricted distribution of this material within the WSTOZ. While routines appear fairly static in this period, there is some evidence (albeit partial) for the early adoption of material culture and cremation rites from the Continent, indicating the beginnings of a greater diversity of social practice. Social complexity in the MIA is demonstrated in the evidence for mortuary practices, which suggests a blending of the rites associated with excarnation and cremation (potentially in a number of ways) and of the physical space between the 'living' and the 'dead', demonstrated by the recovery of excarnated remains from domestic contexts (North Bersted; Copse Farm). In the LIA, the evidence indicates a wider diversity of social practices, with dynamic changes in 'life' (households, ways of eating and drinking) and 'death' (burial traditions/rites). These changes partly reflect the growing contact between the WSTOZ and the Continent; however, they appear to result from a multifaceted array of personal choices that mixed external influences with pre-existing traditions. The social diversity in this LIA allows us to speculate whether this was a period of experimentation for 'people' into new forms of social practice. The post-conquest period saw both continuity and change on this social scale, with some LIA traditions represented as social norms, but equally affected by increased contact with the Roman Empire. This interpretation is illustrated by the increase in the types of imported material culture present in the WSTOZ and consequently a desire for 'people' to consume these types of goods. These changes were framed by the continuation of pre-existing practices within new traditions such as the adoption of villas in the ERom period, constructed in areas of previous LIA occupation. While the influence of LIA traditions continued to be felt, these routines and practices were beginning to be viewed in different ways in the post-conquest period.

The consideration of agency and identity on a personal scale has highlighted the differences between 'people' in the WSTOZ across these periods. However, this analysis has also begun to draw out the similarities between 'people' and

consequently has begun to outline the social ‘groups’ to which they belonged. The consideration and interpretation of the above evidence will be incorporated within a wider scale of evidence to allow the examination of the foundation and social dynamics of these ‘groups’.

6.4: ‘Groups’

6.4.1 Introduction

Social ‘groups’ are examined in the WSTOZ through the understanding of collective identity; the combination of actors into a single entity either through external or internal definition. Social ‘groups’ may be defined through purposeful action or a shared interest or belief, which is expressed through collective practice. In contrast to personal identity, social ‘groups’ are defined by similarity in actions, but also in the evidence for communication between ‘people’ that defines them as larger communities. Communities are partly defined by complex systems of connections between households and larger ‘groups’ in the surrounding area, however, these networks were also “cross-cut by kin and other relationships with members of other communities, both nearby and further away” (Hill 2012, 250). In the WSTOZ, these connections, and the practices which define them, change over time but are also directed by established traditions and routines passed from generation to generation.

Through the exploration of this social scale it is apparent that ‘groups’ in the MIA were defined by a communal identity, intimately linked to the events and activities associated with the agricultural cycle. Collective identity was re-forged in the LIA through the adoption of new social practices, such as shared burial space and veneration at temple sites; however, these were structured within pre-existing traditions and routines. By the ERom period, communities were redefined in light of the constant presence of the Roman Empire, including the introduction of urban identities to the WSTOZ. However, the practices of the rural populace and its social ‘groups’, arguably forming the majority, were altered only in minor ways in reaction to changing trends from across the channel.

6.4.2 The Middle Iron Age

Settlements represent the “territorial and social practices” of those who occupied them, creating a place where specific sets of activities by ‘people’ and ‘groups’ were negotiated (Brück and Goodman 1999, 14). In the MIA, structures (**6.3.2**) were located within two ‘open’ settlements; Chalkpit Lane, Lavant (Kenny 1993) and Westhampnett (Fitzpatrick *et al.* 2008). These ‘open’ settlements, defined as having no enclosing boundary, were demarcated by the distribution of excavated features

(roundhouse structures, storage pits, granary structures), and consequently may have been larger than current knowledge dictates. Each of these sites contained a number of probable domestic structures (roundhouses) and granaries (four post structures) in a closely spaced arrangement (A6.30). The excavators of Chalkpit Lane interpreted the entrances of the roundhouses as focused on what has been termed a central "communal" space (Kenny 1993, 28). This arrangement suggests that co-operation and interdependence was required between these households in the MIA. A similar arrangement may have been present at Westhampnett, however, the excavation was limited by the extent of the development. It should be noted that the limited stratigraphic evidence at either site, and the lack of scientific dating for these structures, suggests that they could represent phases of households rebuilt over a significant period (Fitzpatrick *et al.* 2008, 175–176). Shared activities, such as deposition of important goods (**6.3.2**), in these and other settlements may have also aided in the formation of collective ties through shared ritual action. A hierarchy within this community is difficult to establish, apart perhaps from the privileged location of some houses for light (**6.3.2**). The position of granaries across each settlement does suggest that specific roles were assigned to members of the 'group'. These roles are illustrated by the placement of granaries near some houses but not others, implying that the task of storing and caring for this resource was given to a particular person by the 'group', perhaps due to their skill or trustworthiness.

The roles and tasks attributed to 'people' within social 'groups' in this period were likely heavily influenced by the agricultural cycle. This is illustrated by the presence of granaries at the open settlements above, while field systems present at North Bersted and Copse Farm, Oving (dated to the LIA) may also have origins in the MIA (Hamilton 2007, 86). Recent LiDAR (light detection and ranging) analysis of the South Downs by Eve (2014) has illustrated a number of banks and ditches across the forested regions of the Downs. Although currently undated, the stratigraphic relationship of some fields to Stane Street Roman road suggest a pre-Roman date and demonstrates the potential for as yet undiscovered MIA or LIA field systems (Eve 2014, 5). One of the main components of agricultural activities, both on a practical and social level, would have been the provision of labour. A large quantity of labour would have been required to plant, care for and harvest crops, as well as to construct enclosure sites for keeping livestock as part of a mixed agricultural economy (see below). These activities would have aided in the construction and maintenance of social relations between the collective and allowed them to thrive in this environment, facilitating the production of an agricultural surplus.

Following a similar tradition in the Early Iron Age (Hamilton and Manley 2001, 25), a number of large enclosures were constructed in the MIA along the chalk ridge of the South Downs. The enclosures were each defined by a single ditch and bank suggesting, despite variation in size from 20-60 km^2, a general consistency in form across the MIA (Table 6.9). Two possible banjo-enclosures (so named due to the distinctive funnel shape of the entrance) are present at Carne's Seat (three enclosing ditches) and Halnaker (one enclosing ditch). Traditionally seen as stock enclosures in south-east Britain, the presence of banjo-enclosures provides evidence for a parallel pastoral economy in the WSTOZ (Winton 2003, 18). Recent work by Moore (2012, 409) at Bagendon suggests that a range of other complexes, including banjo enclosures fulfilled a similar function to that of territorial *oppida*, such as facilitating and controlling movement across these types of settlements. While common on the South Downs (particularly in Hampshire), the number of banjo-enclosures within the WSTOZ is limited, however, these enclosures do appear to form part of the control of movement across this landscape in the MIA and LIA (**6.5.2**, **6.5.3**). A number of other enclosures including Great Hidden Farm and Selhurstpark Farm, suggest further settlement or agriculture activities, however, there is currently limited evidence to determine their function or role. An enclosure site at Tourner Bury, located on the low lying southern area of Hayling island, has been described as a "univallate plateau hillfort" (Historic England n.d.), however, its description as a 'ringwork' during excavations in the 1970s is probable more representative of its layout and location (Bradley and Fulford 1976, 63).

Site Name	Ditch length (m)	Area (m^2)	Person hours	Structures present?	Reference
Carne's Seat - outer enclosure	289	20509	14705	?	(Holgate 1986a)
Carne's Seat - middle enclosure	411	12244	26141	?	(Holgate 1986a)
Carne's Seat - inner enclosure	207	2983	40692	?	(Holgate 1986a)
Great Hidden Farm	964	54319	13625	?	(HER
Halnaker Hill, Boxgrove	526	20368	7434	N	(King 1979)
Selhurstpark Farm A: Central Southern enclosure	172	1794	2431	?	(Anelay pers comm)
Selhurstpark Farm, A: Eastern Southern enclosure	175	2187	2473	?	(Anelay pers comm)
Selhurstpark Farm A: North enclosure	89	705	1258	?	(Anelay pers comm)
Selhurstpark Farm A: Western Southern enclosure	144	1294	2035	?	(Anelay pers comm)
Selhurstpark Farm A: Southern enclosure combined	580	5275	8198	?	(Anelay pers comm)
The Trundle	889	66402	36384	Y?	(Curwen 1929)
Tourner Bury	666	33403		N	(Bradley and Fulford 1975)

Table 6.9: MIA enclosures - WSTOZ (including labour estimates)

A consistent feature of these enclosures is the large banks and ditches that defined them and consequently the large quantity of labour required to construct them. An estimation of the labour required to construct earthworks (**4.5.6**) was used to calculate estimates for the number of person-hours required to construct each enclosure (A6.31). The large physical effort needed (visible in number of person-hours) to construct these enclosures would have required the organisation of large quantities of labour, indicating the close collaboration of 'people' within social 'groups'. As suggested above (**5.4.2**), the creation of such boundaries would have required the creation of close social connections within and between social 'groups', while the continued maintenance of these earthworks would have required longevity in such relationships (Wigley 2007, 184). Labour may have been viewed as a method of exchange in the MIA, perhaps given to others as a gift, but also used as payment for certain tasks or products. The ability to organise the labour required for these enclosures may have singled out some people as important or influential, however, the physical undertaking of the construction may have also been viewed as a unifying factor, with the wider community contributing to the construction of this space and, through doing so, affirming their rights to live and farm in these areas. Wigley (2007, 186) argues that this may have formed an important event in the agricultural calendar where bonds between 'groups' were made or reconfirmed for the events of the coming year.

The consideration of labour highlights the social or symbolic significance of these enclosures beyond their function for holding stock. Many of these enclosures were located on the South Downs and the earliest and largest example, the Trundle hillfort, is defined by a single earthwork and has inconclusive evidence for occupation (**6.3.2**) (Curwen 1929, 1931). In comparison to the field enclosures discussed above, it would have taken approximately 36,400 person-hours to construct the Trundles earthworks, the equivalent of 50 people working ten hour days for 73 days (minimum). This effort represents a large-scale undertaking requiring labour from a large number of 'people', likely originating from multiple social 'groups'. During the archaeological excavation of the hillfort a number of large-scale grain storage pits were uncovered in its interior and a number of pits and postholes in close proximity to the eastern entrance. The grain storage pits may indicate that the social 'groups' occupying the surrounding area could have used the hillfort as an area of central grain storage. Furthermore, Bradley and Yates (2007, 100) have suggested that "hillforts were employed for a variety of rituals" that were interconnected with agricultural activities, characterised in this instance by the reuse of decommissioned storage pits for structured, or ritually

motivated, deposition. An analysis of the material from the Trundle storage pits suggests they replicated the type and distribution of finds found at other hillforts, e.g. the Caburn (Hamilton 1998, 37). Finds recovered from the central pits included human remains (part of a cranium, left ulna, left femur), an iron knife and spearhead, and two chalk loom weights, while from the features adjacent to the entrance, part of a human jaw, a burnt/fractured rotary quern and a perforated boars tusk were recovered (Hamilton 1998, 37–38). The tradition of depositing broken quernstones is argued to reflect a similar practices found on settlement sites and "suggests that hillfort depositional practices are more intense and public versions of the rituals of daily life" (Hamilton and Manley 2001, 28). The collective effort to construct the earthwork, the congregation for the storage of grain and later the deposition of important items, illustrate that the hillfort represents a centre of communal activity during this period, combining both profane and profound practices.

Our current understanding of Iron Age hillforts has moved beyond their consideration as purely defensive settlements, as a result of critiques of the defensive function of ramparts (Bowden and McOmish 1987), or as centres of population, production and exchange (Hill 1995b, 1996), due to a lack of corresponding evidence. Hamilton and Manley's (2001, 31–32) analysis of the South Downs hillforts, including the Trundle, highlight the importance of these sites as symbolic centres, located on the periphery of known occupation (i.e. the coastal plain of the WSTOZ) but still visually accessible from those areas. This relationship between the hillfort and the wider landscape is particularly visible on a regional scale of evidence, where viewshed analysis suggests that due to the prominent topographic position of the hillfort, it was visible from great distances across the WSTOZ (**6.5.2**). In addition to evidence for structured deposition, the significance of the hillforts to social 'groups' is apparent partly by the creation of architectural elaboration in the earthworks, visible at the Trundle in the aggrandizing of entrance areas with an out-turned bank (Hamilton and Manley 2001, 26). Hamilton and Manley (2001, 32) have argued that the Trundle, and other MIA hillforts, may have had "a key role in uniting dispersed communities". In the WSTOZ, these social 'groups' likely included family units and larger agglomerates who occupied places on the South Downs and the coastal plain. However, it is probable that the Trundle hillfort may have acted as a focal point (on a more infrequent basis) for 'groups' who occupied areas outside the WSTOZ, and who may have held social connections, such as intermarriage, to those who occupied the WSTOZ landscape. In a period where occupation was relatively sparse and 'people' and 'groups' were dispersed across the landscape, the physical action of the construction, maintenance and use of the

Trundle hillfort may have acted as a “focus for physically de-centralized communities” (Hamilton and Manley 2001, 29). The forging of social ties, through shared labour, resources and ritual action, may have equally included gift exchange of material culture from areas across southern Britain, and explains the presence of goods such as the La Tène brooches recovered from Westhampnett (**6.3.2**). The Trundle acted as a centre of reciprocity between ‘groups’ to aid in the creation and maintenance of long lasting social connections.

Haselgrove and Pope (2007b, 11) suggest that the MIA is defined by *community* identity, and this is evident in the WSTOZ through communal activities, such as the sharing of domestic space (households in open settlements), the division of agricultural labour (granary structures in settlements, co-axial field systems) and collective ritual practice (structured deposition). Some evidence for rank in social ‘groups’ is apparent, potentially on the basis of the ability to organise labour, and may have been manifest by a privileged location for their roundhouses in the settlement (**6.3.2**). However, evidence for social differentiation is limited. Any ‘people’ with higher social standings likely represented the leader of a kinship group who had limited advantages over other members of the ‘group’. Vital to forming social ‘groups’ in this period is the provision of labour, which was required for practical reasons to further agricultural activities such as the construction of stock enclosures and field systems, but also, through shared action and negotiation, to forge social ties between households and larger social ‘groups’. The reverence of some locations, seen through evidence for structured deposition at the Trundle hillfort, was also necessary to bring together disparate social ‘groups’ from across the WSTOZ to one place and create bonds that could be maintained over time. Part of the result of close ties between ‘social groups’ in the MIA, potentially strengthened through the intermarriage between households, was the creation of social connectedness across the landscape in the WSTOZ; with people knowing and interacting with each other across wide areas (Haselgrove and Pope 2007b, 11) (**6.5.2**).

6.4.3 The Late Iron Age

The evidence for ‘groups’ in the LIA (settlement evidence, cemeteries, areas of ritual space) indicates the re-forging of collective identities in a number of ways. Changes in the LIA include the re-organisation of settlement space, with houses constructed in smaller groups isolated from one another (Copse Farm, Oving; Chilgrove; Cattlemarket Chichester) (**6.3.3**). These groups of dwellings formed part of small enclosed settlements, located predominantly on the coastal plain and varying in size from 400-2000m^2 (Table 6.10). These enclosures were smaller than those

constructed in the MIA but were similar in form and construction techniques (A6.32). Each of these enclosures was defined by a single ditch, varying in width from approximately 1-2.5m, and possibly an exterior bank, suggested by asymmetrical ditch fills in some instances (e.g. Copse Farm, Oving). The creation/maintenance of enclosure boundaries for settlements in the Thames Valley has been argued to indicate the exclusion of "a local social group from a broader society" (Hingley 1990a, 96), serving to enhance "the prestige of the settlement and it inhabitants" (Bowden and McOmish 1987, 77). This interpretation is reinforced by the smaller size of the enclosures and therefore the requirement for less labour/assistance from other social 'groups'. However, Moore (2007b, 91-92) has challenged the simplicity of Hingley's social model for the understanding of LIA societies in the Severn-Cotswolds, particularly when examining the evidence from a landscape perspective. Moore (2007b, 91) argues that while "the enclosing of the household" may reflect social isolation, that the clustering of these enclosures in the landscape instead reflects cohesion and permanence and represents "the loci of social groups larger than the household". The social significance of these sites therefore must be understood within a broader context of evidence, particularly the consideration of LIA agricultural activities in the WSTOZ (**6.5.3**).

Site Name	Ditch length (m)	Area (m^2)	Person hours	Structures present	Reference
Charlton A	165	2056	2798	?	(Cunliffe 1977)
Copse Farm, Oving	87	584	1230	Y	(Bedwin and Holgate 1985)
Graylingwell, Chichester B	172	1508	1765	Y	(Kenny 2001)
Oldplace Farm, Westhampnett - 1	142	1389	2007	Y	(Bedwin 1983)
Oldplace Farm, Westhampnett B - 2	55	417	777	Y	(Bedwin 1983)
Ounces Barn, Boxgrove A	138	1105		Y	(Bedwin and Place 1995)
West Dean - Goosehill Camp	506	19160	7152	?	(Boyden 1956)
Wick	148	1398	3075	?	(Gilkes and Lyne 1993)

Table 6.10: LIA enclosures - WSTOZ (including labour estimates)

The construction of field systems on the fertile coastal plain (e.g. Copse Farm, Oving and North Bersted – A6.33) illustrate the construction of an "extensively ditched landscape" in the LIA (Hamilton 2007, 87). The field system at North Bersted stretched for over 2 hectares, the cumulative length of which (700m) rivals the outer circuit of the Trundle hillfort (Hamilton 2007, 87). As discussed above (**5.4.2**), the effort required to construct and maintain these field systems (Table 6.10, A6.34), illustrated by the number of person-hours, would have greatly exceeded the ability of

a single household but instead would have required community involvement through the organisation of large quantities of labour (Wigley 2007, 184). The involvement of the community may have been required as part of the social conventions of the 'group', with communal labour used to affirm rights of tenure, i.e. "the right of the household to dwell within and husband in a particular place" (Wigley 2007, 185). The construction of farmsteads/field systems may have had wider social implications for the 'group' with, as Wigley (2007, 185–186) suggests, other significant events occurring at the same time (e.g. marriages, the exchange of gifts) to renew social ties between social 'groups'. While preferences in the way that 'people' lived had changed during the LIA, this was not an effort by some households to become isolationist and independent. Instead increased agricultural concerns required a greater dependency on the wider community to support, and possibly affirm, the creation of new places in the landscape.

Evidence for specialist craft activities within these enclosures illustrates the growing diversification of the practices of 'people' and therefore the roles that they could serve within the social 'group'. Craft specialisation is visible in evidence for bronze and iron metalworking at Copse Farm, Oving (Bedwin and Holgate 1985, 229–230) and coin production at Ounces Barn, Boxgrove (Bedwin and Place 1995, 91–93). Forming part of wider social collectives, households may have had, or gained, a distinct social position through the undertaking or control of these activities. The relative context of these sites as part of the wider landscape also indicates that such practices were undertaken in socially significant areas, e.g. watery contexts (**6.5.3**). Consequently, households may have gained privilege through the importance of their role to the wider community.

New preferences in the way that domestic space was created and occupied is apparent in the presence of a group of buildings underneath modern Chichester, consisting of three roundhouses (Cattlemarket) and twenty-three rectangular structures (**6.3.3**). Although it is not possible to accurately plan the location of these structures or determine relative chronological phasing, these buildings do appear to indicate the formation of a new social 'group', defined by the occupation of a new area and within a new style of structure. This interpretation is equally attributable to the possible LIA complex at Fishbourne, potentially in use as a harbour, and located in close proximity. This complex represents the growing international connections between communities in the WSTOZ and those on the Continent. Although ties to the Continent originated earlier (**6.3.2**), the construction of new types of structure and its role as a possible supply/trade complex indicate the formalisation of connections and

the sharing of resources, skills and ideas from across the channel. The creation of new areas of occupation suggest the fragmentation of collective identities formulated in the MIA, and the formation of new social 'groups' whose practices were influenced, in part, by ways of living present on the Continent.

Ritual and mortuary activities also illustrate the formation of new types of collective practice, specifically, the creation of a particular site for burial, separate from domestic contexts. Westhampnett, the largest known LIA cremation cemetery in North-west Europe (Fitzpatrick *et al.* 1997) was founded on the coastal plan. The cemetery contained 161 burials, representing a diverse group of mostly unurned cremation burials containing in some cases animal bones, personal adornments (e.g. brooches), pots and other vessels as grave goods (Fitzpatrick *et al.* 1997, 38). On a basic level the cemetery represents the desire of a significant 'group', possibly spread over 10km^2, to bury their family members and undertake associated rituals within a single area of space (**6.5.3**). The excavated evidence indicates that the cemetery space was planned so that specific ritual practices were undertaken in segregated areas (A6.35). The graves themselves respect a circular area, measuring 17m by 12m, which contained evidence for a number of postholes perhaps representing a timber structure. Despite the number of graves, only ten overlapped with one another, suggesting that each was marked in some way and areas of interment were respected by later burials (Fitzpatrick *et al.* 1997, 14). Four graves of varying age and sex have been interpreted as 'focal' graves, based upon the large number of grave goods (pots, bracelets, brooches) and their spatial location, around which other burials were placed (Fitzpatrick *et al.* 1997, 219). This evidence may suggest the representation of social 'groups' within the cemetery, headed by a single important person, however, there is little evidence to suggest "biological groupings" among any of the burials (Fitzpatrick *et al.* 1997, 234). Further 'zoning' of the cemetery is apparent from the location of pyre and pyre-related sites away from the burials and a series of postholes that may represent part of a formal physical boundary between cremation and burial zones (Fitzpatrick *et al.* 1997, 14). Four shrines were also separated from the burials to the east of the cemetery area and contained material from pyres suggesting that they played a role in the mortuary rituals associated with cremation and burial (Fitzpatrick *et al.* 1997, 231). The layout of the cemetery was specifically 'ordered' to separate particular activities including the cremation of the human remains, the curation of cremated material within shrines and the area for burial. Through following these social norms or rules, the wider social 'group' was formulated by an understanding that this place functioned as an area of burial and as a focus for the

wider community (**6.5.3**). Evidence for excarnation and individual cremation burials elsewhere in the WSTOZ (**6.3.3**) suggests that not all 'people' in this area wanted to, or were allowed to, conform to these new collective practices. This is perhaps related to the position of the cemetery within the wider landscape and its association with certain settlements over others (**6.5.3**).

The appearance of temple structures in this period, at Hayling Island and Ratham Mill, also illustrates the formalisation of certain spaces by social groups for specific rituals (A6.36). Hayling Island temple was subject to extensive excavation in the 1970/80s but has yet to be definitively published (King and Soffe 2013), while Ratham Mill temple has only been identified as a cropmark and dated from finds collected through field walking (King and Soffe 1983). Neither temple appears to have been constructed in previously occupied landscapes, suggesting their position in uncontested areas of the landscape (King and Soffe 2001, 111), however, both were located close to watery places, which may have been an important factor in why these liminal locations were particularly important (**6.5.3**). Evidence from Hayling Island demonstrates the collective action of a number of 'people' who each deposited 'special' items at the temple site and likely undertook a number of associated rituals, possibly as individuals or perhaps, illustrated by the evidence for ritual feasting (**6.3.4**), as part of a larger 'group'. This shared ritual practice indicates the creation of social norms, presumably structured through a shared belief system and forming the core activities of this social 'group'. Evidence is lacking for the allocation of specific roles to 'people' for ritual practices at the temple, and the social 'group' may have formed purely through the undertaking of repeated actions that moulded routines over an extended period. This is evidenced partially by the close structural comparison between the LIA and ERom temple (King and Soffe 2008, 140) and the similarity of the practices undertaken in each period, demonstrated by the spatial distribution of the deposition to the south-east of the temple precinct (King and Soffe 2001, 117–120) (**6.4.4**).

The evidence suggests that ritual and mortuary practices were separated from settlement contexts in the LIA, however, the structural forms of these sites (cemeteries, temples) illustrate 'domestic' parallels and indicate that these practices were connected to day-to-day activities. The burials at Westhampnett were arranged surrounding an empty circular space (Fitzpatrick *et al.* 1997, 238), similar to the central space of Hayling Island temple, and each of which has been paralleled to a "typical roundhouse" of the period (King and Soffe 2001, 113). Ratham Mill may also be circular in shape, visible from aerial photography, and may also conform to this

pattern (King and Soffe 1983). This evidence indicates a close ideological bond between the practices undertaken at these sites and those considered domestic and routine, suggesting that the structure of the mortuary/ritual spaces, and the collective actions undertaken, were carefully planned and formed part of a wider set of traditions originating in the MIA (**6.3.3**).

The wider context of the North Bersted 'warrior burial' (**6.3.3**) demonstrates further evidence for this merging of social practices, with the inhumation forming a feature within the wider area of settlement (A6.37). Although information is limited, the evidence for LIA occupation represent a number of field systems, a trackway, and a number of ditches, gullies and pits (Taylor and Weale 2009, 3). A similar situation has been uncovered at Brisley Farm, Kent, where two LIA 'warrior' burials were interred in a burial/sacred area immediately adjacent to a settlement and interpreted as segregated for different activities, (field systems, religious space, enclosed areas, settlement evidence) (Stevenson 2013, 146–147). The division of the two 'warrior' burials from a cremation cemetery, has also been interpreted as reflecting "the social division that existed when the two were alive" (Stevenson 2013, 178). The importance of these burials as representing wealthy and/or important members of society (**6.3.3**) and their position as a focus within the complex, suggests the veneration of specific individuals in this period by a wider social 'group'. The establishment of a particular 'cult' to an individual has been argued for the temple at Hayling Island (Creighton 2000, 191–197; King and Soffe 2001, 121). Based on evidence from coin iconography (Creighton 2000, 193 - Table 7.4), it has been argued that a cult of 'Commius', a leader of the Atrebates tribe mentioned in Caesar's *Gallic Wars*, may have been present in the region, with Hayling Island representing its physical manifestation. While there is limited physical evidence to suggest who/what was venerated at the temple, this does pose interesting questions as to whether social 'groups' in this period were beginning to perform rites and rituals dedicated to specific individuals. The inhumation burials may represent the actual people they wished to venerate or could reflect representations of important 'deities'.

The evidence suggests the presence of a number of diverse social 'groups' in the LIA, in contrast to the limited social differentiation present in the MIA (**6.4.2**). The social complexity apparent in the LIA is evident in the forging of new ways of interacting, such as the creation of cemetery spaces or areas of ritual deposition, creating a number of overlapping new traditions but in parallel to established traditions. MIA customs, such as the deposition of disarticulated human remains or the sharing of labour for construction, continued into the LIA within new frames of reference and in

reaction to growing connections with the Continent. There is limited evidence to suggest whether 'people' were members of multiple social 'groups' or if each represented a distinct and isolated entities, however, the types of practices evident suggest some intersection (structured deposition, ritual movement). The evidence indicates that social relations during the LIA formed a complex web of interaction, with ties between social 'groups' likely originating from both pre-existing generational connections and new social ties established through new collective practice (ritual and mortuary - cemeteries, temples). The veneration of individuals by some 'groups' is also indicated, perhaps suggesting 'elite' members of society, however, we should treat this interpretation with caution, as evidence for inhumation reflects how that person was laid to rest rather than their social standing during life.

6.4.4: The Early Roman period

The archaeological evidence for the ERom period suggests, in some instances, of the continuation of both collective domestic and ritual practices established in the LIA. The continuation of social practices is visible, in part, by the form of settlement, particularly farmsteads, across the coastal plain (Table 6.11, A6.38). ERom enclosures were defined by a single ditch and possible bank and varied in size from 300-2400m^2. A particularly large example (16,500m^2), located at Hardham, has been interpreted as a military camp constructed to a standard size. The person-hour estimates to construct these earthworks closely align with the labour input associated with the LIA enclosures and, along with a similarity in form, indicate the continuation of similar methods of construction from the LIA. This evidence suggests that there were co-ordinated networks of farmsteads across the WSTOZ in both the LIA and ERom periods, possibly as the result of co-operative arrangements based upon tradition and long standing allegiances.

Continuity was also evident in the occupation, and in some cases expansion, of farmsteads and enclosures constructed in the LIA (Copse Farm, Oving; Ounces Barn; Oldplace Farm; Graylingwell). This continuation reflects the handing down of these sites and their land to successive generations. However, the complexity of social relations is demonstrated at the Copse Farm farmstead, which utilises the same ditched field system for two different phases of farmsteads, of both a LIA and ERom date. The growth of the familial group may account for this complexity, now divided into multiple households on the same land. Land tenure in the WSTOZ was a long held tradition, continually reinforced by the need for communal labour to construct/maintain farmsteads (**6.4.3**). Overall this evidence indicates an intensification of occupation in the ERom period rather than abandonment or

migration, reflecting the limited changes apparent within the social 'groups' on the coastal plain.

Site Name	Person-hours	Area (m^2)	Reference
Fishbourne Roman Palace D	10959	1686	(Cunliffe 1971)
Graylingwell, Chichester C	565	350	(Kenny 2001)
Hardham	7842	16568	(Winbolt 1927)
Oldplace Farm, Westhampnett	2657	2372	(Bedwin 1983)
Copse Farm, Oving - Trench D & F	565	2375	(Bedwin and Holgate 1985)
Copse Farm, Oving - Trench E	1527	859	(Bedwin and Holgate 1985)
Ounces Barn, Boxgrove A	896	1208	(Bedwin and Place 1995)

Table 6.11: ERom enclosures - WSTOZ (including labour estimates)

The evidence for collective ritual practice in this period, particularly the temple site at Hayling Island and the cremation cemetery at Westhampnett, likewise illustrates continuity into the post-conquest period and indicates that social 'groups' were defined by pre-existing traditions, social rules and lineages. For example, the ritual deposition and veneration undertaken at the Hayling Island temple continued into the ERom period, with the reconstruction of the temple in AD 60s/70s (King and Soffe 2008, 139). The Romano-Celtic Temple mirrored the LIA layout, reflecting the position of the LIA 'roundhouse' feature (**6.4.3**), denoted by a square enclosure surrounding a circular stone tower or *cella* (A6.39). The circular tower likely reached 10m in height, similar to other known examples from Périgueux and La Rigale (Dordogne) (King and Soffe 2008, 142). The similarity in layout indicates that many of the ritual practices undertaken at the temple remained stable, e.g. the placement of structured deposits in the south-eastern corner (**6.3.3**), and implies that the knowledge and importance of these ritual actions were passed down through generations over an extended period, possibly 150 years. An examination of the material deposited suggests a distinct separation between the types of object deposited in the LIA and ERom periods. The martial equipment deposited at the temple in the LIA was notably absent in the ERom deposits (King and Soffe 2008, 141), interpreted by the excavators as being indicative of the decline of the 'warrior class' following the Claudian invasion, with civilians forbidden to carry weapons (King and Soffe 2013, 21). Whether this was the case is debatable, but the conspicuous change in the choice of deposited goods suggests that there are differing 'trends' apparent in each period. The core belief system of the social 'group' who used the temple likely remained unaltered across the transition period, while the way in which these practices and routines were undertaken was subject to change, influenced by both internal (addition of new

members) and external (accessibility to new material culture) sources. Although sparse, the evidence does suggest that the temple at Ratham Mill may have also continued in use from the LIA to ERom period, evident in the discovery of pottery from both periods during field walking of the area (King and Soffe 1983, 266). Three square enclosures are visible on aerial photographs of the area, interpreted as an outer *temenos* wall surrounding a *cella*, in turn surrounding the foundation of a small plinth, potentially presenting the image of a deity (King and Soffe 1983, 264).

The continuation of the same mortuary rites from the LIA to ERom period on the same site, is evident in the reoccupation of the cremation cemetery at Westhampnett at around AD70, potentially after a period of abandonment (Fitzpatrick *et al*. 2008, 279). While this phase of the cemetery was much more modest, (thirty-six cremations and a number of pyre-related features) certain consistencies in the mortuary practices were present. In this period the burials were also located around a circular space, however, rather than just conceptual the circular space was constructed physically as a ring ditch (Fitzpatrick *et al*. 1997, 279). The smaller number of burials has led the excavators to interpret the cemetery as representing the burial of a single family, some of which may have been related to those buried in the LIA (Fitzpatrick *et al*. 1997, 279). The continuing role and importance of particular mortuary practices was important at Westhampnett, perhaps for a 'group' that was likely generationally linked to earlier occupants of the cemetery.

The emerging urban settlement of *Noviomagus Reginorum* was founded in the second half of the 1st century AD, initially forming a series of timber and masonry buildings, both domestic and public. Revell (2009, 76) argues that an ideology of the town and Roman urban living was widespread across the Empire, encompassing not only dwelling in an urban environment, adopted as part of a "civilizing process", but also as an arena for political participation and communal events such as ritual action. The members of a town "formed a communal body on a basic level, whose group interests were synonymous with those of the town" (Revell 2009, 48–49). However, the adoption of a form of urban living should not be considered a completely foreign introduction in the post-conquest period but instead the recasting of pre-existing traditions in light of "new needs and pressures" from the Empire, leading to an intertwining of indigenous and Roman practices (Hingley 2005b, 87). As shown by Hingley (2005b, 85–87), for the town at *Verulamium*, the developing urban centre was partly designed to fit into the pre-existing *oppidum* landscape.

The developing urban centre at Chichester was also situated within a focal point of LIA activity, namely the location of a moderate group of circular and rectangular structures, uncovered beneath modern Chichester (**6.4.3**). It is difficult to determine whether the layout of the Roman town followed or diverged from origins in the LIA, as despite extensive excavation of the city from the 1970s onwards, subsequent development of the city in the Roman, medieval and post-medieval periods, has left little trace of Iron Age occupation. A similar limitation has been suggested for the LIA settlement at Bibracte (Woolf 1993, 229-230). Although similarities in the patterns of development between the LIA and ERom period have been identified at other *oppida*, particular Silchester, this is currently not possible in the WSTOZ. However, the relative position of the new ERom town within an LIA focal point was paralleled by the construction of an enclosing ditch and bank in a similar style to the LIA linear earthwork systems (**6.5.4**). As argued below, the development of the LIA earthwork system gradually focused on an area surrounding the tip of Fishbourne channel and it appears that earthworks constructed in the ERom period may have formed the final stage in this development **(6.5.4**). Although evidence is limited, it appears that the emerging ERom urban centre in the WSTOZ followed a schematic laid out in the LIA. This trend is particularly apparent for the WSTOZ at a regional scale (**6.5.3**-**6.5.4**) and further supports the assertion that new 'urban' traditions were established from LIA practices.

The urban character of *Noviomagus Reginorum* in the 1st century AD, and consequently the organization of social 'groups' that inhabited this space, is reflected in the density of buildings, the evidence for public architecture, the establishment of a street grid and the creation of associated cemeteries. As discussed above (**6.3.4**), a range of buildings were constructed in the emerging town from the mid-1st century AD onwards, continuing LIA traditions. While only a small number of buildings dating to the 1st century AD have been uncovered, it has been argued that the remains of several phases of timber and clay buildings in this period (through construction and subsequent demolition) left an archaeological horizon 25-40cms in thickness, visible within the stratigraphy underneath the modern town (Down 1988, 29). It appears these structures were of a mixed function and the presence of military equipment in some cases suggests the presence of a small number of Roman soldiers billeted in the town (**6.3.4**). The military likely served an administrative function in the absence of official imperial staff (as in London - Revell 2009, 69) and may have been involved in organisation/construction of the earthworks that defined the town in the post-conquest period (**6.5.4**). The sparse evidence for the military indicates this 'group'

was present only for a short time following the emergence of the urban settlement and was likely stationed elsewhere in the WSTOZ at strategic locations, e.g. Hardham camp. There is limited archaeological evidence for 1st century AD public buildings; however, the discovery of two Purbeck marble inscriptions in the town refer to building work in the pre-Flavian (RIB 91 - see Bogaers 1979) and Neronian periods (RIB 92) (A6.40). These inscriptions, particularly one referring to a guild of craftworkers (*collegium fabrorum*), indicate that large public buildings were constructed in the third quarter of the 1st century AD and suggest the early adoption of urban traditions from the Empire (Creighton 2006, 148; Mattingly 2006, 267–269), potentially due to the direct movement of 'people' from the Continent into this urban settlement.

By the end of the 1st century AD *Noviomagus Reginorum* was densely populated, organized around a street grid and connected to the wider landscape via Stane Street (**6.5.4**). The town was served by two cemeteries, located beyond its immediate boundary, including the large cemetery at St Pancras. Founded in approximately AD70, along the line of the newly established Stane Street, a large number of the burials dated to the late 1st century AD (Down and Rule 1971, 70). Three hundred and twenty-six burials were uncovered, the majority of which were cremation burials. There was sparse evidence for pyre related activity, indicating that the cremation of bodies was undertaken elsewhere (Down and Rule 1971, 71–72). While the broad mortuary rites undertaken by the 'group' who established this cemetery are comparable to those present in the LIA (**6.4.3**), these rites were restructured in light of changing social customs. The adoption of an urban lifestyle came with associated social rules/regulations, including the burial of the dead outside the confines of the town (Goodman 2007, 62). A second possible cemetery, also located in close proximity to the town at Cawley's Almshouses, is represented by two unurned cremation burials in association with a wooden structure (Hunter and Pine 2004). Despite the lack of evidence, we can surmise that this represents a cemetery, or at the very least the further burial along the main road heading north from the town. Cawley's Almshouses mirrors the position of the St Pancras cemetery and further illustrates the social rules regarding the use of space, separating the living from the dead. The creation of separate cemetery spaces may be reflective of different social 'groups' in this period, although the evidence from the burials themselves does not appear to indicate differences in wealth or status.

The adoption of practices by some social 'groups', which are typically associated with the Roman Empire, is represented by the evidence from Fishbourne Roman Palace (A6.41). As discussed above (**6.3.4**), the ERom period saw the transformation of a

possible supply port with the construction of a timber building, an unfinished Proto-Palace between AD65-70 and the realignment of the existing stream (Manley and Rudkin 2003, 138). This was replaced by the larger palace sometime around AD75 (Manley and Rudkin 2003, 138), which was elaborate in design and included stock enclosures, associated buildings and a semi-formal garden (Manley and Rudkin 2003, 6). The evidence indicates a multi-functional space incorporating the needs of a diverse 'group' of wealthy permanent residents, visitors and servants across a complex of structures. The inclusion of elements of Roman 'urban ideals', represented by the Flavian mosaic in room N7 (**6.3.4**), suggests close connections to, and appreciation of, the emerging urban settlement. Whether this represents the palace of the client king 'Togidubnus' is difficult to determine, particularly in terms of dating, however the occupiers of this estate obviously represent a wealthy and powerful 'group', well connected to the Continent and the Empire and eager to adopt ways of 'Roman' living that were popular in Rome.

The identification of the 'people' and social 'groups' who built and occupied villa estates has in the past often been considered as associated with the accumulation of wealth and status display through the construction of these buildings (**6.3.5**). However, as argued by Taylor (2001, 49) we should be cautious in assuming a straightforward "house-wealth relationship" when it is clear that "whether any household or community chooses to invest in the construction and elaboration or particular buildings styles rather than, say, in livestock or portable material culture, is a decision that is specific to each context". Villa estates within the WSTOZ originated in the mid-late 1st century AD in and around the South Downs. In this area the differentiation between the types and dates of villas estates has led to the interpretation that they were constructed and occupied by quite different 'groups' (Rudling 1998, 2003a). Rudling (1998, 50) has argued that some of the earlier and grander villas in Sussex, including Fishbourne Palace, Pulborough and Southwick (both located outside of the WSTOZ), share more similarities to South Gaulish and Mediterranean forms, than those constructed in the later 1st century AD (e.g. Angmering). These estates may represent the imposition of villas on the LIA settlement pattern, while later examples may have origins within LIA farmsteads, suggesting the growth of an indigenous local wealthy elite (Rudling 2003a, 118). Taylor (2011, 179) has recently argued that the distinction between examining villas as "primarily an economic institution" or as a "cultured status display" has created a constrained view of these rural sites and their importance in social discourse during the Roman period. The role of a villa owner was to both pursue agricultural objectives

and to take care in the construction of their house (Purcell 1996, 151; Taylor 2011, 179). In the WSTOZ the understanding of villa estates is a complex problem and one not currently fully understood (Taylor 2011, 191), however, the position of the sites relative to the town of *Noviomagus Reginorum* may suggest a link between the 'people' and 'groups' who occupied villas and the administration and/or funding of the town (e.g. Taylor 2013, 417–418) (**6.5.4**).

The "urban experience" offered by *Noviomagus Reginorum* represented a single regionally varied social 'group', sharing a number of ideals and forming the centre of administration within the wider WSTOZ (Revell 2009, 77–78). This 'group', although united in a particular way of living, was itself fragmented into smaller 'groups', represented by those who were or had an affiliation with the military (and likely served as administrators) and craftsman who came from the Continent to construct architecture that would frame the social practices of urban dwellers. These 'groups' created, along with those indigenous 'people' who wished to pursue the 'urban ideal', a "melting pot" where 'people' of different backgrounds and social standings lived with one another under a single set of social norms. However, it is important to understand the relative composition of the urban population within the WSTOZ. The evaluation of population size in Roman Britain is difficult, with estimates varying both in total number (Millett 1990, 182 - Table 8.1) and amount over time (Mattingly 2011, 219 - Table 8.2). However, based on a current understanding of the archaeological record, Mattingly (2006, 356, 2011, 219) conservatively estimates that the Roman governing elite, the military and the urban community likely represented only 14.75% of the total population (2,000,000) in the 2nd century AD, with numbers probably lower in 1st century AD. Part of the rural community comprised a number of villa estates, prevalent in the WSTOZ and argued as representing part of a wider community closely connected to the urban centres and likely the nearby Fishbourne Palace, whose position of importance was facilitated by connections to the Continent. However, according to estimates by Mattingly (2011, 219), the villa population only comprised 0.25% of the total population, with the majority (85%) represented by rural settlement such as farmsteads. Rural ways of living, traditions and social practices stemmed from those practiced in the LIA, and although often overlooked in favor of 'groups' more closely connected to the Empire (Mattingly 2006, 356–357), this populace formed the bulk of those who lived in the WSTOZ. The day-to-day lives of this rural 'group' were probably little transformed by the conquest of AD43, however, their manner of living and associated social practices were framed by a new social order.

6.4.5 Conclusions

The examination of ‘groups’ or collective identities has allowed the combination of evidence relating to ‘people’ into a wider perspective of the agency of social collectives. This evidence has allowed for the identification of ‘groups’ in this period, illustrated by collective practice, and how they were organized, through the roles and responsibilities shared by members of that ‘group’. This social scale has also identified how ‘people’ lived as part of a wider social ‘group’, and how domestic, burial and ritual activities were integrated into specific areas of space and within a set of social norms established by those ‘groups’.

Social ‘groups’ in the WSTOZ in the MIA were defined by a community identity, apparent by the need to collaborate (e.g. share labour) to construct areas of settlement, field systems and stock enclosures. These social relations were closely aligned to the requirements of agriculture, corresponding with events of the agricultural cycle and the need to ensure activities were undertaken within specific timeframes. Specific roles were probably attributed to certain members of the community, particularly those who could organize large ‘groups’, which may have led to some privileges such as position within the settlement or rare items from within Britain and across the channel e.g. brooches and amphorae (**6.3.2**). The assignment of roles and the provision of labour suggest that these were organised social groups, who created and maintained symbolic centres (The Trundle) and by undertaking specific collective rites (structured deposition) preserved a community identity over time. By the LIA these collective identities were still present, evident from the continued need for communal labour for agriculture, but they were executed in a number of new ways. Despite the creation of single household enclosure sites, labour beyond the family unit was required to construct farmsteads and consequently the community at large likely played a role granting tenure for these farmsteads. A number of new collective practices were also present, such as preferences in how ‘groups’ were living (rectangular buildings), the creation of cremation cemeteries (Westhampnett) and collective deposition at venerated sites (Hayling Island). These new activities were structured around a set of routines and social norms closely connected to evidence associated with ‘domestic’ contexts and as such were influenced by pre-existing MIA conditions. Some possible connections to the veneration of individuals, e.g. the North Bersted Warrior burial, and ‘Commius’ at the Hayling Island temple, are tempting but require a wider context to be fully understand (**6.5.3**). The formation of a polity by these ‘groups’ is difficult to perceive within this evidence and more fluid social connections were likely present (**7.3**). Following the

Claudian invasion, some collective identities continued without significant change (shared areas of burial, the deposition at venerated sites). However, small changes in some practices (cremation away from burial at Westhampnett and St Pancras; changes in material deposited at Hayling Island) suggest social 'groups' were subject to changing trends, likely the result of more intensive contact with ideas and traditions from the Continent. This period also saw the emergence of new social 'groups', coming together in order to pursue urban living (*Noviomagus Reginorum*, villa estates, Fishbourne Roman Palace). These 'groups', although united in a particular way of living and areas of social and physical space, were in themselves constituted from a number of indigenous and foreign (military, craftsman, traders) social collectives, whose convergence formed a new 'group' identity in the WSTOZ. The rural populace, although altered by new connections and fear of the military forces, continued somewhat unaltered during this period. The decision by some not to partake in new types of living, or the restriction of material/knowledge that allowed some to participate, likely distinguished them as separated from an emerging society in the 1st century AD.

While this scale of evidence has enabled the identification of a number of contemporary social 'groups' in each period, and in some cases how they changed over time, the connections between these 'groups' is more difficult to identify. An examination of the evidence for the interaction between 'people' and the wider landscape, which they inhabited, will allow us to identify how 'people' and consequently social 'groups' co-operated and potentially connected with one another. By examining places in the landscape, and the 'paths' between those arenas for action, we can begin to understand how the WSTOZ was socially structured as a whole.

6.5 'Regions'

6.5.1 Introduction

An examination of regional evidence allows us to study the landscape of the WSTOZ over time, uniting an understanding of the natural and cultural aspects of the region through a specific context; the experiences of 'people' and 'groups'. The understanding of places in the landscape, arenas in which actions are carried out (Tilley 1994, 19–20), is integral to this social scale. These places, which can affect or be affected by the agency of 'people' and 'groups', may be natural but also significant locales or culturally constructed monuments. 'Regions' can also be affected by the creation of boundaries and paths. The construction of boundaries deliberately alter the landscape and transform the significance of places in the way they are

experienced by ‘people’ in the past (Bevan 1997, 181). Boundaries can divide social ‘groups’ or aid in the construction of a network of paths, which help to establish and maintain social ties between ‘people’ and ‘groups’ (Tilley 1994, 30). The positioning of paths across the WSTOZ is important in structuring the experience and significance of places in the landscape which, over time, is linked to the memory of those who used and experienced them (Tilley 1994, 30–31). Through the recognition and understanding of these features we are able to link the evidence for personal and group identity to that of a wider regional context of inhabitation and experience.

The regional evidence indicates that the organisation of the landscape in the MIA united disparate ‘groups’ through communally constructed monuments at key focal points. Agricultural activities were dominant and movement was essential for the occupation of the WSTOZ, linking places related to the harvesting and storing of crops and the keeping of animals. In the LIA the construction of linear earthwork systems formalised the extent of the *oppidum*, restricting and funnelling movement to and from this space. The LIA was characterised by an increasingly ditched landscape due to the growth of agricultural activities, and by links to watery places that were considered socially significant by some ‘people’ and ‘groups’. In the post-conquest period, external influences were felt across the WSTOZ including the formalisation of the Imperial system through road networks and agricultural estates. Furthermore, the zonation of activities (urban and rural) combined new belief systems with pre-existing LIA practices.

6.5.2 The Middle Iron Age

MIA settlement is dispersed across the WSTOZ in variable topographic and geological positions, with diverse significance to ‘people’ in this period (A6.42). The ‘people’ who occupied this landscape and the places they created each have a temporal character (Thomas 1996, 90), and it is through the consideration of change over time that the development of the landscape can be assessed. The earliest evidence for occupation of the WSTOZ comes from the construction of large-scale enclosures (hillforts) along the ridge of the South Downs in the northern part of the WSTOZ. The Trundle hillfort provides the earliest dating evidence for MIA enclosures in the WSTOZ (A6.43) and, as argued above, acted as ritual centre for social ‘groups’, as illustrated by evidence for structured deposition and a large labour requirement (**6.4.2**). Consequently the Trundle likely acted as a “focus for physically de-centralized communities” in the MIA, both within and beyond the limits of the WSTOZ (Hamilton and Manley 2001, 29–32). This interpretation of the role of the Trundle is reinforced by the regional (i.e. within the WSTOZ) rather than inter-regional focus of the site,

with no intra-site visibility between the Trundle and hillforts on the next block of downland (e.g. Cissbury) (Hamilton and Manley 2001, 27). A viewshed analysis of the hillfort, as part of this thesis, suggests that the Trundle was highly visible from long distances across the WSTOZ (A6.44), partly due to its elevated topographic position, and would have provided a constant feature in the lives of 'people' and 'groups' living across the area. The construction of the hillfort "effectively monumentalize(d) topographic landmarks" and provided a central focus for the communities located in the WSTOZ (Hamilton and Manley 2001, 29).

The role of agriculture was crucial in the daily life of 'people' in the Iron Age, to provide subsistence, but also as a metaphor for ritual activities (**6.4.2**) and how "societies were organized" at a household and community level (Hill 2012, 253). Agricultural activities framed how 'people' and 'groups' operated and interacted with one another in this period, visible on a 'regional' scale by the location of settlements and field systems. Open settlements in the WTSOZ, founded in approximately 300BC, were located on the upper coastal plain, explained functionally through the presence of fertile brickearth soils and the ability to grow crops. As discussed above (**6.4.2**), evidence for field systems is present in some areas but there is limited evidence for widespread division of the landscape in this period. Bradley and Yates (2007, 100) have argued that the lack of field sub-division at this time was due to the communal ways of living and working, leaving little need to "sub-divide the agricultural land" as grain was communally farmed and distributed. Further evidence for communal ways of living is demonstrated by the construction and use of hillforts as meeting places and symbolic areas of 'communal grain storage' (**6.4.2**), corresponding with the growth of a co-ordinated regional community (**6.4.2**).

The large enclosure sites on the southern slope of the South Downs (Carne's Seat; Halnaker Hill; Selhurstpark Farm) were likely used as stock enclosures in the MIA, illustrating the mixed farming practices occurring across the WSTOZ. Movement of 'people' across the landscape during the MIA was linked to agricultural practices: seasonally driving animals from grazing areas (on the coastal plain) to enclosure sites and transporting processed grain from the field systems to occupation sites for long term storage. While the routes taken by MIA 'people' are difficult to determine, it is likely that the significance behind movement was influenced by ancestral knowledge. Two enclosure sites off of the coastal plain, the Trundle and Halnaker Hill, were each constructed over the position of Neolithic monuments. The construction of these sites and movement to/from them was framed within the past significance of these places, and reinterpreted in light of new traditions. Some activities were also occurring in

more marginal places away from the areas of occupation located on the coastal plain, including a cremation site (Wessex Archaeology 2006) and Tourner Bury enclosure (Bradley and Fulford 1976) on Hayling Island, indicating the beginnings of social practices, particularly ritual activities, associated with watery places.

The MIA saw the construction of an increasingly organised landscape, linked directly into the agricultural cycle and centred upon a focal point, represented by the Trundle hillfort. The hillfort and a number of other large enclosures were, in some cases, positioned to reflect significant places in the past, aiding in the monumentalizing of areas of the WSTOZ landscape (Hamilton and Manley 2001, 29). The views to, and significance of, these locales to those who inhabited areas outside the WSTOZ may have attracted new populations in this area later in the MIA. Movement was central to how occupation in the WSTOZ was organised, with indications of regular excursions between open settlements, field systems and stock enclosures located on the southern slopes of the South Downs. These pathways are difficult to determine in the MIA but their creation and maintenance, on a regional scale, aided in the creation of 'group' identities, linking the 'people' who undertook agricultural practices and rituals across a structured landscape.

6.5.3 The Late Iron Age

The construction of large-scale linear earthwork systems, often associated with territorial *oppida*, had a dramatic effect within the WSTOZ, altering the physical landscape and social structure of those who lived there (A6.45). Known as the 'Chichester Entrenchments', a number of earthworks measured approximately twenty kilometres in total length and enclosed an area of approximately 34,500 hectares. Each of the earthworks were formed of a ditch measuring approximately 6-7m in width and a bank that measured approximately 2-3m in height. A number of excavations have been undertaken through various sections of the earthwork (Bedwin 1982; Bedwin and Orton 1984; Bradley 1969, 1971; Holmes 1968) and two excavations by Murray (1956) and Bradley (1971, 34–36) revealed a small assemblage of 1st century BC pottery underneath the bank, indicating a LIA date. During recent excavations of the Devil's Ditch (E-W ai), Halnaker, OSL (Optically stimulated luminescence) sampling of the primary deposits produced a broad Iron Age date (Doherty and Garland 2015; Garland 2011) (A6.46).

Bradley (1971) divided the construction of the earthwork system into three distinct phases (A6.47). The first phase is represented by two lines of east-west orientated earthworks, labelled EWA (i) and (ii), located furthest to the north, along the southern

base of the Downs. The identification of cropmarks has extended this section eastwards towards the River Arun, including the so-called 'War Dyke,' and indicates that the earthwork system enclosed a larger area than previously attested (Magilton 2003, 157). Similarities in morphology and location, following the contours along the base of the South Downs, have led to these earthworks being assigned to a single phase. The proximity of the earthwork system to the natural topography and the River Arun, acting as a boundary to the east, indicates a close relationship between these boundaries and the surrounding landscape. The second phase was defined by two lines of east-west earthworks, labelled EWB and EWD, and two lines of north-south earthworks, labelled NS2 and NS4. The third and final phase comprised three north-south earthworks, NS1, NS3 and NS6, and potentially a series of smaller east-west earthworks, labelled EWC, EWE, EWF and EWG. Bradley (1971, 32) suggests an early 1st century AD date for the phase 2 and 3 earthworks due to a similar morphology to those found at Colchester, as whilst early sections followed the natural topography, the later sections were rectilinear in shape. The later phases of earthworks enclosed an area towards the tip of Fishbourne Channel, to the south and west of phase 1, and may correspond to the intensification of activity in the area beneath Chichester and Fishbourne in this period (**6.4.3**).

The earthworks defining British territorial *oppida* "often appear 'illogical' and it is unclear what they demarcate or define" (Haselgrove and Moore 2007a, 6). This is the case for the non-continuous stretches found at Chichester and elsewhere, with little clue as to what areas they enclose or if other features, such as forests or hedgerows, filled the gaps between earthworks. These earthworks systems are consequently considered ineffectual as a defensive measure and alternative explanations are needed. An estimation of the labour requirements to construct the earthwork system illustrates the minimum magnitude of the task (Table 6.12), indicating that a collective of social 'groups' from across the WSTOZ 'region' were required to construct these features. Through personal experience of excavating archaeological sections through these earthworks (Garland 2011), it was noted that an efficient system of working may have required frequent rest breaks and the rotation of duties (Garland 2012, 94). Different 'gangs' working on separate sections of the earthwork would have required close co-operation and this may have served as useful tool to bind disparate 'groups' and reaffirm social ties during the LIA. A cumulative viewshed analysis of the banks of the earthwork system, as part of this thesis, indicates that the system was highly visible from across the coastal plain of the WSTOZ (A6.48), making it a constant feature of the landscape, just as the Trundle was and remained a visible feature from

the MIA onwards. The earthworks 'monumentalized' areas of the landscape and acted as a symbolic representation of the collective of 'people' and 'groups' in the WSTOZ.

Phase of earthwork system	Labour (person-hours)	Equivalent days (200 people working 10 hour days)
1	552,935	276
2	368,623	184
3	394,953	197
Total	1,316,512	658

Table 6.12: LIA earthwork systems – WSTOZ.

The physical presence of these systems created formidable boundaries across the WSTOZ landscape and illustrates an increasing interest in physically defining and/or sub-dividing the landscape in this period (Haselgrove and Moore 2007a, 5). The presence of formal gaps in the earthwork system is noted by the presence of terminal ditches in some instances (e.g. Ounces Barn - Bedwin and Orton 1984), however, it is currently undetermined whether forests or hedgerows filled these spaces. The existence of large gaps in the earthwork system (between EWA i and EWA iii) suggests that the earthworks did not prevent movement, but due to its arrangement, would have controlled the flow through paths across the landscape to particular areas. Moreover, the earthworks partially restricted the area within to that outside the WSTOZ, and as such defined the *oppida* as important. The establishment of this earthwork complex formalised the existence of the territorial *oppidum* and thus altered the landscape permanently for the 'people' and 'groups' living within and surrounding it.

Within the confines of the linear earthwork boundaries, occupation in the LIA became increasingly intensified on the upper coastal plain, characterised by a number of enclosed farmsteads and scatters of finds suggesting temporary occupation (A6.49). This occupation formed part of a ditched landscape, comprising rectangular and square enclosures flanked by trackways and extensive field systems (Hamilton 2007, 87). The evidence suggests large-scale formalisation and expansion of agricultural activities in this area, associated with the emergence of the territorial *oppidum*. Located within this area of occupation was the cremation cemetery at Westhampnett, a burial ground for the surrounding dispersed settlements of the coastal plain. As discussed above (**6.4.3**), the cemetery was utilised by a diverse number of 'people', which may have included familial 'groups' but who were interred with respect to the wider organisation of the cemetery (Fitzpatrick *et al.* 1997, 234). A viewshed analysis of the site (based on a 2m height for the shrine structures) undertaken within this

thesis illustrates that while visible from areas to the north and south, the cemetery was likely hidden from view from the wider landscape of the WSTOZ (A6.50). Westhampnett cemetery served multiple surrounding settlements and as such brought together a wider community within one place. However, the position of the cemetery was not highly visible, indicating that its location (and the social rules regarding its use), were inscribed in memory and passed from generation to generation and from one social 'group' to another. This method of passing tradition itself aided in the forging of relationships at a household level and between social 'groups' and, as argued by Hamilton (2007, 87), replaced the role of the Trundle as a regional focus for the *oppidum*.

The apparent lack of settlement on the lower coastal plain during this period conflicts with previous interpretations that the centre of the *oppidum* was located on the Selsey peninsular. This interpretation was put forward due to the quantity and quality of Iron Age finds recovered from the eroding coastline at Selsey Bill in the late 19th/early 20th centuries (Heron-Allen 1911). These finds include a large number of individual coin (many gold) as well as at least one large coin hoard found near "Medmerry Farm" in the 19th century (Bedwin and Pitts 1978, 344) and a second consisting of 17 gold and silver LIA coins found along the coastline in 1986 (Bone and Burnett 1986). Examination of these finds have suggested that they were specific items, discovered in large quantities due to the rapid erosion of this part of the coast (Bedwin 1983, 40–42). Extensive developer-funded archaeological investigation along the coastline, particularly in the town of Bognor Regis and more recently on the Selsey peninsula (the Medmerry Managed Realignment Scheme), suggests that the lack of archaeological remains in this area is indicative of occupation during the Iron Age. The apparent lack of LIA and ERom features at Medmerry led the excavators to postulate that these areas were regularly flooded during this period making them unsuitable for habitation (Archaeology South East 2013). While unsuitable for long-term occupation, these marshy areas may have held a greater significance to the people who were living in the WSTOZ. While previously assumed to have been eroded from the cliff face (Willis 2007a, 122), the LIA gold and silver coinage from Selsey has been argued to represent votive deposits intentionally placed along the coastline at separate places and over a significant period of time (Haselgrove 1987, 119; Willis 2007a, 123).

The significance of watery contexts as social and symbolic places in the later prehistoric landscape is now generally accepted (Bradley 2000, 51–63; Haselgrove *et al.* 2001, 2; Willis 2007a, 107). Some evidence for votive deposition of metalwork

in watery, and therefore probably significant places in the LIA, is suggested by the deposition of gold coinage at Selsey Bill (Willis 2007a, 123). Willis' (2007a, 123) analysis of LIA evidence has identified that there was limited exploitation of marine resources in the Iron Age, apart from salt extraction, and that fish and other marine animals were not important to coastal economies. A number of LIA salt extraction sites have been associated with the WSTOZ coastline and have been uncovered at Hayling Island and the Chidham and Thorney Island peninsulas (Bradley 1992; Manley *et al.* 2007, 43). While the importance of salt to the agricultural cycle is well attested (**5.4.3**), recent research has also highlighted its symbolic meaning. Hathaway (2013) has recently shown evidence for structured deposition and human and animal burial associated with Iron Age and Roman salt production sites, suggesting that ritual practices were associated with salt working. A 1st century BC inhumation at Chidham site 98, provides the only evidence for the crossover between ritual and salt working within the WSTOZ (Hathaway 2013, 592). The position of these sites along the interface between fresh and salt water zones appears to have had a great significance in the LIA. The warrior burial at North Bersted (**6.4.3**), for example, appears to have been interred in a specific watery location in the settlement. Just as ritual and processional movement surrounding the warrior burials was highly structured at Brisley Farm, Kent (Stevenson 2013, 131–137), the burial at North Bersted appears to have been located within a prominent meander in the course of a small stream, Aldingbourne Rife, which continued to the south to the coastline (J. Kenny pers comm). Access to the burial was restricted from certain directions due to the boundary created by the stream, thus formalising and restricting ritual space.

The liminal position between fresh water and sea water zones is also an important factor in the location of shrines and temples in the LIA (Willis 2007a, 120). As discussed above (**6.4.3**), the locations of temples at Hayling Island and Ratham Mill are connected to watery places in the landscape, Hayling Island temple being located in the coastal region and Ratham Mill located in close proximity to a river running towards the coast. The significance of Hayling Island over time is visible in the identification of a cremation burial and an enclosure dating to the MIA elsewhere on the island. The temple was located on the northern half of the island, and perhaps had a stronger connection with the coastal inlets to the east and west (Garland 2013, 186). Viewshed analysis of the temple as part of this thesis suggests a western facing predisposition towards Langstone channel (A6.51). The viewshed may indicate that veneration was not directed towards the sea but the channels into which trading ships may have travelled. The connection between trade and these liminal positions in the

landscape is demonstrated by the (albeit limited) evidence for ports in this period, as indicated by the Fishbourne complex (**6.4.3**), and may suggest a dual ritual and practical motivation for its position.

The creation of the linear earthwork systems in the LIA effectively bisected the WSTOZ and the territorial *oppidum*. The location of the earthworks, at the base of the Downs, further monumentalized these topographical features by reinforcing their position and, through their construction, encouraged the bonds between social 'groups'. The construction of these earthworks, along with the South Downs ridge and the sea, reorganised the landscape and formalised the *oppidum* as a permeable barrier rather than a defensive measure. The earthworks restricted and funnelled the movement of 'people' across the landscape through gaps in the banks and ditches, potentially along the lines of MIA pathways (**6.5.2**). Further to the south the coastal plain became an increasingly ditched landscape, represented by a number of field systems and trackways, creating a managed agricultural system (Hamilton 2007, 87). The evidence suggests that "relations with the sea may have been ideologically complicated" (Willis 2007a, 119), where salt working was acceptable but there is little evidence for the consumption of fish and marine animals. Ritual motivations were key to this exchange, with structured deposition and places of veneration strongly associated with the zones between land/sea and fresh/salt water. It is suggested that in the LIA not all ritual practices were articulated in these spaces and these boundaries may have not been accessible to all, whether due to ideological reasons (belief structures) or as part of a wider class system (Willis 2007a, 109).

6.5.4 The Early Roman period

The Claudian conquest of AD43 saw the restructuring and reclassification of the WSTOZ landscape. The urban centre at Chichester remains a key focus of research in the Roman Sussex landscape, systematically excavated by Down in the 1970s/80s (e.g. Down 1974, 1978) and as part of a wider interest in Roman urbanism in general (Fulford 2015; Wacher 1997). Research into Roman cities has illustrated the division of certain actions and tasks into specific zones; urban, rural and peri-urban, defined as neither fully urban nor rural (Goodman 2007, 4). These zones were characteristically different and can be distinguished from one another through the examination of the archaeological record and literary evidence. Goodman's (2007, 76) analysis of these zones indicates that geographic location is not enough to determine the extent or status of a particular area and that the division between these areas were not distinct. Instead we should consider these divisions as a sliding scale, with one merging into the next.

The emergence of *Noviomagus Reginorum* originated from the intensification of LIA occupation and was located within an area of bounded space, represented by the construction of a series of earthworks of Claudian and Flavian date (A6.52). The earthworks, currently known to flank the eastern, southern and western sides of the town, measured on average 5m in width and 2-3m in depth (Magilton 2003, 160) and although their full extent has yet to be established, they appear to bound the location of the early urban centre. While Down (1988, 24–7) has previously argued that these earthworks were constructed by the Roman military (**6.3.4**), the flat-bottomed profiles of the ditches were similar to the LIA linear earthwork systems discussed above (**6.5.3**). Consequently they have been interpreted as representing an indigenous construction (Magilton 2003, 161).

Phase of earthwork system	Labour required (person-hours)	Equivalent days (200 people working 10 hour days)
1	18,141	9

Table 6.13: Estimated ERom earthwork systems – WSTOZ.

A labour estimate (person-hours) required to construct the post-conquest earthworks illustrates that a more limited amount of time and labour was required in comparison to the LIA linear earthwork system (**6.5.3**). It is likely that the later earthwork construction represents a continuation of existing indigenous traditions, perhaps the last stage of the development of the linear earthwork systems established in the LIA (**6.5.3**) and used to define this area in the wider WSTOZ 'region'. These earthworks focused on an area of emerging importance (the Roman *civitas* capital), however, other significant locales in the landscape also began to form markers to what was within and exterior to the urban centre. This is illustrated by the backfilling of sections of the post-conquest earthworks to construct St Pancras cemetery on the eastern edge of the town (Down and Rule 1971, 66–67). A densely populated cemetery site is, across the Empire, often a feature of peri-urban space, with its construction defining the outer edge of the urban centre (Goodman 2007, 2) The establishment of the street grid by the end of the 1st century AD, the extent of which has been proved by excavation (Down 1988, 47), would have also served as a different form of delimitation between the town and the external area, both for residents and visitors (Goodman 2007, 11). The urban centre remained in a state of evolutionary flux in the decades following the conquest, with new places being established in the landscape and the continual redefinition of the urban and peri-urban areas. This changing of boundaries represents the altering of the landscape to correspond to the different ways in which 'people' and social 'groups' wished to live (6.4.4 - Revell 2009, 76).

The creation of the street grid connected the urban centre with the pre-existing road network and the surrounding landscape (A6.53). The road network was likely constructed by the military in the immediate post-conquest period and included, within the WSTOZ, Stane Street, running from *Noviomagus Reginorum* to *Londinium* to the north-east; a road to the north towards *Calleva* (Silchester); a road to the south to Selsey; and a road to both the east and west along the coastline (Rudling 2003a, 114). While some roads may have been constructed on pre-existing Iron Age trackways, the construction of the road network through the *oppidum* would have caused considerable disruption to the indigenous population through land confiscation and the re-division of fields (Rudling 2003a, 114). This disruption is illustrated by the effect on the LIA earthwork system through the construction of the road network. The continued stature of the LIA earthwork systems cannot be overlooked during the post-conquest period, as they would have still been visible as large monuments in the WSTOZ. While not destroyed these earthworks were altered at Halnaker, levelled in order to allow the construction of Stane Street towards *Londinium* (Bradley 1969). This practical consideration effected important places in the landscape with the dual purpose of illustrating Imperial dominance. The road itself may have also been seen as a symbol of oppression, used by administrators for the extraction of taxes and punctuated by points of control that were, as established by documentary sources, open to abuse (Given 2004, 56). The archaeological evidence for such acts is difficult to establish in the WSTOZ, however, the fear of violence was likely a constant presence in the lives of the indigenous population (**6.3.4**). Some 'people' and 'groups' may have purposefully avoided roads in fear of consequences of meeting the military, while others may have taken advantage of increased communications and access to markets further afield (Rudling 2003a, 114).

As discussed above (**6.4.4**), current estimations suggest that the rural population of Britain in the 2nd century AD comprised approximately 85% of the total. It could be argued that the rural populace in the WSTOZ formed an even greater share of the population in the 1st century AD. This interpretation is based on the early development of the town at Chichester, the limited military population and the high number of villa estates. The understating of the organisation of rural societies across the WSTOZ landscape aids in the identification of relationships between urban/rural and foreign/indigenous social 'groups'. ERom villas in Sussex were located in areas where several environments could be exploited and mixed farming could operate (Rudling 1998, 51). Rudling (1998, 51) states that the villas were located mainly in downland valleys or with close access to major road systems. This was the case for a number

of 1st and 2nd century AD villa sites in the WSTOZ including Fishbourne, Chilgrove, Sidlesham, Angmering and Bignor. It has been argued that access to the road system (A6.54) may have been more important than the quality of the land that the villas were built upon (Rudling 1998, 51) and that generally Roman villa-owners in the urban periphery may have been actively involved in the administration of the town (Millett 1990, 91–2; Goodman 2007, 74). The proximity (within 35km) of villa sites to the city of Rome and the lavish decoration of these structures have indicated that they formed part of the *surburbanus*, a specific landscape of private villa properties closely connected to the city (Goodman 2007, 2). While it is beyond the scope of this argument to suggest whether such intent was present in the WSTOZ, the villas surrounding *Noviomagus Reginorum* were located within close proximity (A6.55) and in one case had specific urban imagery, the mosaic of the walled defences of a town in Room N7 at Fishbourne Palace (A6.56). This evidence may imply that a "suburban villa culture …was actively pursued by the city's elite" (Goodman 2007, 74), perhaps to serve as administrators or to fund public works (Taylor 2013, 416–418). In the very least this evidence implies that close connections existed between the urban and peri-urban areas of the landscape.

Rural occupation in the ERom period consisted mainly of rural farms and farmsteads illustrating considerable continuity from the LIA (**6.4.4**). The manner in which farming was practiced appears to have changed little into the post-conquest period, with minimal intervention by the Empire following the Claudian invasion. Evidence for centuriation, the process by which land was seized, surveyed and divided following conquests or for new colonists (Mattingly 2011, 149), is lacking within Britain, however, indications of a possible Imperial estate has been proposed in East Sussex, where evidence for the *Classis Britannica* and large-scale ironworking may suggest the direct involvement of the Empire (Cleere and Crossley 1995, 66–69). Pre-existing farmsteads and field systems continued during the post-conquest period, e.g. Copse Farm, Oving (Bedwin and Holgate 1985) and Oldplace Farm (Bedwin 1983). However, wider administrative developments and physical changes to the landscape would have altered the way the 'people' and 'groups' who occupied these sites lived their lives (Mattingly 2006, 366). Mattingly (2006, 360) has argued that while the rural landscape was not restructured, the Imperial administration may have commissioned basic surveys of pre-existing field systems for taxation and provincial records. Moreover, movement through the landscape, for the driving of livestock or for the movement and storage of grain, would have been increasingly constrained and

subject to Imperial scrutiny, particularly through the use of the road system and bridges.

The relationship between the inhabitants of the WSTOZ landscape and watery places continued from the LIA, but became more socially complex in the post-conquest period. While there was continuity in the location and veneration of different places along the coastline/in close proximity to rivers (Hayling Island and Ratham Mill temples; salt working at Chidham), the manner in which these practices were undertaken, and wider attitudes to the sea, had begun to change. In contrast to the LIA (**6.5.3**), fish, shellfish and fish products (e.g. fish sauce) were widely consumed in the ERom period, particularly in urban contexts (Willis 2007a, 113). The use of these products was still connected to ritual practice, indicated by the deposition of shellfish at temple sites outside the WSTOZ in the mid-Sussex downland blocks, e.g. Chanctonbury (Bedwin *et al.* 1980, 188–9) and Lancing Down (Bedwin 1981). Willis (2007a, 123) has argued that, although widely consumed in the Roman period, this consumption was linked to specific events or rituals, perhaps implying a social regulation in the catching and consumption of sea food. While post-conquest temples were erected in close proximity (Ratham Mill) or immediately on top of (Hayling Island) earlier LIA versions, new temples associated with the emerging town at Chichester were also established. A Purbeck marble inscription dedicated to the Temple of Neptune and Minerva and mentioning Tiberius Claudius Togidubnus (Bogaers 1979, 243; Collingwood and Wright 1995, 26 - RIB 91) indicates the construction of a temple in the early post-conquest period, although as yet no archaeological remains of the temple have been uncovered. This implies knowledge of the Roman deities but also potentially that sea gods were particularly significant to Iron Age communities in the WSTOZ (cf. Rogers 2013; Willis 2007a, 120).

The landscape context of Hayling Island temple, particularly how it was viewed across the WSTOZ, demonstrates how rituals were performed at the site and how 'people' moved across the landscape to undertake these rites. While the landscape context of the island is relatively flat, the structure itself is located on a slightly elevated position, approximately 5.5m above sea level, making it a more prominent feature over greater distances. The excavated remains indicate that the structure would have consisted of a tall central tower (King and Soffe 2008, 200) that was plastered and painted red on its external surface (King and Soffe 2013, 24). The colouring, apparent from excavated plaster remnants, would have made the tower particularly visible against the green and blue colouring of the surrounding foliage and the channel. A viewshed analysis of the temple as part of this thesis, and using the approximate height of the

tower (c.10m), indicates that the site would have been visible from the town of *Noviomagus Reginorum*, located approximately 10km to the east (A6.57). The temple would have formed an ever present fixture in the lives of the urban populace, as well as the surrounding area, and a constant reminder of the routines or perhaps duties that were undertaken there.

Ideas of processional movement and ritual practice through urban space have been suggested by Esmonde Cleary (2005) for a number of towns in southern Britain. Esmonde Cleary (2005, 1) has argued for the use of "ordered movement and processions", from one place to another, representing "places of interest to the established social and religious order". Esmonde-Cleary (2005, 8–12) has theorised that pre-existing urban street grids would have been utilised for such processions, citing Silchester as an example of internal movement, but also Colchester, where movement was taken well beyond the confines of the Roman *colonia*. Similar interpretations for processional movement have also recently been put forward for the Roman towns of *Verulamium* (Creighton 2006, 124–130) and *Londinium* (Perring 2011, 273–278). At *Noviomagus Reginorum*, processions may have been made along the street grid and roads between significant places in the urban centre to areas of veneration located close to watery places (A6.58). Beginning at the Temple of Neptune and Minerva within the city, ritual processions may have advanced westward, with the tower of Hayling Island as a guide, towards Ratham Mill temple. After stopping to pay respects and deposit special items, the 'group' moved further west towards Hayling Island. Alternatively, 'pilgrims' could have sailed from the Lavant or Fishbourne Channel along the coastline and to the shore of Hayling Island. Different routes or places along the procession may have been venerated by various 'groups' or at different times during the year when the sea along the coast was too rough to travel. The ritual practices of the 'groups' using these sites would have been passed down to others as tradition, including the movement and pathways chosen as processional routes to and from the site. Inscribed in memory, these routes may have formed a companion part of the rites undertaken at the temple, with the journey forming an integral part of the veneration.

The landscape form and regional interactions between 'people' and 'groups' was altered in the post-conquest period, due both to the external influence of the Roman Empire (the emergence of the urban centre in an area of LIA occupation) and the transformation of pre-existing LIA practices (the continuity in interaction between 'people' and watery places). The identification of 'zones' across the WSTOZ (urban; peri-urban; rural) has been accomplished through comparison to other Roman

landscapes, but has emerged as the result of the evolution of places established in the LIA *oppidum*, and transformed through interaction with, and the influence of, the Roman Empire (e.g. the adoption of urban ideology). This is apparent through the continuation of ritual practices in some places (Hayling Island), while integrating these experiences into new ways of living (processional routes to and from the city). These new interactions and relationships with the WSTOZ landscape were in a state of flux during this period and were framed by the direct imposition of the Empire (creation of new route networks), who altered the experience for all who lived in this space.

6.4.5 Conclusions

The understanding of the interaction between 'people', 'groups' and 'regions' is accomplished by examining actions within 'places' in the WSTOZ and incorporating an understanding of smaller social scales ('people' 'groups'), in a wider discussion of the landscape. It is important to understand that places and the actions undertaken within them change over time, reflecting the changing relationships that 'people' in the past had with the landscape they inhabited. This may, in some cases, involve the transformation of agency within a place that is occupied for a long period, or the movement of agency to new locations in the landscape. Furthermore, the physical effect of 'people' on the landscape instils meaning in those places and accumulates over time. The alterations become the "background of reference" for future activity and aid in what Barrett (1999a, 255) calls the creation of a "mythical past".

The earliest, and arguably most important, change to the MIA landscape was the construction of the Trundle hillfort. The hillfort united dispersed communities (Hamilton and Manley 2001), through its physical impression on the landscape, but also by the communal requirements of its construction and the actions undertaken there (grain storage, ritual deposition). The construction of the hillfort 'monumentalized' the South Downs ridge, formalising the connections between social 'groups' and forming the foundations of LIA *oppida* society. The role of agriculture in the WSTOZ cannot be under-estimated, with communal farming on the fertile coastal plain requiring a limited need to sub-divide the land, and movement across this 'region' focused upon driving livestock, harvesting crops and storing grain. These continual movements fossilised 'paths' through the WSTOZ, uniting and strengthening bonds between 'people' and 'groups' in the landscape and providing the infrastructure for later periods. The LIA saw the creation of an "extensively ditched landscape" (Hamilton 2007, 87) on the coastal plain, indicated by the division of fields and the separation of living arrangements (construction of individual farmsteads). Assistance from the community was still required in the construction and maintenance

of these enclosures, but was articulated in new ways, including the creation of central areas of burial to focus new ritual and mortuary practices e.g. Westhampnett. The construction of the linear earthwork system formalised the extent of the *oppidum*, representing a massive communal effort, and dividing the landscape, controlling and/or directing the flow of movement through the WSTOZ. The importance of watery places in the landscape, particularly those locations at a liminal position between fresh and sea water, was also formalised in the LIA, illustrated by evidence for votive deposition (Selsey Bill), the construction of temples on coastal areas (Hayling Island, Ratham Mill) and salt working along coastal inlets, each heavily integrated with ritual practice. The relationship between 'people' and watery places continued in the post-conquest period, albeit reframed with a higher consumption of marine resources and a connection to the emerging urban centre. This is shown by the construction of the Temple of Neptune and Minerva in the city and the visibility of the Hayling Island temple from this central area. The development of *Noviomagus Reginorum* was not a static or immediate process but a changing and evolving settlement across the 1st century AD, illustrated by the changing limits of the town. The town was linked to the wider rural landscape through the imposition of the road system by the Imperial authority, which was utilised by some 'groups' and feared by others. This included the construction of villa estates, easily accessible from the urban centre and in some cases with a strong ideological connection to urban values (e.g. Fishbourne). The majority of the rural population continued to occupy and farm the WSTOZ, particularly the coastal plain, illustrating strong connections to their LIA predecessors. While there was no reorganisation of the rural ditched landscape, it is likely that these areas were surveyed and taxed, facilitated in part by the accessibility brought on by the new road system.

6.6 Chapter Summary

In the WSTOZ dispersed social 'groups' were unified in the MIA initially through the construction, maintenance and use of the Trundle hillfort. The hillfort represented one of a number of monumental enclosures that, constructed on Neolithic and Bronze Age sites and located in significant positions in the landscape, 'monumentalized' key topographic positions in the WSTOZ (Hamilton and Manley 2001). The construction of these enclosures marked the beginning of an organised landscape, providing social connections between 'groups', through shared labour, resources and ritual action, and the origins of settlement in the MIA. The 'people' of the MIA were defined by a 'community' identity (Haselgrove and Pope 2007b, 11), marked by limited social differentiation and united through shared domestic practice, in where and how they

lived, and shared ritual practice, in how they disposed of the dead (e.g. excarnation). The pressures of agriculture formed part of daily life, with the need to provide labour and divide tasks between members of the 'group'. However, the practicalities of the agricultural regime were vital in forging and maintaining social bonds during this period, with the provision of labour required in a practical sense to construct stock enclosures and field systems, but maintained through shared action and negotiation. Movement was also a key factor in life in the MIA, with constant travel between areas of occupation, stock enclosures, field systems and grain storage, allowing the interaction and knowledge of 'groups' across great distances (Haselgrove and Pope 2007b, 11). This period was also characterised by evidence for limited social hierarchy, likely gained through the ability to organise labour and rewarded through privileged locations in the settlement and the ability to access goods from the continent (brooches, amphorae). The evidence for cremation in one instance indicates that changes in social practice were emerging in the WSTOZ before the onset of the LIA.

The LIA saw the reorganisation of the WSTOZ through the construction of the linear earthwork system, building on features constructed in the MIA and further monumentalizing places in the landscape. These earthworks defined the *oppidum* for the first time, both through the creation of physical boundaries but also through the collective action of 'people' and 'groups' to provide the labour and resources to construct them across the 'region'. The later phases of the earthworks indicate that this re-forging of social connectedness was required across the LIA. Within the WSTOZ, the importance of agriculture had increased but altered with the creation of an increasingly ditched landscape, indicating a managed mixed farming system that equally required co-operation and social connections, both new and old. These systems of social interaction between 'groups' were a required part of the LIA, where evidence for 'people' suggests a period of dynamic change that saw the introduction of new practices and beliefs (rectangular structures, cremation) merged with pre-existing traditions (roundhouses, excarnation). This created a complex pattern of overlapping customs, articulated on a personal level but also producing a greater diversity and complexity within social 'groups'. To what extent these 'groups' overlapped in membership is difficult to define, however, the conspicuous choices and practices undertaken by 'people' in a variety of ways (dining, burial, deposition) led to a web of interaction between 'groups' and across the 'region' that was not present in the MIA. New ways of interaction were forged in this complexity, illustrated potentially by the veneration of individuals (e.g. warrior burials, cult of Commius), but

also the strong ritual connection to watery places, particularly at the interface between fresh and sea water zones.

The Roman invasion of Britain saw the immediate introduction of the military into the WSTOZ, altering the society of the territorial *oppidum*. The direct imposition of the Empire was quickly felt, restructuring the region through the creation of new road networks and altering the experience for all those who lived in this space. This was particularly apparent to the rural population, the largest 'group' in the WSTOZ. Although these social 'groups' were allowed to continue living and farming in line with LIA practices, movement through the landscape would have become increasingly constrained, with roads seen as a symbol of oppression used to extract taxation and patrolled by those who may abuse the indigenous population (e.g. the military). While there is limited evidence for the use of violence within the WSTOZ, the fear of such acts would have been apparent particularly to those who actively did not or could not pursue a 'Roman' lifestyle. For other 'people' and 'groups' the road systems would have been seen as a positive contributor, creating access and communication to places beyond the WSTOZ. The dichotomy between continuity and change in this period saw the transformation of personal and group identities, with the introduction of foreign 'groups' (military, craftsman) and the adaption of existing practices in light of contact from the Empire. Some traditions continued, such as the veneration of watery places or cremation, but were altered and framed in new ways, while new ideologies, such as the urban ideal, were introduced. The city of *Noviomagus Reginorum* acted as an administrative centre, but also a 'melting pot', combining multiple collective identities. As time progressed features of the city were added (e.g. public buildings, street grid) and the boundaries of the urban space, defined initially by earthworks and later cemeteries, was changed. This urban society was an ongoing process and the urban centre was in a state of evolutionary flux during the 1st century AD, reflecting the complexity of social interaction within the city itself.

Chapter 7: Comparative Analysis

7.1: Introduction

This chapter positions the interpretation of the evidence for each case study area (chapters 5 and 6) in a wider assessment, comparing and contrasting the results to examples of other *oppida* in Britain and the Continent. The structure of the chapter follows two of the original research questions of this thesis (**2.5**) namely what were the functions(s) of territorial *oppida* (**7.2**) and how did the social structure of territorial *oppida* communities transform over time (**7.3**)?

The overall function of *oppida* has been often discussed in prior and current research (**2.4**), with existing interpretations focusing on the multi-function and/or poly-focal nature of these settlements. The following discussion (**7.2**) will address social practice at multiple scales to combine ritual and non-ritual explanations for the activities typically understood to be present in territorial *oppida,* including coin production (**7.2.4**) and the emergence of new burial practices (**7.2.5**), among others. The social networks that are suggested to connect these social practices will be used to challenge current preconceptions about the strict hierarchical nature of LIA societies (cf. Hill 2012) and develop new interpretations that may allow us to better understand the social structure of communities inhabiting territorial *oppida* (**7.3**).

Oppida, both in Britain and on the Continent, display an extraordinary diversity in form and structure (Fernández-Götz 2014a, 383; Woolf 1993, 223), however, the following analysis illustrates the similarities in social structure of many of these settlements, and consequently their collective importance in the LIA. This chapter will principally examine and compare the results of the detailed analysis undertaken for the ETOZ (Chapter 5) and WSTOZ (Chapter 6), in addition to the analysis of a number of other territorial *oppida* including (but not restricted to) Verlamion, Bagendon and Stanwick in order to examine social change within these types of settlement from a wider perspective (A7.1). Some comparison shall also be undertaken with *oppida* on the Continent, on the basis of their comparable characteristics, predominantly on a landscape scale (**2.2.2**).

7.2 Function in Late Iron Age territorial *oppida*

7.2.1 Introduction

Previous interpretations of the function of territorial *oppida* have highlighted their 'poly-focal' or 'multi-focal' arrangement, represented by scattered elite and lower status residential compounds, separated by agricultural areas (fields systems) and

interspersed with discrete designated zones of varying function including industrial, commercial, burial and ritual areas (Haselgrove 1989, 11, 1995, 86, 2000, 105; Haselgrove and Millett 1997, 286). The definition of these sites as 'polyfocal' has been influenced by the large size of territorial *oppida* (**2.2.2**), the lack of knowledge of site interiors (Haselgrove 2000, 106), and the understanding that they do not conform to the urban layout postulated for some continental *oppida* (Woolf 1993, 226–227), to which the only British comparison might be the *oppidum* at Silchester (Fulford and Timby 2000, 564 - A7.2).

The definition of territorial *oppida* as 'poly-focal' has been useful in providing an examination of these sites that moves away from the previous assumed status as urban or 'proto-urban' settlements (**2.2.1**, **7.2.7**). Furthermore, a 'poly-focal' interpretation of some *oppida*, and similar sites elsewhere in southern Britain (e.g. Corney 1989), has importantly led to their consideration as inhabited and integrated landscapes in the Late Iron Age (e.g. Bagendon – Moore 2012). There is a danger, however, that a 'poly-focal' interpretation of territorial *oppida* has simultaneously hampered our understanding these sites as unified settlements, portraying them instead as disparate areas of activity, confined only by the construction of linear earthwork systems. Consequently some areas of 'activity' within *oppida* have been over-privileged, with areas of coin production and so-called 'elite' burials often discussed (e.g. Clifford 1961; Davenport 2003; Hawkes and Crummy 1995), while areas of agricultural activity, pottery manufacture or salt-working alluded to but rarely studied in detail (cf. Willis 1994, 2007a). By directing our attention on the 'focal' points of territorial *oppida,* we are in danger of representing these sites as isolated pockets of occupation within wide areas of 'empty' space, devoid of human activity. In this sense territorial *oppida* are often depicted as areas of passive space onto which 'people' left their imprint (Thomas 1993, 27), which may, as argued by as Rogers (2012, 645) for the interpretation of *oppida* as urban, have the effect of "simplifying our understanding of these sites" (**7.2.6**). Instead, an examination of territorial *oppida* should stress the interconnection between focal points in the landscape and the movement and occupation, whether intensive or not, of the spaces in between.

The definition of what we mean by 'function' is central to examining the human actions undertaken within territorial *oppida*. While the term 'function' implies the examination of day-to-day activities, it is important to realise that functional activities, as undertaken by humans, are frequently both practical and symbolic (Brück and Goodman 1999, 10), albeit perhaps not in equal measures. Practical actions are also symbolic as they reproduce the sets of "values and social relations that are

embedded" within 'people and 'groups' (Brück and Goodman 1999, 11). Within the context of territorial *oppida,* function implies not just the practical applications of these places in the 'region' but also incorporates the social practices, represented usually by norms or routines, that characterize the purpose of these locations. For example, while a large body of research has explored the ritual or 'magical' characteristics of metalworking in the Iron Age, including relationships to watery places and the agricultural regime (e.g. Giles 2007b; Hingley 1990b, 1997), there has been remarkably limited discussion within the context of territorial *oppida.* This is odd considering the abundant evidence for LIA coin production within territorial *oppida* (cf. Leins 2008; Willis 2007a), which included the casting and stamping of certain metals.

When considering the function of various places within territorial *oppida*, we must also examine how both the 'practical' and the 'symbolic' form part of a number of interconnected actions that contribute to the wider social structure of the settlement (**7.3**). Interconnectedness within territorial *oppida* is apparent through an examination of the archaeological evidence. In Verlamion, for example, a timber trackway connects a site of ritual deposition at St Michael's enclosure, associated with the River Ver, to the burial enclosure at Folly Lane (Niblett 1999, 411 - A7.3), combining varying social practices (mortuary, ritual deposition) into a series of interconnected rites. Our examination of the different 'functions' of *oppida* should explore such interconnections between places across the *oppidum* landscape.

7.2.2 Agriculture

The importance of agriculture has often been cited in research into British territorial *oppida* but with a limited examination of how these activities were incorporated into social landscapes. Typically the positioning of *oppida* on the convergence of two or more distinct landscape zones, i.e. the edge of fertile soils (e.g. Haselgrove 2000, 106), has been argued for a number of territorial *oppida* including Verlamion, Camulodunum and Chichester (Haselgrove and Millett 1997, 283–284). This general consensus suggests that *oppida* were positioned partly to exploit multiple areas of landscape for both arable and pastoral farming and provide an agricultural surplus for the growth of the settlement.

Archaeological evidence for agriculture has been measured by the availability of suitable land in the areas surrounding territorial *oppida*. Bryant's (1999, 2007, 65–75) analysis of the six LIA *oppida* of Hertfordshire and the North Chilterns, including the territorial *oppidum* of Verlamion, identified two areas of high quality arable land surrounding Braughing and Welwyn. Although useful in analysing the status and role

of these settlements, this analysis also argued that the difference in estimated agricultural wealth of the six *oppida* sites was limited (Bryant 1999), indicating that agricultural production was important for the majority of *oppida*. While Verlamion (St Albans) is often considered as a predominantly burial and ritual complex centred around the River Ver (Bryant 2007, 78; Haselgrove and Millett 1997, 285–6; Thompson 2005, 38), the *oppidum* included a number of large-scale farmsteads at Gorhambury (Neal *et al.* 1990, 33–34) and Prae Wood (Thompson 2005, 27–30), which flanked the river valley (A7.4). Indications of ploughmarks in the valley and pollen evidence, suggesting woodland clearance and cultivation upstream, also point to the importance of agriculture within this *oppidum* (Haselgrove and Millett 1997, 284). Detailed pollen analysis is limited to a handful of territorial *oppida*, due to a lack of waterlogged sediments from these sites (Lodwick 2014, 543–544), but where available has been particularly useful in examining the extent and method of agricultural production, including the types of food grown, or not grown, in different areas. Van der Veen's (1992, 158) environmental analysis of plant remains from Stanwick has concluded that the large-scale cultivation of spelt wheat was undertaken in the surrounding landscape, playing an "important role in the economy of the Late Iron Age people" of this area. This analysis is supported by recent update as part of the newly published volume on Stanwick, also undertaken by Van der Veen, who emphasised the extensiveness of cultivation, as well as animal husbandry, as part of a mixed farming regime (Haselgrove 2016, 415-423). Alternatively, at Silchester, environmental analysis of waterlogged deposits from the Basilica and Insula IX have revealed the possible growth of Mediterranean crops, based on the presence of *Agrostemma githago,* a weed associated with this kind of crops (Fulford and Timby 2000, 551), and the importation of herbs (coriander, dill), olives and wild celery from elsewhere in Britain and the Continent (Lodwick 2014, 545–547). This evidence indicates that consumption on some territorial *oppida* sites outstripped production. Likewise, analysis of a limited sample of crops recovered from the Ditches, within the Bagendon *oppidum*, also suggests that the site was storing and consuming rather than producing grain (Trow *et al.* 2009, 48–49). Similarly, recent analysis of material culture and faunal remains in the ETOZ indicates that the Camulodunum *oppidum* may have acted as a centre of consumption, provided for by production in the wider landscape (Perring and Pitts 2013).

While an analysis of the environment evidence/archaeological remains are useful in exploring the economy of *oppida*, an examination of the mechanics of an agrarian regime, including the labour required to create and maintain agricultural activities,

allows us to explore the social context of territorial *oppida* in greater detail. Large-scale agricultural production originated in the WSTOZ in the MIA, requiring the sharing of labour to construct stock enclosures and field systems, and through negotiation and shared action, forged social ties between households and larger social 'groups' (**6.4.2**). These activities were connected to a series of collective ritual practices, evidenced through structured deposition in grain storage pits, and were a dominant agricultural metaphor relating to death and the regeneration of life (Bradley 2005, 174–177; Williams 2003, 244–245). In the WSTOZ, the continuation and expansion of communal co-operation in the LIA led to the creation of an extensively "ditched landscape" of field systems and drainage ditches, populated by farmsteads (Bedwin 1983, 35–38). The growth of agricultural systems in some territorial *oppida* saw a greater dependency on the wider community to support, and possibly affirm, the creation of new places in the landscape (**6.4.3**). Some indicative signs for social practices associated with agriculture are evident in some territorial *oppida*. Within Bagendon, over one hundred possible grain storage pits and a large cattle bone assemblage have been identified at the Ditches; however, analysis of the plant and faunal remains indicates that grain and animal husbandry were undertaken outside the territorial *oppidum* (Trow *et al.* 2009, 48–49 - A7.5). This evidence implies that social connection and co-operation was required between the population of the *oppidum* and social 'groups' in the wider 'region' in order to provide subsistence. Evidence for structured deposition of human and cattle remains within the storage pits, and quarries at Ditches, also illustrates that there was a close relationship between ritual practice and the agricultural system (Trow *et al.* 2009, 51). In the Bulbourne Valley, Hertfordshire, Bryant (2007, 77) argues that extensive ironworking evidence in the *oppidum* may be related to contemporary field systems nearby. Social 'groups' in the *oppidum* possibly needed close relationships with other 'groups' nearby for trade or that their roles within the social 'group' changed throughout the year, depending on the seasons.

Further connections between agricultural activities, considered an integral aspect of the life and death of 'people' in the LIA, and ritual practice are illustrated in the consideration of movement across the *oppidum* landscape. Issues of movement have recently been discussed in the case of the Bagendon *oppidum* (Moore 2012). Geophysical survey identified two 'banjo' type enclosures within Bagendon, characterised by funnel entrances and antennae ditches. Banjo enclosures are often defined as associated with stock management, in part due to the narrow funnel-type entrances that allowed stock to be lead to an enclosed area (Historic England 2015b).

Hingley (1984, 80–81) has argued that banjo enclosures in Oxfordshire likely had more than one function, with some used as areas of habitation and others for stock control. Banjo enclosures operated as farmsteads that worked a wider area of arable land, operating as part of a mixed farming regime. A multi-functional arrangement has been argued by Lang (2009, 324–326), based on geophysical survey at Pieces field, Ditchley, Oxfordshire, who interpreted that the internal space of the enclosure were separated into 'residential', 'stock' and 'storage & processing' areas. Moore (2012, 410) contends that more than just funnelling the movement of stock, banjo-enclosures also functioned to enhance the human experience and directed the movement of 'people' across the landscape using earthworks. The investigation of the Ditches enclosure, in the northern half of the Bagendon *oppidum* uncovered a complex sequence of earthworks, comparable to banjo-enclosures, including an embellished entranceway and trackway running through the centre of the site (Trow *et al.* 2009, 39–44 - A7.6). Moore (2012, 402) additionally notes the presence of banjo-style enclosures at other territorial *oppida,* such as Chichester, which within the WSTOZ included Carne's Seat (Holgate 1986) and Selhurstpark Farm (Anelay 2006) initially dating to the MIA. The first phase of the Gorhambury enclosure, at Verlamion, also contained 'antennae' ditches flanking a western entrance (Neal *et al.* 1990, 11–13).

The association between the construction of the linear earthwork systems surrounding territorial *oppida* and controlling/influencing the movement of people across the landscape has been argued for both the ETOZ (**5.5.3**) and WSTOZ (**6.5.3**). Moore (2012, 409–410) has suggested a close similarity between the purpose of banjo-enclosures and linear earthwork systems surrounding territorial oppida, albeit on different scales. The positioning of the linear earthwork system at Bagendon, creating a "grand entrance to the valley" (Moore 2012, 410) has been paralleled to the First Millennium BC Irish 'Royal' sites such as Navan Fort (Waterman 1997), Dún Ailinne (Johnston *et al.* 2014, 214–215) and Tara (Newman 2007) (A7.7). People were directed towards these monuments (focal points in the landscape, built to reproduce ritual practice) through the construction of earthworks that formed part of, and operated within, the wider ritual landscape (e.g. Newman 2007, 436). Moore (2012, 410) also highlights similarities between the funnel like entrances of banjo-enclosures and the earthworks defining Gosbecks enclosure at Camulodunum (Hawkes and Crummy 1995, 176 - 5.5.3) within the ETOZ. Interestingly *oppida* earthworks have also been interpreted as acting, in part, as a division between arable and pasture land (Haselgrove and Millett 1997, 286). This may be in part a realisation of the parallels between the labour required to construct these large-scale earthwork

systems (**5.5.3**, **6.5.3**) and that of the requirements for creation and maintenance of agricultural systems (field boundaries; drainage ditches; stock enclosures). The pre-existing social relationships between 'groups' within territorial *oppida* would have been expanded, and potentially strengthened, to create these 'landscapes of movement' due to emerging and shared belief systems.

7.2.3 Metalworking

The importance of metalworking is often associated with *oppida* (Bryant 2007; Haselgrove 2000; Moore 2014; Thompson 2005), particularly in relation to the casting and stamping of coins, however, these elements are usually interpreted primarily as indicators of wealth/status and/or contact with the Roman world (e.g. Davenport 2003, 102–103). Limited consideration of the ritual components of metalworking within territorial *oppidum* has been put forward (Willis 2007c), which is striking considering the large body of research undertaken on the structured deposition of metalwork in important locations (Fitzpatrick 1984; Hingley 1990b, 2005a, 2006), suggesting links between ritual and the production/manipulation of metals. The deliberate deposition of iron currency bars within the MIA farmstead at Stanway, each of which pre-dates the LIA mortuary enclosures constructed in the LIA *oppidum* (Crummy *et al.* 2007, 33), indicates that ritual deposition of metalwork was a pre-established tradition in some areas. This section concentrates on the evidence for metalworking at *oppida* sites, focusing on social practices, rather than a detailed study of the particular metallurgical processes involved (cf. Giles 2007b; Hingley 1997).

Evidence for the production of metal objects in British territorial *oppida* is present in the archaeological record in a variety of ways. Metalworking may be reflected by the types of material recovered from territorial *oppida* (although potentially imported) with a predominance of coinage and brooches and a dearth of classic 'Celtic' works of art, such as swords, shields, mirrors or torcs (Garrow and Gosden 2012, 30). At some *oppida* there is evidence for small-scale craft specialisation and large-scale production. Brooch manufacture is suggested by a large number of brooches and bronze-working debris at Baldock (Stead and Rigby 1986, 143), while there are a number of ironworking sites in the Bulbourne Valley including smelting and shaft furnaces, and large quantities of smelting slag (Bryant 2007, 75). Hingley (1997, 10–11) has argued that in southern Britain iron smelting activities were undertaken in areas away from habitation in the Early-Middle Iron Age, but were undertaken close to settlement in the LIA. For territorial *oppida* this later distribution is demonstrated by evidence for ironworking at Bagendon, where a number of iron smelting furnaces and a large quantity of iron objects occurred within ditches adjacent to the *oppidum*

earthworks (Clifford 1961, 186–196). However, while a number of high quality bronze objects were also uncovered (Clifford 1961, 193), there were no evidence to suggest they had been produced at the site (e.g. working debris, tools, crucibles). Later excavations found further evidence for iron smelting in close proximity, but no evidence for primary production of artefacts (Trow 1982, 27). Evidence from some territorial *oppida*, including Chichester, demonstrates somewhat low levels of metalworking activities. The only direct evidence of metalworking from the WSTOZ is bronze/iron metalwork and iron slag material at Copse Farm, Oving (Bedwin and Holgate 1985, 229–230) and fuel ash slag and hearth lining from a LPRIA ditch at Fishbourne Palace (Manley and Rudkin 2005, 77). Each of these finds suggests ironworking in the vicinity and production for household consumption/use. Moreover, no evidence for iron working and only limited evidence for the working of Bronze (represented by a number of crucible fragments) has been uncovered at the Stanwick oppidum (Haselgrove 2016, 428-429). Some evidence for large-scale metalworking activity has been uncovered within the ETOZ at Sheepen (iron and bronze working, brooches), however, this may represent post-conquest rather than pre-conquest activities. The disparity in evidence reflects the absence of major ore deposits within some territorial *oppida* and the possible need to import this material from elsewhere, e.g. evidence for the iron rich deposits of the Weald to the north-east of the WSTOZ (Davenport 2003, 103) and ore imported from Cow Roast, Herts into the ETOZ (Niblett 2001, 48). While the current evidence suggests production of bronze and iron for consumption within some *oppida* sites, e.g. the Bulbourne Valley, there is currently limited interrogation of how these processes would have been viewed by ‘people’ and ‘groups’ who lived in these areas.

Increasingly metalworking in prehistory has been viewed as a “non-scientific process”, comprising a highly variable set of actions (for which we have evidence) that were undertaken alongside social activities that are less easy to infer (Budd and Taylor 1995, 138–139). Moving away from an economic view of metalworking, this interpretation views the process as a ritualized one, with the complex procedures associated with it more akin to ‘spells’ and ‘magic’ rather than a scientific method (Budd and Taylor 1995, 139). This approach allows us to explore the social processes involved in the manufacture and use of metal, predominantly bronze and iron, but also silver and gold. Giles (2007b, 396) argues that the production of iron would have been associated in the Iron Age with a violent and destructive transformation of one material (ore) to another (metal), which might have been interpreted as a magical or alchemistic practice. While less ‘violent’, bronze working would have also required

immense skill for casting, beating and incising this material (Giles 2007b, 408). While we have limited structural evidence for metalworking, the presence of slag deposits and metalwork in a number of locations, including territorial *oppida*, suggests it was undertaken on a wider basis than previously acknowledged (Hingley 1997, 11). Despite this, it is likely that these processes required specialist knowledge of the materials (ores, metals), such as how they behaved (timing, temperatures), leading to a "high-risk" procedure due to the variability of the outcome (Budd and Taylor 1995, 139; Giles 2007b, 398). Knowledge of different metalworking techniques were specialisms and likely secretive, passed down from generation to generation through memory like 'spells', and while this would have made metalworkers 'people' of a particular social importance, it may also have fashioned their exclusion from the wider 'group' (Giles 2007b, 397–398). Sharples (1990, 302) argues that the wide ranging contacts and exchange networks required to gather the necessary knowledge and, in some cases, raw materials (i.e. bronze, gold), could have been seen as a threat to the status-quo of a society that was dependant on close internal ties.

Hingley (1997) and Giles (2007b) have argued for the metaphorical relationship between ironworking and the methods and meanings attributed to agriculture. This relationship is visible in comparing processes; with extraction of iron ores dug from the ground akin to ploughing, processing of ore by washing and pounding similar to how crops are cleaned, winnowed and ground, and then smelting of the ore in an oven similar to baking bread (Hingley 1990b, 110–111, 1997, 10–11). Within territorial *oppida,* and elsewhere, metalworking and agriculture would have each formed accompanying elements of the annual cycle of activities undertaken by 'people' and 'groups' and was each scheduled to suit the seasons (DeRoche 1997, 23–24). While the agricultural regime would have demanded significant time, labour and resources, craft specialisms such as metalworking would have been situated according to and within those schedules (Giles and Parker-Pearson 1999, 225–228; Giles 2007b, 397). For example, the collection and processing of wood as fuel for metalworking, and heating in general, would have followed the labour intensive harvest of crops in the autumn (DeRoche 1997, 24; Giles and Parker-Pearson 1999, 226). As argued for the ETOZ (**5.4.3**) and WSTOZ (**6.4.3**), the agricultural cycle was a strong metaphor within the beliefs of *oppida* society, and Iron Age society in general (e.g. Williams 2003), and the role of 'magic' would have been intertwined within that shared belief system.

The sacred nature of metalworking may also have been amplified by associations with watery places in the landscape. The ritual significance of the deposition of metalwork (particularly bronze) in watery places has been long acknowledged

(Fitzpatrick 1984) and sites of production (including those associated with raw materials) perhaps also possessed a special significance, related to the metals produced (Bradley 2000, 40–41). This association has been illustrated at a number of territorial *oppida*, which are often linked with watery places in the landscape (Rogers 2008; Willis 2007a), e.g. metalworking undertaken in the River Ver valley, Verlamion (Haselgrove and Millett 1997, 285–286; Thompson 2005, 35–36). The ETOZ and WSTOZ provide evidence for similar traditions, although in arguable different watery contexts. Willis (2007a, 121–122) argues that the Roman metalworking and ritual site of Sheepen in the ETOZ, may have also held a sacred significance in the LIA, positioned at a tidal point on the River Colne. However, in the WSTOZ, the ritual significance of metalwork (coins, brooches) was demonstrated by their deposition at coastal sites, including Hayling Island temple (King and Soffe 2001) and the deposition of gold coinage at several locales along the coastline at Selsey Bill (**6.5.3**). It appears that that belief systems surrounding metal working and water was prevalent in both case study areas, and other territorial *oppida*, irrespective of access to source materials or topographic variance.

7.2.4 Coin Production

'Magical' properties associated with metalworking have also been ascribed to LIA coin production (e.g. Creighton 1995, 2000; Haselgrove and Wigg-Wolf 2005b). Although primarily a process of casting and stamping, coin production shares many of the same characteristics as metalworking, including the manipulation of metals (gold, silver) and its transformation from one form (flans) into another (coin). The association between coinage and ritual belief is reinforced by the large number of coins discovered on specialised LIA and Roman religious sites (temples) or that have entered the archaeological record as a result of ritual deposition (Haselgrove and Wigg-Wolf 2005a, 9–10). While the 'resting places' of these coins dominate current research, the "life histories of individual coins" and the symbolic value of these items has received less attention (Haselgrove and Wigg-Wolf 2005a, 11). Notable exceptions include the work of Creighton (1995, 291–296) who has argued that the abstract imagery on LIA British coinage is reflective of shamanistic or druidic practices associated with trances, transferred from the consciousness of those who partook in these rituals onto the coins. Creighton (2000, 37–40) has also argued that the changing colour of gold coinage reflects the social 'value' of the artefacts due to its resistance to tarnishing, considered more important than the relative economic worth of the materials that it was composed of. While further archaeological evidence for these practices is difficult to establish within territorial *oppida*, these interpretations

illustrate the potential for ritual practices associated with coinage and their production processes. The comparison of the iconography of some LIA coinage to that on the Continent suggests movement and exchange networks across the channel (Garrow and Gosden 2012, 145). Garrow and Gosden (2012, 147) equally suggest that the partial nature of LIA coin imagery, due to the greater size of the dies that the flan of coins that were struck, was a deliberate process that would require a number of coins together to complete the image. If distributed among a number of 'people', the complete design of the coin would only have been visible through the interconnection between them and was consequently reflective of the relationships within the *oppidum* community (**7.3.4**). Our understanding of LIA coinage has moved beyond its intrinsic economic value to interpretations of social and ritual value, whereby these objects form part of a wider set of belief systems that aided in the connection between 'people' and social 'groups' across 'regions'.

Evidence for coin production has been recovered from a number of *oppida* sites in Britain (Camulodunum; Chichester; Verlamion; Bagendon) and the Continent (including Bibracte, France; Manching, Germany; Stare Hradisko, Czech Republic) and as such the establishment of mints has been strongly associated with *oppida* (Collis 1984, 102–104; Henderson 1991, 111–118). Whereas the term 'mint' conjures imagery of large-scale areas of production, potentially associated with a central authority, the archaeological evidence (within British territorial *oppida* at least) is represented by small-scale areas of production, not usually associated with permanent structures. The usage of the term 'mint' associated with fragmentary remains has been compounded due to the discovery of mint marks on many coins depicting Camulodunum (CAMVL), Verlamion (VER) and Calleva (CALLE) (Collis 1984, 103). However, at Camulodunum (within the ETOZ) evidence for coin production is characterised by limited quantities of evidence (fragments of ceramic coin moulds, bronze and slag, crucibles, areas of burning) at Sheepen (Hawkes and Hull 1947, 129), while at Chichester (in the WSTOZ), it is limited to even lower quantities (coin moulds, fragments of crucibles, slag debris) from the LIA farmstead at Ounces Barn (Bedwin and Place 1995, 91–3). No evidence for coin production has been uncovered at Stanwick, which is considered beyond the "normal radius of Iron Age coin use", although a small number of Iron Age and Roman coins have been discovered, presumably imports (Haselgrove 2016, 182). Elsewhere, evidence for coin production at Bagendon is represented by the recovery of coin moulds and a large collection of coinage (Clifford 1961, 18), as well as two types of pellet moulds (perhaps for gold and silver coinage), a fragment of gold foil and a touchstone from

an enclosure ditch at 'Ditches' (Trow *et al*. 2009, 50). The coins at Bagendon occurred in close proximity to a furnace (Clifford 1961, 144) but the evidence suggests that this was used for ironworking and not coin production. Interestingly a number of tools were also found during these excavations that may relate to coin production including a clay spoon for handling molten metals, a bronze ladle and two pairs of tongs (Clifford 1961, 97). At 'Ditches' it appears coin production was undertaken alongside the other types of metalworking, including the production of iron and copper (Trow *et al*. 2009, 50). It appears that on both sites coin production was undertaken in close proximity to an number of adjacent metalworking activities at the *oppidum* (Clifford 1961, 15). The archaeological evidence suggests that, despite the relatively large quantities of coinage produced in the LIA, coin production locales in territorial *oppida* were only utilized for short periods, likely for the production of small numbers of coins. While this may suggest that large-scale coin production was undertaken elsewhere (see below), Leins (2008, 105–106) has argued that the partial nature of the regional evidence (**7.3.2**) is reflective of the temporary and transitory nature of metalworkers associated with coin production. Travelling across the landscape, these craftsman perhaps served localised communities but used the standard dies and technology available, creating the impression of a regional pattern (Leins 2008, 106).

The evidence for coin production at Verlamion (St Albans) is however divergent from the trends described above. Coin production at Verlamion is evidence by a number of coin moulds, which are "fairly common finds…both in substantial groups or as occasional fragments" across the *oppidum* (Thompson 2005, 35). Find spots include large groups of coin moulds of varying sizes, supporting the interpretation of large-scale production in the *oppidum* (Thompson 2005, 35–36). Thompson (2005, 36) suggests that there was "a great deal of minting activity that has left little trace", however, as suggested above for other *oppida*, this may represent the transitory nature of craftsman even within fairly centralised areas of production. Although many of the LIA deposits in the *oppidum* have been truncated by Roman and later construction, there is cursory evidence for structures associated with coin production. This evidence includes the discovery of a number of coin moulds at Marsh Bank that may have been associated with a timber building containing heat-affected flints/pebbles (Frere 1983, 30 - A7.8). Furthermore, thirty-four fragments were uncovered underneath Insula XIX, possibly associated with a four posthole structure, although there is limited surviving stratigraphic evidence (Thompson 2005, 35). In contrast to other territorial *oppida*, the evidence from Verlamion indicates the large-scale production of coinage, potentially associated with structures (either temporary

or permanent), within a settlement that has been interpreted to have a strong ritual focus (e.g. Haselgrove and Millett 1997). This example provides evidence of an intensification of the ritual practices undertaken at many territorial *oppida*, with coin production being associated with important parts of the landscape. At Verlamion evidence for coin production was positioned adjacent to the marshy area of the Ver valley (Haselgrove and Millett 1997, Bryant 2007). Moreover, the limited evidence for coin production in the WSTOZ was adjacent to the linear earthworks that define the *oppidum*, which may be considered a significant place in the landscape (Bedwin and Place 1995). While those who produced the coins may have been socially excluded due to their specialist knowledge and contact with the outside world (**7.2.3**), the deposition of coinage would probably have had a strong communal focus, with significant places in the landscape (temples, watery places) reused by 'groups' time and time again.

While LIA coinage has in the past been associated with central 'mints' located within territorial *oppida*, the archaeological evidence suggests that coin production was likely undertaken by itinerant metalworkers travelling across the landscape to serve local communities. The production and deposition of LIA coinage held an important ritual function within wider societal beliefs (e.g. Haselgrove and Wigg-Wolf 2005b). It is likely therefore that the commissioning and gift of this material to others was associated with the creation/maintenance of social ties between LIA social 'groups'. Coins acted as tokens of friendship and allegiance (Hill 2007, 25) and as such the changing evidence for coinage distribution reflected the extent and growth of social networks in LIA society. While the adoption of coinage initially reflected artisanal production commissioned by social 'groups', the use of coins was later utilised by elite 'people' to promote allegiance and also portray status, and in some cases kingship, to the remainder of the community (**7.3.4**).

7.2.5 Burial

The emergence of many territorial *oppida* has been interpreted as occurring in parallel to changing mortuary practices in LIA south-east Britain, and in particular the appearance of cremation rites. The presence of new forms and contexts of burial has also often been associated with territorial *oppida*, notably the burials of individuals interpreted as 'elite' members of society (the Lexden tumulus; Folly Lane) and large cremation cemeteries unparalleled elsewhere in LIA southern Britain (Westhampnett; King Harry Lane). Part of the 'function' of territorial *oppida* was to house the dead, albeit in various ways.

Burial practices undertaken in the MIA, prior to the emergence of territorial *oppida,* have received little attention partially due to the assumption that these settlements emerged in previously unoccupied areas (**7.4.2**). A lack of formal evidence for MIA burial across Britain, indicates that excarnation, the removal of flesh from the body through multiple methods, was the principal mortuary rite during this period (**6.3.2**) as it leaves a limited archaeologically visible trace (Carr and Knüsel 1997; Carr 2007). Evidence for these practices is visible in the WSTOZ where disarticulated human remains, likely the result of these activities, were deposited in domestic or settlement contexts as part of a wider mortuary rite (e.g. Brück 1999), e.g. disarticulated human remains were recovered MIA contexts at the Trundle Hillfort (Hamilton 1998, 37–8 - 6.3.2); and MIA/LIA contexts at Copse Farm, Oving (Bedwin and Holgate 1985, 232); North Bersted (Bedwin and Pitts 1978, 339–340). (**6.3.3**). The occurrence of human remains in domestic and settlement contexts suggests that part of the role of the settlement was to inter the dead, however, it appears that the dead also played an active part in the social spheres of the living in the MIA (Hill 1995a, 63–66; Moore and Armada 2012a, 52). Both the WSTOZ and ETOZ also, albeit in localised and limited instances, also demonstrated the presence of the early adoption of cremation rites within MIA contexts. In the WSTOZ (**6.3.2**) possible pyre evidence was uncovered at Northney Road, Hayling Island (Wessex Archaeology 2006) , while in the ETOZ (**5.3.2**) an unurned cremation burial, was uncovered at Lodge Farm (Germany 2007, 117).

The adoption of cremation as a formal and principle mortuary practice occurred in south-eastern Britain (particularly Kent, Essex and Hertfordshire) in the 1st century AD (Whimster 1981). While in some instances large-scale cemeteries are uncovered, e.g. King Harry Lane cemetery, Verlamion (Stead and Rigby 1986), the majority of burials are represented by small groups, located near to, but separated from, settlement and domestic activities (Fitzpatrick *et al.* 1997, 208). These groups of burials represent the allocation of specific space for the burial of the dead. In the ETOZ (**5.4.3**), examples of cremation are found either as isolated burials or small groups of between two and twelve interments. Conversely in the WSTOZ, particularly at the large-scale Westhampnett cemetery (**6.3.3**) it has been argued that cremation rites share more similarities with rites in Northern Gaul and likely originated from the Continent rather than as a part of the Aylesford-Swarling tradition (Fitzpatrick *et al.* 1997, 208–209). Hamilton (2007, 90) has argued therefore that the cremation burial tradition in this area may have several trajectories suggesting that this mortuary rite was a “tradition that was open to and adaptable to more than one type of ceremony”.

While cremation has traditionally been considered to have replaced excarnation as the predominant mortuary rite in the LIA (Fitzpatrick *et al.* 1997, 208–9), Carr (2007, 445) has argued that excarnation and cremation may have been parallel practices, with a 'blurring' of the distinction between the two customs. Carr (2007, 446–7) has also argued that many of the aspects of the two burial rites have much in common and that excarnation possibly occurred as part of an initial stage of cremation, implying diversity and experimentation within LIA mortuary rites. Moreover, a number of parallels between burial rites in the LIA and domestic contexts have been uncovered, particularly within the WSTOZ. While the evidence suggests that LIA ritual and mortuary practices were separated from settlement contexts, the structural forms of sites in the WSTOZ (cemeteries and temples) evoke 'domestic' parallels and indicate that these practices were connected to day-to-day activities (**6.4.3**). For example, the burials at Westhampnett have been arranged surrounding an empty circular space, which has been paralleled to a "typical roundhouse" of the period (Fitzpatrick *et al.* 1997, 238). Each of these indicators suggests strong connections to practices undertaken in the MIA, mediating the introduction of new mortuary practices within pre-existing traditions.

The presence of a number of 'elite' or 'rich' burials is an important feature of territorial *oppida* and includes the 'Lexden' type: namely the Lexden Tumulus and Stanway at Camulodunum and Folly Lane, Verulamium (A7.9). The limited number of known burials and the wealth of the associated material has led to the interpretation that this particular rite was confined to a small 'high-status' group in society and it has been argued that a 'watered down' version, characterised by satellite burials and practised by less elevated 'people', was more widespread (Niblett 1999, 400). While it is likely that 'individuals' were recognised and venerated in the LIA (**7.3.4**), it has been demonstrated that many of the specific rites associated with these burials would have included wider social 'groups' and were interwoven with a larger set of ritual practices that included, but were not entirely dependent upon, the burial of human remains (**5.3.3**). At Stanway, for example, the presence of a number of non-burial features, similar to the central burials (Crummy *et al.* 2007, 157–162), illustrates that ritual deposition was occurring in parallel to existing burials and suggests that rites and belief systems were held by the wider *oppidum* community rather than a single family unit (A7.10). The presence of broken pottery (cups, plates) both in the burials and within the mortuary enclosure ditches surrounding the burials suggests feasting was a major component of these rituals (Crummy *et al.* 2007, 72) and involved subsequent revisits to these places. Similar rites of feasting and the revisiting of venerated places

have been identified at the isolated 'elite' burial at Clemency, 5km to the north of the Titelberg *oppidum* (Fernández-Götz 2014b, 187-188). Evidence for the continued veneration of the burial over time was visible through the deposition of amphorae, which indicated that feasting or libation formed part of these, and perhaps other ritual/burial activities (Fernández-Götz 2014b, 188). The presence of a 'warrior burial' at North Bersted in the WSTOZ (Taylor and Weale 2009) suggests the interment of a possibly exceptional figure who has been linked to emerging political entities in the south-east of Britain (Stevenson 2013, 178–179). While this represents an isolated example that, as yet, have not been repeated in other territorial *oppida,* it demonstrates the complexity of the evidence for the transforming social structure of the LIA, particularly within these settlements.

It should be noted that 'elite' burial practices were operating in parallel to the creation and the use of specific spaces for cemeteries elsewhere in south-eastern Britain and in particular at territorial *oppida*. These cemetery sites, particularly Westhampnett, illustrate diversity in burial choices (**6.3.3**) the responsibility for which was undertaken at a household level, but also the desire to participate in collective mortuary practices, specifically organised and structured around an area of planned space (**6.4.3** – A7.11). In comparison to the features uncovered at Stanway, a number of similar non-burial features at Westhampnett (Fitzpatrick *et al.* 1997, 18), suggest that a range of ritual practices were undertaken in parallel to, and as a part of, the mortuary activities that defined the cemetery (**6.3.3**). The purposeful destruction of goods, potentially due to their placement on pyres, was visible at both 'elite' burials (Folly Lane; Stanway) and larger cemeteries (King Harry Lane) (Niblett 1999, 402). Much of this evidence indicates that a complex set of mortuary and ritual practices developed in the LIA, present in many areas of territorial *oppida* burials and ritual practice, e.g. Hayling Island temple.

The presence of new and diverse mortuary rites in the LIA is a reflection of the role of territorial *oppida* as nexuses of social change. These practices and their development over time illustrate the diverging influences present in this period; from pre-existing indigenous traditions (excarnation, domestic parallels), interaction with the Continent (cremation) and emerging practices elsewhere in south-eastern Britain.

7.2.6 Areas of cross channel trade

Imported goods from the Continent and the Roman world, have often been associated with the emergence of, and having a key role in, the socio-economic maintenance of territorial *oppida*. Once considered a key motivator for social change, i.e. an indicator

of a high level of material 'Romanization' prior to the conquest (Haselgrove 1984, 1989, 13; Millett 1990, 29–35), the abandonment of this paradigm for more nuanced understandings of social change (Barrett 1997; Freeman 1993; Mattingly 2004) has led to the re-examination of the significance of imported goods. In current understanding of territorial *oppida*, imported goods are viewed as part of the changing political situation of south-eastern Britain in the 1st century AD, representative of closer interactions with the Roman Empire due to the establishment of treaties, and representative of diplomatic gifts (Haselgrove 2000, 106).

Part of the established narrative suggests that trade, as well as the consumption of imported goods, remains the realm of the elite part of LIA society indicating "wealth accumulation" and competition within this social class in south-eastern Britain (Haselgrove 1989, 15). However, the quantity of these imports in Britain, including those in territorial *oppida*, is likely to have been over-estimated, suggesting they had a symbolic rather than economic impact on LIA society (Willis 2007a, 17). Willis (1994, 142) has argued that we should be more critical in how we examine imported goods, moving away from a bias that projects post-conquest events onto the 1st century BC–mid 1st century AD. This thesis indicates a variable proportion of sites had imported pottery (ETOZ 75% - **5.3.3**; WSTOZ 32% - **6.3.3**) and in variable quantities in each case, indicating both differential access to these products from across the Channel and inconsistency in the acceptance of these products into the lives of LIA 'people'. Willis (1994, 145) has argued that this variability may be the result of different people in society viewing these products in different ways, encompassing "shifting attitudes towards items and their use". These attitudes should be viewed within the context of wider changes in the use of pottery, for example the expansion in numbers and forms of vessels (particularly wheelmade pots), representing changes in dining conventions (**5.3.3**). These changes led to a larger selection of table wares and distinction between pots for cooking and eating (Hill 2002, 148). In some areas, these 'alien' products may have been considered subversive, particularly if their origins lay outside of the British social order (Sharples 1990, 302; Willis 1994, 144). Alternatively, long associations with Gaul, particularly in areas located on the south-eastern coastline, may have led to the consideration that these products were familiar and part of daily life (Willis 1994, 145).

Major archaeological evidence of the mechanisms for trade, e.g. harbours or ports, is currently lacking, with the majority of examples found along the southern coast at Hengistbury Head (Cunliffe 1987) and Poole Harbour (Markey *et al.* 2002) (A7.12). Willis (2007a, 117) has suggested that perhaps formal facilities were not necessary

and that large ships anchored off the coastline while small craft ferried imported goods to shore. Some tentative evidence for possible LIA ports within the WSTOZ has been suggested at Selsey, Chichester (Sharples 2010, 163) and also as a precursor to Fishbourne palace (Creighton 2006, 59 - 6.3.3). The rich remains at Sheepen may suggest that this site acted as an area of ingress for LIA trade (Niblett 1985, 22–23), as well as an area of ritual significance at the interface between fresh and sea water (Willis 2007a, 122–123) (**5.4.3**, **5.5.3**). The ritual characteristics of Sheepen may indicate a wider social importance to ports and harbours, which, located at the point of transition between land and water, implies a social, political and ritual significance (Rogers 2011, 214). The importance of this transition is well attested in the later prehistoric period, and the Iron Age specifically, evidenced through structured deposition (including metalwork) and the positioning of shrines and temples by the sea (Willis 2007a). It has been argued that these beliefs extended into the Roman period, particularly through the establishment of Roman towns in watery places of pre-Roman significance, such as those within territorial *oppida* (Rogers 2008, 2013, 28–32). While the territorial *oppida* at Camulodunum (ETOZ) and Chichester (WSTOZ) (examined in this thesis) had potential port sites, the majority of territorial *oppida* lay inland, and while possibly accessible by river systems, were certainly the recipients of (comparatively) large quantities of imported goods. Silchester, for example, is located at some distance from a suitable waterway, however, it has been argued that in the Roman period Reading may have acted as a port location 10km to the south (Rivet 1964, 140), although there is limited evidence for a routeway between the two locations (Booth *et al.* 2007, 59). Braughing-Puckeridge (Herts) formed a central area for importation (Augustan and Tiberian pottery from Gaul and Italy) and the exchange of goods via the River Rib, and may have formed a centre for the transport of products to other areas, such as the Midlands (Bryant 2007, 65–66). The array of imported goods uncovered at the Stanwick *oppidum,* unparalleled at any other contemporary site north of the Humber, have been argued to have originated from either direct contact to the Continent, via the sea, or through contact with people and places in southern Britain (Haselgrove 2016, 434-437). This highlights the importance of intercommunication across 'regions', between territorial *oppida* and other settlement sites and crucially the 'people' and social 'groups' who inhabited them. The movement of imported goods lay in parallel to agricultural activities (**7.2.2**) or the spreading of ideas relating to burial and ritual practices (**7.2.4**), and was indicative of the building of social networks over large areas.

Perhaps the single most important consideration for the evidence for cross-channel exchange should be that it also represented the movement of people and ideas between Britain and the Continent. The concept of trade is a "fundamentally social activity", grounded in the interactions of 'people' and acting as a method not just of transferring goods but also of "information, ideas and values" (Bauer and Agbe-Davies 2010, 13–19). Some of the social changes occurring within territorial *oppida* were directly influenced by ideas from the Continent, demonstrated particularly in the amalgamation of certain burial practices such as cremation and high-status interment (Hamilton 2007, 96–97). This interaction could be argued for similarities in ritual practices on both sides of the Channel, as shrines in each 'region' had a preference towards placement with visible areas of water such as rivers or the sea (e.g. Garland 2013). It may be that an unintended function of cross channel trade was to provide the movement of ideas to and from territorial *oppida.* These settlements were not purely the result of the acculturation of ideas moving from the Continent, but were occupied by dynamic societies that actively pursued a range of social choices (e.g. Hamilton 2007, 98).

7.2.7 Urban centres?

The consideration of British *oppida* as urban or proto-urban originated in the 1970s/80s and derived from the comparison of these settlements to Continental *oppida*. The assumed urban nature of *oppida* is illustrated through the titles of contemporary texts such as '*Oppida*: the Beginnings of Urbanisation in Barbarian Europe' (Cunliffe and Rowley 1976) and '*Oppida*: earliest towns north of the Alps' (Collis 1984) (**2.2.1**). The later dissatisfaction with this classification culminated in a critique by Woolf (1993, 223), who stated that *oppida* lack "many of the features associated with urbanism such as a differentiated settlement hierarchy, large-scale intra-site zoning of activities and clear evidence of central place function". Rogers (2012, 645) has argued that the interpretation of *oppida* as urban has had the effect of "simplifying our understanding of these sites" and many consider their characterisation as proto-urban as having been largely "rejected by most scholars" (Barrett *et al.* 2012, 440). This rejection has been reflected in a number of new studies on territorial *oppida,* which have considered these settlements in terms of their relationship with the landscape and have utilised new methodological and theoretical approaches to study these sites (e.g. Moore 2012; Rogers 2008). However, the consideration of Continental *oppida* has followed a different trajectory, continuing to predominately consider the urban characteristics of *oppida* and their roles as central places in the surrounding Iron Age landscape (e.g. Fichtl 2005). Similar

interpretations are also present in the consideration of some British territorial *oppida*, particularly the *oppidum* at Calleva (Silchester), which in the LIA was organised around a typical 'Roman' pattern with rectangular buildings along street grids (Fulford and Timby 2000). Creighton's (2006, 54–69) reinterpretation of some structures and enclosures within territorial *oppida* as having a "Roman or Roman style military presence", forms part of a wider comparison between *oppida* and the towns that succeeded them. The consideration of territorial *oppida* as a form of pre-Roman urbanism is connected to political developments occurring before the Claudian conquest and reflective of elite societies in Britain having their "own interest in adopting urban strategies" (Pitts and Perring 2006, 190). In the consideration of whether Camulodunum was conceived of in urban terms, Pitts and Perring (2006, 192) cite the presence of a curved staff or *lituus* on coinage of the area as reflective of Roman ideas of urbanism (cf. Rykwert 1976, 44–45; Creighton 2000, 209–210). However, it should be noted that this image has alternatively been described as "small animals or vegetal motifs" (de Jersey 2005, 122) or a "animal with a large circular eye" (Hobbs 2001, 367).

The essential difference between the interpretations of *oppida* as urban or not comes from what exactly we mean by 'urban' in this context. Collis' (1984, 2–5) original definition of a 'town' in a 'pre-industrial period' recognises the difficultly in establishing specific criteria, but cites complexity in both "social and economic terms" as a key aspect. Following the work of Sjoberg (1960), Collis (1984, 5) states that almost all urban characteristics are found in *oppida*, including internal structure of settlement, zonation of population, large-scale industry and trade and indicators of a central authority (construction of defences and other public works). Woolf's (1993, 227) consideration of urban status defined two criteria: the functional differentiation or specialisation of settlement systems and to exhibit significantly different internal differentiation from other sites; he felt that neither applied to *oppida*. These definitions reflect the evolving nature of our understanding of urbanism, from a largely functional view to one which explores their sociological qualities (i.e. ideology). It may be useful here to examine the closest chronologically version of urbanism to that of British territorial *oppida*, both geographically and temporally; how the Romans understood and manifested urbanization in the creation of cities. Modern discourse in Roman studies has moved beyond our understanding of the physical attributes of the city as representations of urbanism (streets, public buildings, defences) to one which explores urbanism as an ideology: "a place to dwell and a correct way of living" (Revell 2009, 48). This ideology is dependant in part on the physical form of the city but was

equally enshrined in its own ritual practices, visible through rites associated with its foundation and the definition of the urban area as the laying out of a town/city plan, among others (Rykwert 1976, 41–71). The application of this Roman ideology of urbanization as a model for LIA societies is probably unwise, as urban ideologies take different forms in different societies, but also because there is still a great deal of debate about how urbanism applies to Roman societies themselves (Revell 2009, 44). While territorial *oppida* do not conform to the physical characteristics of a Mediterranean form of urbanism, a sociological approach reveals the motivations behind the choice to found and develop *oppida* settlements.

New definitions of urbanism are more akin to current theories and methods in landscape archaeology, taking a holistic perspective (social, economic and political) in order to define singular elements of that landscape (**3.4**). The most promising examination of the origins of urbanisation in prehistoric societies is currently occurring in continental studies of Iron Age settlements, particularly the so-called 'princely' sites (e.g. Heuneburg) and *oppida* (e.g. Fernández-Götz and Krausse 2013; Fernández-Götz *et al.* 2014b). The reconsideration of many long-standing sites (e.g. Bibracte - Moore *et al.* 2013), has indicated that urban *oppida* may have formed part of the wider hinterland into which these settlements are embedded, both socially and economically (Fernández-Götz *et al.* 2014a, 8). This approach reflects the choice of case studies (ETOZ and WSTOZ) and approach taken within this thesis. New definitions have concentrated on two factors: that urban centres can be defined sociologically as well as functionally, and that to be considered an urban centre the activities and institutions which operate within these settlements (whether administrative, economic or religious) must affect a wider hinterland (Fernández-Götz *et al.* 2014a, 9–10). In light of disagreement in modern scholarship over the urban status of the pre-Claudian *oppidum* at Camulodunum, Perring and Pitts (2006, 192), argue that an urban definition "is essentially political and is not intended to carry any particular meaning with regard to the scale and function" of the settlement. However, the description of *oppida* as urban may equally have negative aspects, connected to both our pre-conceived notions of what we consider 'urbanism' and to the privileging of the 'core' as a central place over the importance of the 'periphery'. Perhaps as argued by Woolf (1993, 231), the only way that *oppida* sites can be considered urban is if they represent a local variation on Mediterranean urbanism peculiar to Iron Age Temperate Europe.

7.2.8 Summary

An examination of the evidence for the varying 'functions' of territorial *oppida* (**7.2.2-7.2.7**), has demonstrated that both the practical and symbolic aspects of each activity has allowed a more comprehensive and cohesive identification of how these settlements operated in the LIA (A7.13). The connections between the varying 'functions', as discussed above, also demonstrates the interconnected nature of territorial *oppida*, both across and beyond the landscapes that they inhabit. Although 'urbanism' remains an unrefined concept in the examination of *oppida,* and in studies of the LIA in general, recent considerations of urbanism on the Continent (**7.2.7**) has highlighted both the holistic nature (i.e. a combination of social, political and economic factors) and the connection of these settlements to the wider hinterland (Fernández-Götz *et al.* 2014a, 8–10). Although beyond the scope of this thesis, this research may form a useful comparison that requires further examination.

A number of the 'functions' discussed above emphasise the definition of 'focal points' in the *oppidum* landscape. These foci are demonstrated by the evidence for metalworking (**7.2.3**) in liminal contexts, such as in close proximity to linear earthwork systems (e.g. Ounces Barn – WSTOZ) or in watery places, particularly the interface between fresh and salt water sites (e.g. Sheepen - ETOZ). Similarly, the evidence for burial (**7.2.5**), although representing a complex suite of parallel mortuary practices, provided (in many forms) focal points for the population of the *oppidum* and potentially 'people' and social 'groups' in the landscapes beyond. So-called 'elite' burials (e.g. Lexden cemetery, Stanway - ETOZ) and large-scale cemeteries (e.g. Westhampnett - WSTOZ) formed the centres for wider community involvement, bringing together 'people' through shared mortuary and ritual practices. The movement of 'people', both through *oppida* landscapes and into other settlements in Britain and across the channel, formed the basis for the transfer of imported goods (**7.2.6**) (in varying quantities) and ideas, such as the adoption of new dining practices and, from varying trajectories, types of burial (e.g. cremation). The evidence for the mechanisms for trade (i.e. harbours or ports) is somewhat more ambiguous but may have occurred within selected territorial *oppida* (e.g. Sheepen – ETOZ, Fishbourne – WSTOZ), providing a strong connection to liminal zones where ritual activity took place. A more 'local' scale of movement, perhaps within and between territorial *oppida*, is typified by the movement of craftspeople, particular those who produced LIA coinage (**7.2.4**). Where larger scale production sites are found within *oppida* (e.g. Verulamium) again there is a strong association with watery places in the landscape and potential zones of ritual practice. Finally, the so-called 'empty space' between the focal points of

territorial *oppida* was actually (albeit to varying degrees) occupied by both a mixed agricultural regime and the routeways that facilitated the movement of 'people' and goods across LIA southern Britain (**7.2.2**). Seasonal activities, represented periodically by both agriculture and metal working, each held strong a metaphorical relationship to one another and the cycle of life and death, forming a strong component in the belief systems held within *oppida* society. This evidence further demonstrates the overlap between both practical and profane motives for the 'function(s)' of territorial *oppida* (**7.2.1**).

An examination of the evidence for the 'functions' of territorial *oppida*, particularly associated with the two case studies; Camulodunum (ETOZ) and Chichester (WSTOZ), has further demonstrated that the prevalence of social practice is both variable and regionally specific. This variation likely reflects the differences in the physical landscape of each (affecting quality of land etc.), the manner in which social relationships between 'people' and 'groups' were formed (i.e. labour, gift exchange, intermarriage) and consequentially the specific form of social structure within each territorial *oppidum* (**7.3**). Consequently, the adoption and interrelationship between the social practices, each associated with the varying 'function(s)' of *oppida,* has influenced the development of new social structures in the LIA.

7.3 Social Structure in the Late Iron Age

7.3.1 Late Iron Age 'Kingdoms' and *oppida*

The emergence of territorial *oppida* in Britain has often been associated with a changing social and political system in south-east Britain during the 1st century BC-1st century AD. Viewed as a "physical expression of a greater transformation of society" (Haselgrove 1995, 81), *oppida* were initially considered sites of social stratification and political centralization as a result of increased trade and communication with the Continent, suggested by large quantities of imported goods. Over the last twenty-five years new interpretations of both coin distribution/iconography (Creighton 2000; Nash 1987) and historical texts (Braund 1996) have begun to examine these changes as occurring in the context of contacts with Rome prior to the Claudian conquest. This evidence has allowed the compilation of detailed political narratives for some territorial *oppida*, interpreting them as emerging 'Client Kingdoms', representing formalised relationships between these regions and the Roman *Princeps*. These interpretations, particularly as put forward by Creighton (2000, 2006), have been criticized but also applauded as a stimulating new perspective on the period (e.g. Collis 2000, 476; Hobbs 2001, 368) and are now

utilized as a basis for examining the territorial *oppida* of the ETOZ (e.g. Perring and Pitts 2013; Pitts and Perring 2006) and WSTOZ (e.g. Davenport 2003; Henig 2002; Rudling 2003a). Below is a synopsis of the political and social narratives put forward for each of these two zones, labelled by Nash (1987) and others as the 'Eastern Kingdom' and 'Southern Kingdom' respectively. This synopsis provides a baseline on which a critique of the current model is based.

Creighton (2000, 55–56) argues that, based on changes in the colour, composition and availability of gold coinage in the LIA, radical political changes occurred in south-east Britain following the invasions of Caesar in 55-54BC. Change in coinage have been paralleled to other changes occurring in the last few decades of the 1st century BC including the establishment of *oppida* and an increase in imported goods (Creighton 2006, 19). In the case of the 'Southern Kingdom', these changes have been linked with a particular historic figure, Commius from Northern Gaul, who appears in Caesar's Gallic Wars as an ally and whose name appears on coinage distributed across south-east Britain. Although later made King of the Gallic Atrebates by Caesar following the conquest of Gaul (Caesar: *De Bello Gallico* 4.27), Commius fought against Caesar during the Gallic uprising and apparently fled to Britain. Creighton (2000, 63–64) argues that rather than just being exiled, some individuals who fell out of favour with Rome continued to be tolerated due to their influence (e.g. Herod the Great) and that Commius may have been granted the 'Southern Kingdom' to hold as a client (Creighton 2000, 59–64). Although Creighton (2006, 24) admits that it might be uncomfortable to see a Gallic noble granted a 'Kingdom' in Britain, he argues that 'elites' either side of the channel were likely brought up in the same way and therefore this change in leadership reflected a minor difference to LIA 'people'.

Creighton (2006, 24) argues that the archaeological evidence for these kingdoms becomes more apparent with the second generation of rulers. A dynastic family tree can be formulated for the 'Southern' and 'Eastern' Kingdoms, from the late-1st century BC to mid-1st century AD, based on an examination of the historical sources and names written on LIA coinage (A7.14). The iconography on LIA coinage from the second generation of these dynasties onwards (Tincomarus, Tasciovanus) moves from abstract imagery to display classical references (A7.15). This change has been interpreted as representing the "visual language of the Principate" established in the reign of Augustus and reflective of the return of *obsides* or hostages taken to Rome, to Britain to rule the 'Southern' and 'Eastern' Kingdoms (Creighton 2006, 24–25). Creighton (2006, 25) argues that the presence of imagery on British coinage reflects those found elsewhere in the Empire, including Mauretania, and suggests direct

contact between these rulers as they served together as hostages in Rome. The subsequent 'annexation' of Britain has been attributed to the difficulty that potential new rulers in the 'Southern' and 'Eastern' Kingdoms faced in gaining permission from Rome, specifically during the reign of Gaius, to take up their new positions (Creighton 2006, 28–9). Internal turmoil ensued, with Verica (or Berikos as referred to in a single historical source) fleeing to Rome for help and Claudius taking the opportunity to invade and return the 'client king' to his rightful throne (Creighton 2000, 78–79; Henig 2002, 37–38). While the defeat of Cunobelin's potential successors and the establishment of the garrison fortress at Camulodunum represented the end of the 'Eastern' Kingdom (Creighton 2006, 30), it has been proposed that the client relationship between the 'Southern' Kingdom and Rome continued under the reign of Tiberius Claudius Cogidubnus (or Togidubnus), Verica's heir. Depicted by Henig (2002, 27–36) as a *obsides* in Rome from a young age and a close companion of Claudius, Cogidubnus is interpreted as ruling the *civitas* incorporating *Noviomagus Reginorum* and upholding the lifestyle learnt while in Rome (Creighton 2006, 31), illustrated by the inscription found at Chichester (RIB 91), giving him the title 'Great King of Britain' (Bogaers 1979, 245). While Prasutagus, husband of Boudicca, is also interpreted by Creighton (2006, 31–33) as serving as a client king in the region of the Iceni, it is not thought that this included the ETOZ.

It is tempting to draw upon these detailed narratives both for the ETOZ and WSTOZ, based upon selected historical, numismatic and archaeological evidence, however, new research has suggested there are a number of fundamental difficulties with these particular interpretations that need to be addressed. These problems are apparent in the assumed position of territorial *oppida* as areas of political centralisation and/or seats of power for client kings, considering our previous interpretation of their development and function (**7.2**).

7.3.2 Critique of hierarchical models of social structure in the Late Iron Age

The narrative above, developed in particular by Creighton, has gained praise for its ingenuity, with Hill (2004) stating that following the debate LIA Britain "cannot and should not be the same again". However, there have been some important questions raised from numismatists and archaeologists alike, concerning the methodology, the interpretation of the evidence and ultimately the overall conclusions of these arguments (Hill 2004; Hobbs 2001; Williams 2001). These criticisms have the result of undermining the central thesis of Creighton's (2000, 2006) argument; that political entities in Britain were closely aligned with the Roman *Principate* following the invasions of Caesar (55-54BC). Hobbs (2001, 364), for example, states that

Creighton's (2000) supporting evidence is open to question, arguing for more simplistic interpretations for the emergence of classical images on LIA coins rather than direct contact with Rome through the exchange of *obsides* or hostages. Hobbs (2001, 366) argues that the presence in Britain of Republican issues in hoards, and Greek coins more generally, may have served as proto-types for local issues. The importance of determining the validity of 'Kingdoms' as social models in the LIA is paramount for the understanding of territorial *oppida*.

In examining the validity of a hierarchical interpretation of LIA society, it is worth considering the accuracy and reliability of the information that informs the above interpretations, in particular the context in which they were created. A recent discussion of the notion of tribal groups challenges the continued use of these conceptual entities despite our possessing a more nuanced understanding of social change during the LIA (Moore 2011, 335). The understanding of how Iron Age societies formed and functioned is fundamental to our narratives about the emergence of social and political groups later in this period. The names and locations of 'tribes' in Britain are based primarily on Ptolemy's *Geographia* (A7.16), produced in the mid-2nd century AD but referring to groups established earlier, as well as Cunliffe's (1975, 29–48) isolation of ceramic 'style zones' across Lowland Britain. Assumptions about these tribal entities were integral to previous understandings of territorial *oppida*, which have often been considered the ''capitals' of these tribal groups (Cunliffe 2005, 159). Moore (2011, 349) has argued that our knowledge of these entities dates entirely from the Roman period and, due to the social dynamics of change following the Claudian invasion, likely bore limited similarities to LIA social 'groups'. These tribal groups, as demonstrated in other colonial situations (cf. Gosden 2004), were an outsider's (i.e. the Roman Empire's) concept of the organisation of the British LIA (Moore 2011, 347), illustrated by the mention of 'tribal' groups in contemporary Roman sources (e.g. Trinovantes in Caesar's *De Bello Gallico*). Recent analysis of the coin distributions that define so-called 'tribal' groups, indicate greater complexity (Leins 2008, 2012) that may indicate "segmentary groups loosely related to one another, rather than territorially coherent and stable" tribal units (Moore 2011, 350). Collis (2007, 526) argues that, based on current evidence, 'Kingdoms' crossed tribal boundaries, with the 'Eastern' Kingdom subsuming the tribal groups of the Trinovantes and Catuvellauni and the 'Southern' Kingdom, the Atrebates, Regni and Belgae. The understanding that 'Kingdoms' were formed by (through the intervention of Caesar or otherwise) the combination of tribal groups makes their definition and extent flawed at a basic level, with the complexities now visible in our analysis of

‘tribes’ completely overwhelmed in favour of different political organisations. Whether kingdoms were formed through the amalgamation of these organisations is unknown and consequently the interpretation of territorial *oppida* as functioning as capitals of, or as central to, these social or political affiliations requires further examination (**7.3.4**).

Historical sources, all of which originated from the Roman Empire, contain limited evidence about LIA Britain and provide a confusing narrative that was politically motivated. The sources, often used to understand the changing political situation in light of increased contact with Rome, are open to question and reinterpretation. Creighton (2000, 56–59) has highlighted a number of inconsistencies with Caesar’s account of the two invasions of Britain (Caesar: *De Bello Gallico, Ch V),* including a lack of individuals named in the invasion of 55 BC compared to four kings named in the second invasion; a number of tribes mentioned that do not appear again in this source or any corresponding text; and limited details about the tribal affiliations of Cassivellaunus, the key adversary to Caesar during these expeditions. The historical evidence also forms the key source of information upon which the biographies of the ‘Kings’ of the ‘Southern’ and ‘Eastern’ Kingdom are based. Much of the discussion for these leaders has focused on the biography of ‘Commius’ (**7.3.1**), due in part to the numerous mentions in historical sources (Caesar’s *De Bello Gallico*; the text of Hirtius, a member of Caesar’s staff from 54BC onwards) compared to other ‘Kings’ of Britain. Commius’ position in the historical texts fluctuates from ally to foe (during the Gallic uprising) to ‘King’ of Britain, following capitulation to Mark Antony. Creighton (2000, 62–63) argues that rather than fleeing to Britain, his influence and fidelity were noted and he was granted a client kingdom in Britain, away from the Roman world. Whether in such circumstances the establishment by Rome of a fully-fledged client kingdom would have been possible or even desired is debatable, however, it is unlikely that the suggested strong ties between Britain and Rome in the formation and maintenance of these kingdoms would have been possible. The evidence for the descendants of Commius, particularly Tincomarus and Verica, are also represented by limited evidence for their reign or existence. Each is mentioned in a single historical source; Tincomarus, sent as a supplicant to Augustus (*Res Gestae Divi Augustus*, 32) and Verica fleeing Britain to ask Claudius to send forces to quell an uprising (Dio Cassius, Book 19:1). While these events may have been used partly to justify attacks or invasions of Britain, particularly that by Claudius in AD43 (Braund 1996, 96–97), the privileged place that Verica’s flight from Britain to Rome is given in some research

for the motivations behind the Roman invasion (e.g. Henig 2002), is of concern when he only receives in a single mention in the historical texts.

A much larger number of written references for Verica are found on the inscribed coinage of the early 1st century AD (A7.17), which in each of the cases above (Commius, Tincomarus, Verica) has been used to relate the figures in the historical texts to leaders of the 'Southern Kingdom'. It is worth noting that the coinage inscriptions attributed to each leader are themselves represented by a range of text. For example, coins bearing the inscriptions VIR, VERIC, VIRI, VIRIC, VERICA and VIR REX have all been attributed to Verica (Creighton 2000, 124). A similar, albeit more partial, narrative has been put forward for those leaders attributed to the 'Eastern Kingdom', however, the complexity of the numismatic data in this area has made the creation of a clear generational hierarchy much harder to establish and consequently this 'dynasty' has only been examined briefly (Hill 2004). The discovery of a number of coins with differing inscriptions (SEGO, RUIIS, DIAS) linked to Tasciovanus (who is not referred to in corresponding historical sources), has led to pseudo-historical reconstructions involving other putative rulers (Van-Arsdell 1989, 21–22). Creighton (2000, 75) has argued that these may represent the names of magistrates or vassals issuing coins in the name of Tasciovanus. This complexity illustrates the difficulties in assigning coinage to specific individuals based on coin inscriptions alone, which could be attributed to multiple contemporary 'people'. The complexity of the coin evidence is further amplified by the distribution of coinage across south-east Britain, which although relied upon to determine the boundaries of LIA territories (Creighton 2000, 77; Pitts and Perring 2006, 191), may actuality reflect smaller-scale patterning (Leins 2008). Leins (2008, 104–106) argues that the distributions of certain types of coinage previously attributed to 'tribal' groups (e.g. Atrebatic types) and forming the precursors to later inscribed coins, display a level of complexity and variation that indicate that they were unlikely to have been issued by a single political authority. Bearing in mind the difficulties in defining 'tribal' groups, it should not be assumed that the production of coinage was the remit of a particular political authority or king. Perhaps coins were issued by a number of 'kings', as argued by Moore (2011, 350-352) for western Britain, or by local communities for local use, drawing upon a single pool of crafts people (Leins 2008, 106).

The hierarchical 'kingdom' model usually linked to the foundation of territorial *oppida* in south-east Britain is an alluring but fundamentally flawed interpretation of the evidence. While it should be noted that these "pseudo-historical reconstruction(s)" are considered speculative by the authors, based upon limited evidence (Creighton 2000,

78), they are also based upon a small number of confusing sources (both documentary and numismatic) that indicate a more complex social and political structure than is presently understood. Moreover, there are two basic tenets upon which these accounts are based that ensure their limited usefulness for discussing the LIA and territorial *oppida*. Primarily these interpretations follow a 'Romano-centric' standpoint, developed without a detailed understanding of the political and social changes occurring in these areas prior to the mid-1st century BC and, as such, viewing changes as a direct result of contact to the Roman world (Hill 2004). This Romano-centric interpretation downgrades the role of indigenous 'leaders' as the drivers for social changes of the period, instead giving the impression that the 'Kings' of south-eastern Britain were in fact "puppets of Rome in all senses of the word" (Hill 2004). Secondly, the examination of particular individuals who, through connections with Rome, instigated social change in south-east Britain make this a particularly 'top-down' interpretation of this period, driven by a limited understanding of how 'people' and 'groups' in the south-east perceived, participated with and transformed social relations in the LIA. This approach is particularly damaging as there is limited discussion of what we mean by terms such as 'Kings' or 'elites' in these contexts (Hill 2012, 246–247) leading to a wholly incomplete understanding of social structure in LIA territorial *oppida* (**7.3.4**). In the next section, an alternative narrative of development from the MIA is proposed.

7.3.3 The development and transformation of social networks from the Middle to Late Iron Age

The interpretations above, and their critiques, have direct consequences for our understanding of territorial *oppida*. Interpretations of social structure for these settlements must take into account both the developing political changes due to contacts with the Continent and longer term indigenous developments. Accordingly, we must initially examine how social change in the LIA originated and developed from its origins in the MIA. While this thesis has identified and examined the origins of territorial *oppida* for both the WSTOZ and ETOZ, current examination of pre-*oppidum* settlement elsewhere is under-developed (**7.4.2**). Likewise, there are limited developed social narratives for *oppida* from the MIA onwards elsewhere in Britain, albeit with few exceptions (e.g. Verlamion - Haselgrove and Millett 1997).

Debate over the social structure of Iron Age societies over the last twenty five years has questioned how hierarchical these societies were (Hill 1995b, 2012). Traditional explanations, often concerned with purely economic or environmental considerations

of the LIA landscape, considered Iron Age societies as pyramids, led by a single person (usually a male king or chief) or small groups of people, who held control over the wider population (e.g. Cunliffe 1984). Hierarchical social models, described as 'Celtic chiefdoms', have more recently been rejected as unconvincing (Collis 1994; Hill 1996, 96–97), as part of a wider dissatisfaction with processual approaches to the Iron Age. These works initially questioned whether hillforts in south-east Britain were purely defensive in nature (Bowden and McOmish 1987) and argued that they instead represented communal societies that lacked distinct hierarchical social structures (e.g. Hill 1996). Consequently, alternative interpretations were introduced, particularly the notion that some Iron Age groups actually formed 'heterarchical' or unranked social structures. Notable applications of such interpretations include the cases of Maiden Castle, Dorset (Sharples 1991b) and Cadbury Castle, Somerset (Barrett 2000). Hill (2012, 246–248) has argued that there are two main issues that have been highlighted due to this debate; that there is a poverty of definition of what we mean by 'hierarchy' or 'elites' (see below); and that various studies have assumed that later prehistoric societies were hierarchies, ignoring other ethnographic and archaeological evidence for segmentary or heterarchical societies elsewhere, e.g. sub-Saharan Africa - the Igbo, south-eastern Nigeria and the Alur, Uganda–Zaire border (McIntosh 1999, 9–16), among others.

The development and consideration of non-hierarchical social models and how they may have operated in the Iron Age has allowed the recognition of a number of important concepts. Hill (2012, 246) has argued that critiques over the last 25 years have focused on two key themes, which have been illustrative of why social structures in this period cannot be seen as purely hierarchical; namely; the recognition that our understanding of Iron Age societies as 'tribes' has masked more complex social structures, (e.g. Moore 2007b, 2011), alongside a re-evaluation of the conditions under which land tenure and inheritance was negotiated (e.g. Giles 2007c; Wigley 2007). While the criticisms of concepts of a tribal structure for south-east Britain have been discussed above (**7.3.2**), the evidence for both the WSTOZ and ETOZ in relation to land tenure, inheritance and communal resources in the MIA in previous chapters (5 & 6), indicates that a highly interconnected and communal social structure was apparent in these areas during this period.

In order to frame our understanding of MIA society within pre-*oppidum* landscapes it is necessary to compare the results within the ETOZ and WSTOZ with social structures and networks in non-territorial *oppidum* landscapes in the British MIA. As discussed above (**4.3**), chronological divisions make isolating the evidence for MIA

societies particularly difficult. While recent into the British ‘earlier’ and ‘later’ Iron Age (e.g. Haselgrove and Moore 2007b; Haselgrove and Pope 2007a) have each included discussion of the Middle Iron Age (as part of longer trajectories of social change), this has created overlap that make characterising the period somewhat unclear. Regional studies have highlighted how heterarchical or egalitarian societies developed in the MIA, allowing us to illustrate what they might have looked like or how they operated in this period. This research includes investigation of the creation of social cohesion due to pressure on land resources in the Trent Valley (Knight 2007, 197), differing levels of co-operation in arable and pastoral farming between MIA groups in the Thames Valley (Hey 2007, 161–162), the highly communal nature (through sharing labour) of society in the Welsh Marches (Wigley 2007, 186) and the relatively independent household groups of the south-west (Cripps 2007, 150).

Moore (2007b, 96) has illustrated, through a detailed examination of western Britain, the organisation of Iron Age society as a predecessor to Bagendon territorial *oppidum*. Societies in western Britain were perhaps organised within a series of ‘networks’, both social and economic, “mediated by exchange, mutual labour and shared symbolic references” (Moore 2007b, 96). This social model is applicable to our evidence for pre-*oppidum* MIA settlement in the WSTOZ, in which ‘people’ were organized and united through a shared symbolic framework, evidenced by the construction and continued veneration of the Trundle Hillfort (**6.4.2**, **6.5.2**), illustrating “shared perceptions of landscape” (Moore 2007b, 96). Furthermore, agricultural activities required the sharing and exchange of labour, particularly through the construction of stock enclosures (**6.4.2**) (Wigley 2007). Moore (2007b, 96) also argues that social connections may have been formed both close to and far from ‘groups’, suggesting that movement, of “material culture, labour and people” would have been important to maintain social cohesion. The creation of droveways in the MIA in the ETOZ is an embodiment of this process, inscribed through collective memory and connecting ‘people’, physically for practical purposes (e.g. movement of livestock to fields of pasture) (**5.5.2**).

Regional studies illustrate the diversity of MIA society in non-territorial *oppidum* landscapes, however, these studies also illustrate the importance of agriculture as a consistent feature in the formation and maintenance of MIA social networks. The prominence of an agrarian system in the organisation of heterarchical Iron Age societies has been emphasized by Hill (2012, 253–4) who argues, based partially on the use of agriculture as a dominant cultural and metaphorical symbol in ritual activities, that agrarian regimes reflected the wider social structure of the group. Hill

(2012, 253) states that agricultural activities would have been organised at a household level. This is visible in the MIA in both in the ETOZ (Lodge Farm, Tendring – **5.3.2**, **5.4.2**) and the WSTOZ (Westhampnett and Chalkpit Lane, Lavant – **6.3.2**, **6.4.2**), where a number of roundhouses operate within a single space and agricultural tasks (the storage of grain) are distributed amongst the members of the social 'group'. Hill (2012, 254) argues that the ability of most households to produce an agricultural surplus would have allowed social 'groups' to fund social meetings and labour requirements, creating a wider source for the establishment of social networks. Defining 'agriculture as politics', the movement of 'people' across the landscape would have allowed the negotiation of agricultural activities with other 'groups' (e.g. use of land for pasture or exchange of labour), the exploitation of other resources (e.g. timber, clay etc.) and the gathering for social and ritual activities (Hill 2007, 21–24, 2012, 254). As discussed above, the creation of droveways in the MIA landscape of the ETOZ would have formalised and facilitated this movement. Equally the zonation of different MIA agricultural activities within the WSTOZ landscape (**6.5.2**), i.e. areas for storage, stock enclosures and field systems, would have required the movement of people and consequently the creation of social networks both 'near and far' to the agrarian regime.

These varying levels of social status were probably a "fluid process" changing over time due to varying social situations and the creation of new networks (Moore 2007b, 96–97). These differences in social status may form the origins of the greater inequality apparent in the LIA, visible through the different ways of living and dying in this period. The limited effectiveness of heterarchical social structures to react to rapid change, despite (or because of) their more inclusive approach to decision-making, may have led to the development of alternative social structures (Crumley 1995, 138–139). It is against this backdrop, of a heterarchical, but possibly unequal MIA society, that LIA social networks within territorial *oppida* developed (A7.18).

7.3.4 The rise of 'individuals' and the emergence of hierarchal social structures in the Late Iron Age

The traditional hierarchical model of social structures within territorial *oppida* has rarely taken account of how these structures came into existence or what social 'groups' and structures they may have originated from. Social structures in territorial *oppida* are currently defined as being 'bestowed' upon the inhabitants by the Roman Empire, with little consideration of what indigenous forms they took prior to the formation of relationships with the Roman world (Hill 2004). This interpretation is difficult to reconcile with current and developing studies of social structure in south-

eastern Britain during the Iron Age (**7.3.3**). Our narratives currently present these societies as rapidly, and without explanation, leaping from an egalitarian and agrarian based society to one where 'elites' dominated the population and benefited from increased wealth and access to imported goods from the Continent. While some have begun to explore this social change on a regional basis (Moore 2006; Sharples 2010), further work is required, particularly in the examination of territorial *oppida*. While territorial *oppida* may have been organised under a 'client king' (e.g. Creighton 2000; 2006), this interpretation must be substantiated through a detailed examination of the social structure from the 'bottom-up', by attempting to understand how 'people' articulated themselves as social entities, how the inter-relationships between 'people' formed social 'groups' and how these 'groups' contributed to the overall social structure of the *oppida*.

Differentiation in social status in the LIA likely branched from origins in the MIA. The archaeological evidence indicates that there were differences in wealth and "perceived and real social status" between 'people' in MIA heterachically constructed societies (Moore 2007b, 96). While there is not significant evidence for this differentiation in *oppida*, the addition of some elements, such as in the WSTOZ the presence of Dressel 1A Italian Amphorae at Carne's Seat (Holgate 1986, 45) and three imported La Tène 1 brooches from Westhampnett Bypass Area 4 (Fitzpatrick et al. 2008, 159–160), may indicate varying levels of wealth or possibly status across the zone. Moreover, in the ETOZ, the creation of small individual enclosures through the division of a larger enclosure at Lodge Farm, Tendring (**5.4.3**), may suggest social divisions apparent within the community, with those who could arrange larger quantities of community labour able to construct their own domestic settlements. Evidence for warfare and violence in the Iron Age, as measures of inequality, have been particularly lacking since the abandonment of a 'Celtic' warrior-elite paradigm (James 2007, 160), albeit with some exceptions (Sharples 1991a), partially due to the lack of direct evidence (James 2007, 160–162). While there is limited evidence for violence or warfare in either the WSTOZ or ETOZ in the MIA or LIA, James (2007, 162) has argued that we will not necessary see evidence for these behaviours, particularly at a micro-scale. Evidence for 'ritualised violence', defined by Armit (2012, 14–15) as "violence as formalised action.….understood in relation to prevailing ideologies", may only be apparent in the archaeological evidence, with the presence of disarticulated human remains and deliberately broken pottery uncovered at MIA sites both in the WSTOZ (Copse Farm Oving, North Bersted – **6.3.2**) and ETOZ (Stanway – **5.3.2**).

Before attempting to reinterpret how LIA society was structured within territorial *oppida* it is necessary to define exactly what is meant by the terms 'elites' and 'kings'. While these terms are frequently used in a number of studies (e.g. Creighton 2000; Williams 2005), they are rarely defined (Hill 2012, 246–247). These terms can have completely different definitions across disciplines, for example in Mesoamerican archaeology 'elite' is often used as a term for something that was foreign, elaborate or unexplained (Chase and Chase 1992, xi). Haeussler (2013, 35–36) argues that in the Roman Italy a single 'elite identity' did not exist, as it was the role of individuals to adopt unfamiliar/alien artefacts and behaviour in order to distinguish themselves from each other as well as the subaltern classes. In studies of LIA Britain, the term 'elite' has been endemic in the discussion of *oppida* since Collis' (1984) seminal work, where the role of 'elites' was implicated in whether these sites served an urban function. Collis (1984, 2) has argued that in urban centres, such as *oppida*, the population included an "exclusive social elite… often residing in courtyard houses to give them privacy".

Recent discussions of 'elite' members of society in territorial *oppida* are based, in part, around wealth. Excavations at Gorhambury, a relatively well-known 'high-status' farmstead in Verlamion, interpreted the status of the farmstead due to the presence of particular kinds of material culture (coinage, brooches) and the resources to construct a large flanking dyke (Neal *et al.* 1990, 34). However, a definition of 'elite' cannot purely be related to a matter of wealth display as different LIA 'people' likely displayed their wealth or status in different ways, especially in light of wider social changes (burial practices, attitudes to dining, access to imported goods). (cf. Willis 1994) (**7.2.5**). Despite evidence for elaborate and 'costly' burial activities (e.g. Lexden tumulus, Folly Lane), can we really determine how wealthy elites were in comparison to other 'people' or 'groups' (Hill 2007, 30)? While the differentiation in how 'people' displayed their wealth/status may be an important component of inclusion or exclusion from a particular social 'group', what may be more important is that these displays imply that some 'people' actively differentiated themselves from other members of society. In current narratives 'Kings' are defined as the leaders of 'elite' social groups, emerging as a single powerful figure with control over a particular area and the power to negotiate with other elite groups (e.g. the Roman Principate). This role is also considered hereditary, illustrated by the description of LIA 'Kingdoms' as dynastic in nature (e.g. Creighton 2000, 74–79) and leading us to assume in this instance that hereditary control, whether through a real or supplanted 'bloodline', was essential to its character. While the archaeological evidence does support the specific

creation of a new social 'group' that we might term 'elites' (see below), there is limited evidence for the establishment of power under a single individual that passed control in a hereditary fashion.

The emergence of 'elites' in territorial *oppida* (defined as those who wanted to portray themselves as a different, and possibly superior, from other members of society) was likely a result of the continuing agricultural success of 'people' and groups' over time. This success was based partly on the quality of available land, but also the ability to form and maintain social ties with other 'people' and 'groups' who could aid in the creation of an agricultural surplus (Hill 2012, 253). Accordingly the limited but discernible disparity in wealth and status in the MIA (access to material goods and labour), was similar in the LIA, leading to the acquisition of an agricultural surplus that could be utilised to fund 'luxury items' (imported goods; metalwork production) and elaborate feasts and funeral celebrations (Hill 2012, 254). It should be noted that the trajectory that the formation of elites took was varied (Hill 2007, 30), demonstrated in this thesis by evidence for the establishment of a warrior class in some areas (e.g. North Bersted warrior burial - WSTOZ) and the use of wealth for varying activities in different places (e.g. the Welwyn type burials – ETOZ, Verulamium). In particular, the undertaking of certain social practices, particularly novel burial rites and the minting of coinage, were used actively in the promotion and maintenance of an 'elite' social class in the LIA.

Burial activities are viewed by Hill (2007, 29) as a key indicator of social stratification. The construction of elaborate burial chambers and mounds, and the ability to furnish such burials with a rich variety of grave goods, indicates a wealthy social 'group'. While it is not disputed that wealth was a factor in these burial practices, the rites themselves were designed to display social status to the wider community and as such, create and maintain social differentiation. As argued above (**7.2.4**), burials such as those undertaken at Stanway required the participation of the wider social 'group', represented not just by the 'elite', but also 'people' and 'groups' that formed part of a larger social network. Feasting was a practice associated with the burials themselves, illustrated by structured deposits of broken pottery in the surrounding ditches. The importance of the site was also retained through repeated commemorative events, including the placement of non-burial features (**5.4.3**). The placement of the LIA burial enclosures upon a previous MIA farmstead, suggested strong links to the past and the agricultural traditions that members of the *oppidum* would have shared. These burial rites had a dual social effect; the creation an 'elite' social group through the differentiation of some 'people' from the rest of the population, and the maintenance

of that ‘group’ through the external definition of that population, i.e. these ‘people’ were seen by others as different and of a higher social order.

The role of LIA coins held an importance beyond that of simple monetary value. Hill (2007, 25) argues that gift exchange was occurring in the centuries prior to the introduction of coinage (in the early 1st century BC) and that therefore a LIA monetary system was not necessary. While it is well established that coinage held a ritual function once fallen out of usage (e.g. Haselgrove and Wigg-Wolf 2005b), there is often little consideration of what the ‘lifetime’ of the coinage may have entailed (Haselgrove and Wigg-Wolf 2005a, 10). Hill (2007, 25) argues that some LIA coinage was likely used as a ‘token’, to create relationships and social ties between new and pre-existing members of social ‘groups’, but that vitally this exchange may have been considered less socially encumbered than pre-existing exchanges (labour; marriage). Despite our rejection of ‘tribes’ as political entities, Leins (2008, 110) indicates that there are ‘tribe’-shaped entities in specific areas within coinage distributions that need to be addressed. These distributions may reflect the extent of ‘fluid’ LIA social networks, indicating the extent in which ‘groups’ in territorial *oppida* operated within a larger set of social relationships. Fluid relationships may have been maintained by the deliberate stamping of part of an image of LIA coins, as argued above (**7.2.4**) and the need for a social ‘group’ to come together to read the intended image (Garrow and Gosden 2012, 147). The relative similarity between coins may reflect the way in which they were produced, by a small groups of artisans who were instructed and employed on a local level (Leins 2008, 106). These distributions may partly reflect some of the growing social networks established and maintained by ‘elites’ in order to establish and reinforce their ranked position in society.

The establishment of leaders who were to operate under the self-definition of Kings (illustrated by REX on some coinage) illustrates the continuation of the system of social self-definition through reinforcement from external social ‘groups’. The transformation of LIA coinage in the later 1st century BC showed an increased concern with naming particular rulers, their ancestry (or connection to previous important individuals) and the inclusion of a more classical style (Creighton 2000, 74–79). Rather than view this as evidence for a rapid political shift (e.g. Hill 2007, 30–31), especially in light of the uncomfortable fact of there being a limited impact on the remainder of the archaeological record (Creighton 2006, 24), this could be interpreted as the continuation of a process of the creation and maintenance of social networks. The change of imagery reflects a change in the way people who minted and distributed coins to portray a certain status to the remainder of the population. The

distribution of this coinage (A7.19) may reflect the growing political or social influence of an individual over the landscape surrounding territorial *oppida*, but does not provide enough evidence to suggest control over it. The success of the promotion of certain figures may be visible in the establishment of certain ritual practices that privileged the 'individual' over the collective. This is particularly visible in the WSTOZ, where it has been argued there was the establishment of a 'Commian' cult in the territorial *oppidum*, with Hayling Island temple representing its physical manifestation (Creighton 2000, 191–197; King and Soffe 2001, 121). The warrior burial at North Bersted, and particularly its position within a wider area of occupation, may have also been viewed as a shrine to a heroic individual of power, venerated by the surrounding populace (argued for Brisley Farm, Kent - Stevenson 2013, 178–179). Whether these functions were intended at the origins of these ritual sites is unlikely, but may have been forged over time through the reinforcement of these practices by an emerging social 'group' who were linked to a specific individual. There is some discussion about whether all of the historical figures mentioned in contemporary texts represent actual individuals (e.g. Braund 1996), however, based on limited historical evidence and corresponding coin iconography, it is likely that some, if not all, of the named individuals attributed to the 'Southern' and 'Eastern' Kingdoms (i.e. the WSTOZ and ETOZ) existed in the LIA. These figures may have been seen as 'elite' by the Roman Empire during Caesar's incursions of 55-54 BC and even may have been the key figures of negotiation during these events. However, there is limited evidence for a rigid hierarchical social structure in the LIA territorial *oppida* and even less for the establishment of 'kings' or kingdoms, as defined above. It is likely that it was the desire of these individuals to create 'kingdoms' and gain overall control of territorial *oppida*, supported by the allusions to kingship and Roman Imperial imagery found on LIA coinage in the ETOZ, WSTOZ and elsewhere (e.g. Creighton 2000, 169–170), but not the eventual outcome.

There is currently limited evidence to suggest that a single person or a small 'group' of individuals held control over territorial *oppida* and their populace as a whole. While previous interpretations have suggested that the construction of the linear earthworks systems may have been the result of slave labour, the communal use of labour could also be an important factor in establishing social networks and continuing the status quo (**5.5.3**, **6.5.3**). A reliance on the wider community was still required by those who saw themselves as 'elites', for relationships vital to the continuation of agricultural success and the continued reverence of their emerging social class. In a strict definitional sense, it is likely that there were wealthier members of society who held

a desire to form social 'groups' who expressed wealth in different ways, but that a relatively heterarchical structure continued initially into the LIA. This coalesced into a more hierarchical social structure over time and under an increasing amount of competition through the creation of a new social class.

7.3.5 The continuation and formalisation of hierarchical social structures in the Early Roman period

To conclude it is worth examining the formalisation of hierarchical social structures within territorial *oppida* in the post-conquest period. The arrival of Claudius and the Roman Army in AD43 saw the direct intervention by Rome on the structure of LIA society. As argued by Mattingly (2011, 93), among others, the internal political and social instability in south-east Britain, likely caused by 'elite' members of society, was a pretext for the Rome to invade and benefit from economic opportunities (natural resources, construction). This instability was potentially created by competition within 'elite' social groups in territorial *oppida*, particularly efforts by some 'people' to establish themselves as a 'King' and therefore the head of an 'elite' social group (**7.3.4**). Growing relationships between the British 'elite' in territorial *oppida* and Rome, demonstrated by limited historical references (**7.3.2**), may indicate that some went directly to the Empire for financial or political assistance (i.e. Verica) and instead provided the impetus for invasion and consequently social change.

As argued below (**8.2**), the social outcomes for territorial *oppida* following the imposition of Roman rule had diverging trajectories. Within some territorial *oppida* (Camulodunum), direct military control was formed the zenith of social hierarchy, illustrated by the establishment of the Legionary fortress, while in others (Chichester, Bagendon, Verlamion), other mechanisms of Imperial control, such as local administrators, were put in place. These measures of control were in some instances a result of the co-option of 'elite' members of society as custodians, who operated in parallel to new Roman citizens and lived within urban centres and villa estates. In contrast to a military presence, this method allowed the Empire to rule their new province with limited physical presence in some instances. At Chichester, the establishment of Togidubnus, as the 'Great King of Britain', may have been the result of Imperial elevation of a local 'elite' into a position of power (**7.3.1**). Nevertheless, the relationships between 'elites' and the Empire was subject to change (i.e. Prasutagus, husband of Boudicca) and in some instances led to internal violence and revolt.

In considering the post-conquest social structure, it is worth noting that the majority of the society was characterised by a rural population who lived in small farmsteads and undertook agricultural activities. The establishment of a strict hierarchical social structure, under Imperial control and administered in urban areas, meant that the importance and contribution that the rural population held within wider society, as producers of food and sources of labour, was diminished. However, new opportunities were also open to this part of society, through the establishment of road networks and points of trade (urban centres, ports). The dichotomy created between urban and rural areas likely narrowed the focus of post-*oppidum* society to specific points in the territorial *oppida* zones (e.g. towns) as important places within the wider landscape.

7.4 Conclusions

Social practices associated with the various 'functions' of territorial oppida included agriculture (**7.2.2**), metalworking (**7.2.3**-**7.2.4**), areas of burial (**7.2.4**) and cross Channel trade (**7.2.5**). Through a comparison between the evidence for each function within a number of *oppida* it is apparent that each of these social practices was influenced by pre-existing MIA traditions and through the movement of 'people' and ideas, both within Britain and from the Continent. Moreover, these 'functions', through the interaction between 'people' and 'groups' within *oppidum* zones, contributed to the social structure of territorial *oppida* and how this structure developed over time.

Past interpretations of the social structures of territorial *oppida* have been considered as purely hierarchical, influenced by an 'elite' social 'group' and changing into a 'client kingdom' that was closely aligned and strongly influenced by the Roman Empire. Difficulties with this interpretation (**7.3.2**) and an understanding of how social structures changed from the MIA to LIA (**7.3.3**), indicates that increasing wealth and competition formed a social class system (A7.17). An 'elite' class formed a particular social 'group' whose power was closely aligned with, and contingent upon, wider social networks within and exterior to territorial *oppida* (**7.3.4**). The growth of hierarchical social structures in the ERom period (**7.3.5**) was dependant on the influence of the Roman Empire and, in some instances, the placement of 'elites' in positions of power.

The final chapter of the thesis draws together the comparative evidence for function and social structure, as discussed above, to provide a narrative of social change for territorial *oppida*; from the MIA to ERom period. This chapter also demonstrates the original contribution made by this thesis to our understanding of territorial *oppida* and LIA Britain and in general.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

8.1 Introduction

This chapter integrates the arguments of the preceding chapters to construct a narrative for the transformation of landscape and society across territorial *oppida* from BC 300 to AD 100. This thesis, through an examination of past and current studies of *oppida* (Chapter 2), proposed three central research questions to explore new avenues of research and address gaps in current analysis. They are as follows:

- What were the function(s) of territorial *oppida*?
- How did the social structure of territorial *oppida* transform over time?
- How do territorial *oppida* relate to the wider physical and social landscape over time?

In order to achieve answers to these questions, it was necessary to frame the research into territorial *oppida* within the theoretical approaches of Iron Age and Roman studies in Britain. An examination of the most recent of these theoretical frameworks has shown them to have a number of close parallels, which can be usefully applied to the LIA/ERom transition (**3.2**). In particular, the combination of practice theory (structuration) (**3.3**) and experiential methods (**3.4**), has allowed the creation of a theoretical approach in the present research that studies territorial *oppida* on multiple social scales (people, groups, regions) (**3.5**), through the exploration of multiple scales of evidence (find, site, landscape) (**4.4**). The method within this thesis combined both quantitative (HER, PAS) and qualitative (Viewshed analysis, labour estimates) datasets (**4.2**-**4.5**), to provide a holistic study of the Iron Age and ERom periods in south-east Britain.

A detailed examination of two case studies (Chapters 5, 6), at the ETOZ (centred on Camulodunum) and WSTOZ (centre on Chichester), and cross-comparison with similar examples, both in Britain and on the Continent, has resolved two of the three research questions above. This analysis re-examined the multiple 'functions' of territorial *oppida*, from both a practical and social perspective (**7.2**), and provides a critique and reanalysis of the nature of social structure within LIA territorial *oppida* society (**7.3**). The third research question is addressed below (**8.2**), presenting a new narrative of social change for territorial *oppida*. As stressed by Moore (2006, 214), the term 'narrative' is a shifting one, used in this thesis to illustrate the complexity of

social structures within territorial *oppida*, which is intensified by regional differentiation.

The following section (**8.2**) outlines a concluding narrative of the relationship, over time, between territorial *oppida* and the physical and social landscape in which they are situated. This narrative discusses the origins of territorial *oppida* in the MIA (**8.2.1**), how they operated in the LIA (**8.2.2**) and the outcomes of these settlements in the post-conquest period (**8.2.3**), revealing a number of ways in which this thesis contributes to a new understanding of territorial *oppida* and LIA south-east Britain (**8.3**).

This account highlights five interconnected themes, each representing significant contributions to our knowledge of territorial *oppida* and the LIA in general. These themes can be defined as; data, scale, practice, time and society. In this thesis the relationship between these themes is understood as data framing the examination of time, practice and scale in order to understand territorial *oppidum* society (A8.1). A full discussion of the implications of each of these themes is undertaken for the theoretical and methodological examination of territorial *oppida* (**8.4**), leading to recommendations for future research (**8.5**).

8.2 Social change in Territorial *Oppida*

8.2.1 The origins of *oppida* in the Middle Iron Age

An examination of territorial *oppida* over time has allowed the investigation of the origins of these settlements in the MIA. Past interpretation of *oppida* has suggested that they originated on the "margins of pre-existing concentrations of settlement" (Hill 1995a, 70) in areas where there was little evidence for dense occupation in the preceding centuries (Haselgrove 1976, 40–43; Hill 2007, 23). Despite this interpretation, the origins of territorial *oppida* have often been considered as representing important locations in the wider landscape (**2.3.2**, **2.4.3**). These interpretations includes the position of territorial oppida in unoccupied areas considered suitable for the establishment of trading centres (Haselgrove 1976, 40–41) or neutral locations for the periodic meetings of social groups, used to further facilitate social connections (Haselgrove 2000, 106; Millett 1990, 25–6). Furthermore, the association between the location of territorial *oppida* and watery places in the landscape (at Verlamion and Stanwick) has been argued to represent the positioning of these sites in areas that held ritual significance, located between natural or cultural boundaries (Haselgrove and Millett 1997, 284–5). It has been argued that the ritual/communal significance of these locations later led to the establishment of elite

residences to establish power and concurrently provided the origins for *oppida* (Haselgrove and Millett 1997, 285).

Within this thesis close examination of new data for the ETOZ and WSTOZ has established the presence of dispersed MIA communities, defined by farmsteads that spread across each of the case study areas. Although not densely populated, the available evidence suggests a thriving communally-organised society existed in each area, strongly associated with a growing agricultural economy. While social differentiation, both in wealth and status, was likely the case for these 'groups', they were broadly egalitarian and propagated agricultural activities, in some cases providing a surplus (**7.3.3**). These communities were characterised by broadly communal identities, illustrated through co-operative practices such as shared labour and collective ritual practice (structured deposition). Multi-scale analysis has illustrated that these communities fashioned important locations in the pre-*oppidum* landscape and interlinked areas of occupation for increased community connection. Within the WSTOZ, places were constructed in the landscape, through shared resources (i.e. labour) and communal efforts, to unite dispersed communities across the wider landscape (**6.4.2**, **6.5.2**). In the ETOZ, the creation of interconnected droveways, the physical manifestations of social 'paths' across the landscape, aided in the creation and maintenance of social connections among the wider community (**5.5.2**). These communities formed the basis for the growth of later social 'groups' in the LIA, providing the society within which the territorial *oppida* of Chichester and Camulodunum were formed. In some instances, farmsteads established in the MIA became the origins and foci for ritual and mortuary activity over time, e.g. Stanway, indicating a direct link between earlier communities and those who occupied the ETOZ (**5.4.3**).

Preliminary evidence from recent investigations of the Bagendon *oppidum* suggests a similar pattern, and though it "may have been used differently from the rest of the Middle Iron Age landscape", it was certainly not completely unoccupied in this period (Moore 2014, 30). While further detailed examination of some territorial *oppida* may also suggest a dispersed MIA presence prior to their foundation, other sites have been extensively investigated and researched (e.g. Verlamion) and current analysis likely reflects the extent, or lack thereof, of occupation in these periods. However, an analysis of some places in territorial *oppida* over time may illustrate that while practices in these locations changed, their overall importance was present throughout. For example, some of the places in the landscapes of the ETOZ and WSTOZ, which were considered important in the LIA (particularly those associated

with watery contexts), were sparsely populated in the MIA. However, this does not suggest that these areas did not hold a deep significance for 'people' and 'groups' in the MIA, but that they appear to have been infrequently visited (insofar as this is visible due to limited archaeological evidence). The social norms of the 'group' in this period may have only allowed access for particular practices (e.g. salt working), due to shared belief systems (e.g. Willis 2007a, 109). The importance of pre-*oppidum* occupation for the foundation of a number of continental *oppida* has been argued by Fernández-Götz (2014), for those located in the Moselle valley (across north-eastern France and south-western Germany). The presence of public spaces linked to assemblies and cult practices in a number of *oppida*, including most famously Titelberg (Fernández-Götz 2014a, 388), has led to the interpretation that these sites were founded on places of ritual significance in the landscape, which had been visited "on a more or less regular basis" prior to the foundation of the *oppida* (Fernández-Götz 2014a, 391). A shared community identity was forged in these significant locations, through interaction and shared ritual practice, leading to processes of centralization in the Iron Age (Fernández-Götz 2014a, 391). Fernández-Götz (2014a, 392–393) argues that the presence of significant shrines or sanctuaries at other continental sites, such as Manching, Bibracte, Gournay or Corent, could also be argued to represent ritual and ceremonial sites as pre-cursors to LIA *oppida*.

What combines each of these interpretations, for Britain and the Continent, is the recognition that places in the landscape, whether natural or cultural in origin (e.g. Bradley 2000), held a significance for both MIA and LIA societies. While different practices may have been undertaken in these places over time, they formed a key role in uniting dispersed 'groups' across 'regions' and forming the origins of society for *oppida* settlement. The range of interpretations for the origins of *oppida,* as discussed above, do not necessarily represent a dichotomy but instead reflect the regional differentiation of these sites and the ways in which the importance of certain places were incorporated into the wider landscape. This was articulated in pre-*oppidum* landscapes as either the meeting of bordering social groups for the creation of social networks (Stanwick), for shared ritual practice (Verulamium, Titelberg) or the creation of rich agricultural systems (WSTOZ, ETOZ). What combines these places and provided the origins for *oppida* is the fact that each 'place' represents the close interaction of 'people' and 'groups', presumably to forge and maintain social networks with others. It is through these social interactions and the close connections that followed, that pre-*oppidum* landscapes gained their importance in the MIA, leading to

the formation of elements of a society which provided the foundation for *oppida* themselves in the LIA.

8.2.2 The Late Iron Age Territorial *Oppida*

The emergence of territorial *oppida* constitutes a single part of a series of social changes occurring in LIA Britain, which formed a distinct horizon from that of the MIA. Despite this division, the communities of LIA *oppida* were heavily influenced by traditions and social practices undertaken in the past (**8.2.1**). While argued by Haselgrove (1995, 87) to form a "superficial" change in this period, i.e. that activities occurring in territorial *oppida* were also occurring elsewhere, this understates the rapid changes occurring in south-east Britain during this period, as reflected in the contemporary changes occurring on the Continent (Barrett *et al.* 2012, 440–441; Haselgrove and Moore 2007a, 2–3). These changes have been in the past framed as simply insular or external in inspiration (Haselgrove and Moore 2007a, 11), however, new interpretations have explored the creation of new identities (on all scales) as the combination of both, forging new social forms and structures in light of influences from both internal and external sources (e.g. Hill 2007). Indeed the current interpretation for the origins of continental *oppida* has been attributed mainly to an internal evolution, but accelerated by contact with the Roman world (e.g. Fernández-Götz 2014a, 383; Fichtl 2005). A long history of archaeological research has led to the continued definition of some territorial *oppida* as centres of "major social and political importance" due to historical and numismatic evidence (Haselgrove 2000, 105). However, an examination of the 'functions' of territorial *oppida,* illustrate how these practical activities were connected with social practices, which together influenced interconnection and a communal identity in these settlements in the LIA (**7.2**).

The agglomeration of 'people' that formed *oppida*, and likely some non-*oppida* sites (Corney 1989; Haselgrove 2000, 107–108; Moore 2012), were the result of the expansion of the existing population, through households having more children and, possibly the, movement of people into these 'regions' from surrounding areas (Hill 2007, 23–24). The agricultural success of territorial *oppida*, illustrated by some of the new data incorporated into this thesis (chapters 5 and 6), continued over time from MIA traditions, attracting new populations and increased means into these settlement types. Agricultural success is evidenced at Chichester (the WSTOZ) in the LIA by the ditched landscape of the coastal plain, represented by the creation of a number of field systems (Hamilton 2007, 87). Other territorial *oppida* drew agricultural resources from surrounding areas or participated in various aspects of the agrarian process, such as grain storage or stock enclosures (**7.2.2**). The presence of agriculture as a

metaphor for wider belief systems (i.e. symbolic actions) is evident on all scales of society in both the ETOZ and WSTOZ and mediated through other 'practical' actions within territorial *oppida*, e.g. craft specialisation. For example, metalworking was present in many but not all territorial *oppida* and was strongly associated with ritual practices, particularly via agricultural metaphors (**7.2.3**) and in watery places. While characteristically 'ritual' and 'domestic' practices were increasingly undertaken in separate areas in the LIA, each illustrated strong connections to both the profound and profane, as well as past traditions (i.e. practices over time), providing places in the landscape where communities aggregated (e.g. Hayling Island temple – WSTOZ; Stanway - ETOZ). Collective identities were forged during these assemblies, illustrated by evidence for large feasts (e.g. animal bones and amphorae assemblages), and forming a single meeting point for both those who permanently lived at territorial *oppida* and those who visited from the surrounding area (Fernández-Götz 2014a, 389–390). A useful comparison may be made with the so-called 'Royal' sites of the Irish Midlands (**2.2.3**), which have been interpreted as ceremonial meeting places, enclosed by large earthwork boundaries and containing evidence for metal deposition and ritual feasting (Hill 1995a, 72). Moore (2012, 413) has argued that the 'Royal' Irish sites share characteristics to the territorial *oppidum* at Bagendon, in the way the surrounding earthworks funnelled the movement of people in particular directions and towards ritual focal points, creating "theatrical and ritualized landscapes of movement". Although territorial *oppida* were not exclusively utilized for this purpose, these events were important in the drawing together of social 'groups' and the definition of the society who occupied *oppida* as a whole.

The formation of *oppida* society was in the part influenced by the emergence of a new social class in LIA territorial *oppida* described above as 'elites'; defined by a desire to use their resources to obtain and use 'luxury items' (imported goods; metalwork) in a number of ways in order to create a 'high-status' group (**7.3.4**). The creation and maintenance of this social organisation was in part responsible for much of the archaeological evidence usually associated with territorial *oppida*, including coinage and high status burial, however, it would be simplistic to consider the evidence as singularly utilised or associated with just an 'elite' social 'group'. Parallel social practices associated with this evidence has been shown in this research to be present on multiple social scales. For example, a complex set of social networks had been established in territorial *oppida* landscapes over time (since the MIA), and in the LIA various 'people' and 'groups' (separate from elites) likely also commissioned, utilized and distributed coinage, as part of ritual practices and to forge/maintain social

connections. It is likely that other 'people' and 'groups' actively took part in newly emerging burial and ritual practices including those directly tied to 'elite' members of society (**7.3.4**). These changing practices occurred alongside other social changes undertaken by 'people' in *oppida* landscapes, such as new structural forms (houses) and attitudes to dining (new pottery forms). While the origins of these social networks lay in the MIA, their complexity evolved through the creation of territorial *oppida* and, through trade, contact with continental 'people' who also became part of these social networks over time.

While the above interpretation has stressed internal forces, we should not overlook the importance of external influences on the social changes occurring within territorial *oppida*. Following the invasions of Caesar in 55 and 54 BC, evidence for growing connections to the Roman Empire over time is visible in various scales of archaeological evidence, such as the growth of imported goods and later the emulation of coin iconography. The use of iconography on coinage to promote new political leaders to wider society has been discussed above (**7.3.4**) and the quantities of imported goods have been argued to represent a symbolic rather than economic difference to territorial *oppida* and south-east Britain in general (Willis 1994, 17). The use of new data indicates that some social changes were facilitated by the movement of ideas, along with imported goods, which influenced the introduction of new mortuary and ritual practices in some areas (e.g. Hamilton 2007). However, these ideas were framed by 'people' and 'groups' in these settlements within the traditions and social practices established in the MIA and altered over time. The movement of goods (pottery, metalwork, food) was likely facilitated through pre-existing links, whether familial or through gift exchange, across the channel to Gaul (Hill 2007, 17). While there is limited evidence that the Roman Empire had any political authority over society in south-east England, there was contact between the 'people' and 'groups' who occupied territorial *oppida* and other areas in Britain and on the Continent.

8.2.3 Outcomes for *oppida* in the post conquest period

Recent accounts have stressed the importance of territorial *oppida* for the development of social and political models of interaction between the indigenous population and the Roman Empire (e.g. Creighton 2000, 2006). However there has been little discussion of their role over time, i.e. in the years following the Claudian invasion of AD43 "before the settlements either ceased to be occupied or became more fully integrated into Roman provincial infrastructure" (Pitts 2010, 34). While the events of the invasion itself are disputed, particularly the landing site of the Roman army (e.g. Hind 1989; Manley 2002), examination of new data for British territorial

oppida indicates that these settlements and *oppida* society had diverging trajectories following the imposition of Roman rule. The outcomes of *oppida* deviated between the transfer of control to the Roman military (e.g. Camulodunum), the formation of urban centres and villa estates (e.g. Chichester, Silchester, Bagendon) and complete abandonment. An examination of the different scales of society who occupied territorial *oppida* following the invasion (i.e. 'people' and 'groups') reflects the diverging response to Roman Imperial control from resistance to co-operation to capitulation.

The domination of the Roman Empire over the local populace, and the violence that inevitably formed part of this interaction (Mattingly 2006, 91–92), is best illustrated at Camulodunum (ETOZ), with the establishment of the legionary fortress and an auxiliary fortlet (**5.3.4**). Although evidence for violence is difficult to determine (e.g. James 2007), the human remains of six people were uncovered in the Legionary fort ditch, the majority of which were pieces of cranium (Crummy 1984, 94–5), possibly indicates violence by the military forces towards the indigenous society. The presence of the military was represented as a collective, by a complex and diverse social 'group' (soldiers from different countries, families, traders), which likely had low levels of interaction with the local population following initial subjugation and limited resistance (**5.6**). The establishment of the *colonia* in the centre of the *oppidum* zone saw the continued diversification of this social 'group', through the attraction of veterans to this area (**5.3.4**), and likely led to the continuation of hostilities felt in the immediate aftermath of the Claudian invasion, as illustrated by the Boudican Revolt of AD60/61. The evidence for indigenous resistance at territorial *oppida* is mostly illustrated by non-compliance, i.e. the refusal to use or exploit the consequences of Imperial power or to partake in new practices introduced by their representatives. Examining larger scales of evidence, the construction of the road network, in both the WSTOZ and ETOZ, may have been considered a symbol of oppression, used to extract taxation and patrolled by those who may abuse the indigenous population (i.e. the military). Initially causing considerable disruption to rural 'people' and 'groups' (Rudling 2003a, 114), and altering the experience of the landscape, some 'people' may have purposefully avoided these routes to avoid abuse or points of control (Given 2004, 56). More simplistic methods of resistance may be evident in the refusal to adopt (as perceived by indigenous 'people') 'Roman' ways of living, with 'people' instead content to continue the routine practices established in the LIA, e.g. rural farmsteads (**6.4.4**).

The capitulation or co-operation of some indigenous social 'groups' with incoming 'groups' from the Continent is evidenced, over time, through the adoption of forms of living typical in parts of the Roman Empire, and the use of newly introduced Imperial technologies. This could be as simple as the use of road networks or trade with these new social 'groups'. The indigenous population at Sheepen in the ETOZ initially co-operated with the military and later flourished under the opportunities afforded by the creation of the *colonia* (**5.4.4**). However, some territorial *oppida* also saw conspicuous changes in practices and manners of living to adopt habits and styles present in Gaul and Italy. The early adoption of villa structures, visible within Chichester (WSTOZ) and at Bagendon (Trow *et al.* 2009), imply more than a simplistic acceptance of 'Roman' ways of living, themselves originating among a variety of social 'groups' (**6.3.4**). Within the WSTOZ the growth of some 1st and 2nd century AD villa estates from pre-existing LIA farmsteads (e.g. Chilgrove, Watergate Hanger, Bignor), demonstrates the manner in which some family 'groups' displayed their prosperity derived from agriculture (Hingley 1989, 159). Furthermore, other 'groups' adopted an urban lifestyle, developing over time as a single collective 'group' from the amalgamation of a number of identities, including foreign (military, craftsman) and local 'people' (**6.4.4**). Part of the emergence of urban societies may have occurred in the manner in which 'people' were living prior to the invasion (e.g. Silchester), but the ideological consequences of living an urban lifestyle grew and developed through direct contact with, and control by the Empire. The recognition of similar types of social practices undertaken by the indigenous population, referred to above as 'elites' (**7.3.4**), may have been recognised by the incoming Roman administration and such 'people' were consequently chosen to fulfil the responsibilities of this 'class' through increased power over *oppida* society.

Despite these important and recognisable changes within the *oppida* in the post-conquest period, it is important to note that changes in other social practices, particularly those associated with mortuary and ritual activities, were subtler and occurred over a lengthier period of time. Pre-existing sites of veneration in the LIA landscape, (i.e. Gosbecks, Sheepen - ETOZ, Hayling Island - WSTOZ, the marshy Ver valley - Verlamion) continued their relative importance in the post-conquest period, albeit altered to incorporate new ideas of ritual practice and potentially a new social 'group', which was not indigenous to the area. While the relative importance of these places in the landscape was still felt on multiple social scales (e.g. 'people', 'groups', *oppida* society), close examination of the rituals undertaken at a small-scale indicates that social practices were reformulated in light of new 'people' and new

ideas. This is evident in the types of material deposited as part of ritual practices at Hayling Island temple, with post-conquest finds representing a more 'domestic' assemblage (King and Soffe 2008, 141). However, despite these changes the rites undertaken at the temple over time were closely connected to those rites undertaken prior to the conquest, evident in the continued location of deposited materials in the south-eastern corner of the temple courtyard (**6.3.4**). The amalgamation of ritual practices from both the indigenous population and new 'people' into the post-*oppidum* landscape were apparent on multiple social scales and illustrate the fluid structure of society in some *oppida* zones in the post-conquest period.

The examination of data for the post-conquest period in territorial *oppida* illustrates a variety of outcomes following the Claudian invasion of Britain. Rather than representing a single consistent Imperial policy, the visible regional differentiation between *oppida* zones led to varying responses by the Roman Principate. The willingness of some *oppida* societies to capitulate to the Roman military, or the social and economic importance of some settlements, may have determined policies of Imperial dominance (or lack thereof) in some areas but not others. This disparity is visible on all scales of *oppida* society and social practice, on a personal, group and regional level was transformed in light of the introduction of the Roman Empire and new 'people' to these 'regions'. The examination of different scales of society demonstrates the varying degrees to which practices originating from the Roman Empire were taken up, discarded or changed by local actors in the 1st century AD. The adoption of routines originating in the Roman Empire further emerged in post-*oppida* landscapes over time, influenced by wider societal changes and the emergence of hybrid forms of practice of both indigenous and foreign origins.

8.3 New contributions to the understanding of Territorial *oppida* and the Late Iron Age

The construction of a new narrative for social change has allowed the understanding of how and why territorial *oppida* society changed over time. In the MIA, the use of pre-*oppida* landscapes as places of interaction between 'people' and 'groups', forged and maintained social relations with others and provided the origins for these settlements (**8.2.1**). Territorial *oppida* emerged in the LIA, defined by the construction of monumental linear earthwork systems, and influenced by both pre-existing tradition and external forces. Through the development of new social practices, particularly communal and ritual practice, the significance of territorial *oppida* grew and was maintained over time (**8.2.2**). The post-conquest period saw the continued

introduction of new ‘people’ and ‘groups’ into post-*oppida* landscapes, changing the social structure of these ‘regions’ and consequently leading to divergent responses to Imperial control (**8.2.3**).

This thesis has rewritten our understanding of the territorial *oppida* in the Iron Age and Roman period in a number of ways. The following ten points reflect each of the social scales of *oppidum* society (people, groups, regions) and chronological periods (MIA, LIA, ERom) examined within this thesis, to demonstrate how this research has expanded our understanding of the changes occurring within *oppidum* society.

- The specific status and identity of some MIA ‘people’ was amplified by the ability to forge and maintain novel social networks among ‘groups’ and consequently organise labour for communal projects.
- The origins of territorial *oppida* were influenced physically, socially and politically, by the interaction between, and social structure of, heterarchical MIA ‘groups’.
- The social actions (domestic, ritual) of MIA ‘groups’ across pre-*oppidum* landscapes were key in unifying dispersed communities and providing the origins for LIA territorial *oppidum* society.
- In the LIA, elite identities emerged in a recursive fashion as ‘people’ differentiating themselves (through material goods, iconography, rituals and burials) from the rest of *oppidum* society.
- Despite the presence of an elite class, the social structure of territorial *oppida* was not as hierarchical as previously understood.
- The construction and maintenance of linear earthwork systems defining territorial *oppida* transformed both the physical and social landscape and accordingly was of benefit to the *oppidum* community as a whole.
- The occupants of territorial *oppidum* zones had diverse identities but formed an integrated community through shared social interaction and ritual action.
- Post-*oppidum* zones were occupied by a diverse collection of personal identities from both Britain and the Continent (i.e. Roman military, military families, traders).
- Indigenous social ‘groups’ in areas that supplanted territorial *oppida* reacted differently to the Roman Imperial structure (i.e. collaboration, submission, rebellion, indifference).
- In the post-conquest period social ‘groups’ from the Roman Empire reformed and, in some cases appropriated, meaning-laden *oppidum* landscapes to

fulfil different needs, while not replacing its overall physical and social structure (i.e. persistence of linear earthwork systems and places of ritual importance, continuation of similar agriculture and farmsteads).

8.4 Impact on the theoretical and methodological consideration of territorial *oppida*

8.4.1 Data

The use of new types of data, particularly the results of developer-funded archaeological investigations, has allowed the extension and re-evaluation of existing research on territorial *oppida*. Moreover, this thesis has examined, for the first time, developer-funded archaeological data for each case study area at a landscape scale. While the use of developer-funded data is not completely original within the discussion of territorial *oppida* in Britain (cf. Verlamion - Thompson 2005), this research has synthesised the results from unpublished grey literature with existing and published research in order to greater understand two particular *oppida*, Camulodunum (ETOZ - Chapter 5) and Chichester (WSTOZ - Chapter 6). These case studies were chosen as they have been considered a main example but with limited new interpretation (**4.6.2**) or require further examination, having been treated previously as peripheral to the study of territorial *oppida* (**4.6.3**). While the use of developer-funded grey literature represents an imperfect dataset (e.g. a lack of theoretical underpinning, an incomplete resource - **4.2**), its amalgamation within a rigorous theoretical research framework, and as part of a larger corpus of knowledge, allows us to overcome these issues and utilise this information, which is in some cases the best and only source of knowledge for unpublished but important archaeological sites within territorial *oppida.* In particular, unpublished resources have been useful in identifying a number of MIA areas of occupation within *oppida* zones, leading to a greater understanding of the origin of this settlement type (**8.2.1**).

8.4.2 Scale

The range of data in this thesis occurs at multiple scales of evidence (find, site, landscape), but also reflects the different scales of society that can be identified within *oppidum* society. The large-scale nature of territorial *oppida* (**2.2.2**), is suited to the examination of these settlements on multiple scales, and the development of a multi-scale method and theoretical approach has been utilised to investigate the complexities of identity on multiple layers of society. A combined theoretical perspective (**3.5.2**), incorporating elements of both approaches to themes of identity and landscape, has allowed the examination of evidence for three scales of society;

personal identity (‘people’), group identity (‘groups’) and experiential understandings of landscapes (‘regions’). Iron Age and Roman studies have tended to stress the individual as the active agent in social practice, however, this thesis has developed an technique which explicitly acts simultaneously on a micro and macro scale, linking the “individual agent” to the “regional and inter-regional” (Haselgrove and Moore 2007a, 3 - 4.5.2). This research links what actions ‘people’ took on a day-to-day basis, to the social ‘groups’ they belonged to and, in turn, the wider social structure of the territorial *oppidum*.

8.4.3 Practice

In order to understand the multiple scales of society within territorial *oppida*, we require the holistic examination of practice in mediating structure and agency. Giddens (1984, 139–144) explicitly argues against the dichotomy between micro and macro level studies in favour of an integrated approach. In this research, an integrated approach is accomplished through the specific consideration of agency and structure on each societal scale while considering personal and collective practices as closely interrelated. The use of practice theory in particular has illustrated how we can understand societies on multiple levels, reflecting more accurately the different ‘people’ and ‘groups’ who encompassed them. Furthermore, this thesis considers the evidence for ‘domestic’ (or practical) and ‘ritual’ (or symbolic) practices as reflective of a single integrated understanding of human agency and structure within territorial *oppida*. This multi-scalar technique has been conceptualised through an understanding of the evidence available to us, in order to draw together successful facets of different theoretical perspectives (e.g. material studies in identity theory, place studies in landscape theory) within a single method. This approach allows the consideration of the ‘function’ of *oppida* (**7.2.1**), but also provides a greater understanding of the interpretation of so-called ‘natural’ locations of the landscape (e.g. Bradley 2000). These important places in the landscape have been identified in many *oppida* (Bryant 2007, 77; Fulford and Timby 2000, 555; Haselgrove *et al.* 1990, 2; Hunn 1992, 58; Moore 2012, 409), particularly in relation to watery places (Haselgrove and Millett 1997, 284; Haselgrove 2000, 106; Willis 2007a, 119–123), and are interpreted in this research as socially significant ‘locales’ associated with both practical and symbolic actions (**8.2**).

8.4.4 Time

Within this research the examination of practice is framed with a consideration of time; by which I mean the identification of long term social changes associated with the ‘people’ and ‘groups’ who occupied territorial *oppida*. While current chronological

frameworks (**3.5.5**) and the results of developer-funded archaeological excavation (**4.3**) have created a segmented and/or divisive understanding of the Iron Age and Roman periods, this research shows how social practices undertaken by 'people' and 'groups' in these settlements were subject to change over time. Despite recent attempts to overcome chronological difficulties (e.g. Hamilton *et al.* 2015), establishing chronological sequences within each period in this research provided some challenges (**4.3**). In particular, the pursuance of different societal scales and chronological depth within this research required the description and interpretation of archaeological remains within distinct blocks in each case study. Despite these difficulties, the identification of evidence for the variation of practices over time has allowed the illustration of the changing relationship of 'people' who lived in the *oppidum* zones to important places within the landscape. An understanding of how we currently perceive territorial *oppida* and the LIA from varying academic perspectives (i.e. Iron Age and Roman studies) was vital to interpret these practices in a proper context (**3.2**). Considering issues of temporality has been important to gain a wider perspective on the changes occurring within territorial *oppida*, such as identifying the origins of these settlements in the MIA and charting the social transformations occurring within *oppida* up to and beyond the Claudian conquest of Britain. As a companion to the multi-scalar analysis discussed above, the consideration of time allows the understanding of *oppida* across time and space and on all levels of society.

8.4.5 Society

An understanding of the territorial *oppida* society within this research constitutes the examination of all 'people' and 'groups' who occupy these 'regions'. As discussed above (**7.3**), previous research on territorial *oppida* has focused on 'elite' members of society as motivators for social change, partly due to the evidence for this social 'group' in the archaeological record (high status burials). While recognising the evidence for this social 'group', this thesis has focused on the evidence (or data) for all 'people' who occupied territorial *oppida*, to identify, from the 'bottom-up', the different facets of social structure in these settlements and obtain a closer understanding of how society was formed. This holistic approach to *oppida* society has been accomplished in part by analysing the different and parallel practices (e.g. domestic burial, ritual) undertaken by 'people' and 'groups' within territorial *oppida*, but also how different scales of society affected, and were affected by, other social scales. Examining the changes in social structure of *oppida* over time has allowed us to understand how and why particular social networks were formed and how they

were affected by the Claudian conquest of Britain. Moreover, the understanding of wider *oppida* landscapes as "dynamic elements of the social environment" (Haselgrove and Moore 2007a, 5) in their own right, has allowed us to link what we have come to understand as *oppidum* society to our understanding of social changes in LIA south-east Britain as a whole.

8.5 Critical Reflections

8.5.1 Introduction

Although this thesis has been successful in providing significant contributions to our knowledge of territorial *oppida* and the LIA (**8.3**), it is important to critically reflect on the methodological and theoretical approach (chapters 3 and 4) to ensure the rigorousness of the interpretations reached. The following critical analysis addresses the usefulness of interpreting the evidence based on three social scales (people, groups, regions) and the variability between the quality of data used and its distribution across the case study areas.

8.5.1 'People', 'Groups' and 'Regions'

The assessment of the archaeological evidence for each of the case studies under three different sociological scales (i.e. people, groups, regions) has been important in reaching a more complex understanding of the social structure of territorial *oppida*. This understanding has been achieved by examining the archaeological evidence from multiple perspectives (cf. Gardner 2013, 10; Haselgrove and Moore 2007a, 3) and thus identifying the multiple layers of identity present within territorial *oppidum* society. Furthermore, by structuring this analysis to examining social scales 'from the bottom-up' (e.g. people to groups to regions), this thesis has successfully forged a more balanced understanding of LIA society, in contrast to many approaches that have focused predominantly on the 'elite' at the expense of others (e.g. Creighton 2000, 2006).

While this theoretical approach has allowed a comprehensive understanding of social change within territorial *oppida*, it has had the additional effect of compartmentalising the social structure of these settlements into discrete entities. This approach was necessary to ensure that each social scale was specifically addressed, however, it has led to the consideration of these scale in isolation within this thesis, providing a disjointed and, in places, repetitive narrative. In hindsight, the initial examination of the definition and identification of each of the sociological scales (**3.5.3**), reinforced the separate categorisation of these societal elements when examining the

archaeological evidence for each case study area. The limitations of this approach are best exemplified on a site by site basis, where the discussion of the artefacts recovered from a given site, are separated from a consideration of its structure and, consequently, its wider landscape context. A more successful and integrated understanding of these different scales of society is apparent in the author's use of this multi-scalar approach in the examination of individual sites (e.g. Garland 2016a, 2016b). It may be that a modified methodological approach is warranted on larger case study areas, such as those discussed within this thesis.

In a methodological sense, the range of archaeological evidence (i.e. find, site, landscape) was appreciable at each societal scale within the case study areas. The interpretation of this evidence and how it crosses each social scale can be seen in the movement of individuals (people) within sites and across *oppidum* landscapes (e.g. **6.3.3**) or the use of specific types of finds to understand and identify group identity (e.g. **6.4.3**). Nonetheless, as the consideration of the three societal scales was divided, so too was the description and interpretation of the evidence for each, consequently separating the discussion of the physical evidence for a particular site across three different sections. This separation of these interpretations, both across three social scales and three temporal periods, required the use of detailed summaries at the end of each section of analysis, in order to draw together the results into a single narrative. Within this research, it was only when a joint narrative was explored for the combination of a societal scale, or for the case study as a whole, that the overall social structure of the *oppidum* could be appreciated, rather than as a disjointed account.

This use of detailed summaries, in combination with the breadth of the archaeological evidence for each of the three chronological periods (MIA, LIA, ERom), had the consequence of limiting the number of case studies that could be effectively examined in detail within this research. However, this limitation, has been mitigated somewhat by the availability of recent high quality research from comparable *oppida* sites in Britain and on the Continent (e.g. Fernández-Götz 2014a; Haselgrove 2016; Moore 2012 - chapter 7). While every attempt was made in this thesis to provide a holistic analysis of territorial *oppida*, we must always operate within some boundaries, whether they be theoretical or methodological in making.

8.5.2 Developer funded data and the Portable Antiquities Scheme

The examination of territorial *oppida* within this thesis greatly benefited from the application of new sources of data, predominately that derived from developer-funded

archaeological investigations and the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS). The effect of this new information is particularly apparent in the use of a number of key unpublished sites to reinforce our understanding of territorial *oppida* over time. For example, the consideration of the origins of the territorial *oppidum* at Chichester (WSTOZ) has greatly benefited from the investigation of the MIA settlement at Chalkpit Lane, Lavant (Kenny 1993), albeit limited in scope, along with more detailed published sites, such as the MIA settlement at Westhampett (Fitzpatrick *et al.* 2008, 149–158). The use of a quality index in this thesis has also been influential in the weighting afforded to particular sites within each case study area. As discussed above (**4.5.3**), sites with a higher quality index (e.g. Stanway – ETOZ, Westhampnett – WSTOZ) were given greater weighting, while sites of a lesser quality were used to confirm or refute the interpretations garnered from more detailed sources. Mapping of the distribution of the site quality within each database has allowed the interrogation of the potential bias in this data and the effect that this approach has had on the interpretation for each case study area (A8.2, A8.3).

For both case studies, the clustering of high quality sites (ranked 1 and 2) have focused on the areas underneath modern day Colchester and Chichester. The distribution of these sites, as discussed in the methodology chapter (**4.6.2**, **4.6.3**), reflect both the extent of modern development in each area and the high quality information produced from developer-funded archaeological investigations. While it could be argued that it is unsurprising that a larger quantity of sites are located in the 'central' areas of each *oppidum* (i.e. that confined with the linear earthwork system), this view has been coloured by an understanding of the available data. As demonstrated for each case study area, a number of high quality sites representing LIA and Roman activity have been uncovered beyond the usual 'centres' of occupation (e.g. Stanway – ETOZ, Hayling Island – WSTOZ) and consequently it is probable that the clustering of sites in the centre of these *oppida* reflect the extent of archaeological investigation in each area. It is possible that future development in other areas across the *oppidum* zones may reveal further archaeological information, excavated to a modern standard, and allow a clearer understanding of the distribution of occupation across these landscapes.

While the sites ranked as quality rating 3 appear to reflect, in most instances, the distribution of higher ranked sites, the bulk of the data for each case study was represented by the lower quality sites (ranked 4 and 5). For each case study area, a large collection of quality 4 sites reflects the impact that the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS) has had on the quantity of information within each area. This

information, although recovered predominantly via metal detecting and therefore seldom recovered from its original context, has demonstrated the dispersed pattern of activity across these landscapes in the Iron Age and early Roman periods and supports the assertion that the majority of the area within each *oppidum* were occupied in one fashion or another. It should be noted that the Celtic Coins Index, compiled at the University of Oxford, now forms part of the PAS database and reflects a large number of the available entries of quality 4 sites (University of Oxford 2016). This information is useful in assessing the distribution of Iron Age coinage across each *oppidum* and further research into this material may provide a more detailed understanding of the connections between *oppida* through the movement of people and goods.

The lowest quality sites (ranked 5) represent, in each *oppidum* zone, a large number of earthworks that have been identified, usually through aerial survey, but have received little attention through archaeological investigation. Specific regional differentiation is evident for the distribution of these ranked sites in each case study area, with the clusters of earthworks surrounding the LIA centre in the ETOZ, and a number of Iron Age and Roman enclosure sites present on the South Downs in the WSTOZ. In the ETOZ these sites are represented by the LIA earthwork systems to the west of the modern town. These earthworks are protected as scheduled monuments and have thereby received little attention (apart from piecemeal excavation) apart from their recognition as physical earthworks on the ground or as cropmarks in aerial photographs. The sites in the WSTOZ are represented by a number of earthwork enclosures of the South Downs that share a similar protected status, however, this area of the landscape is also relatively undeveloped, leaving limited opportunity or resources to better investigate the area. The distribution of sites of this quality within each case study area demonstrates the need to make regional considerations in the understanding of the available evidence.

The above analysis has provided an examination of the relationship between the variability of quality and the distribution of sites across each case study area, and has therefore provided support to the validity of the interpretations within this research. This analysis has also reinforced the detailed examination of each case study area, as undertaken in the methodology chapter (**4.6.2**, **4.6.3**), by placing the interpretations of the archaeological evidence within the wider context of both the physical attributes of these landscapes and the research into the archaeological understanding of each *oppidum* zone in the Iron Age and Roman periods.

8.6 Recommendations for Further Work

The understanding of territorial *oppida* has, in this thesis, greatly benefited from the application of new sources of data, predominately developer-funded archaeological projects and the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS) database. Future work on the case studies presented here, as well as other territorial *oppida* across Britain, require the continued gathering of these sources as they are generated. An influx of data would allow the interpretations outlined above to be refined, supplemented or discarded as required. However, in a period of political and economic uncertainty, this may prove problematic, with recent budget cuts affecting even the ever popular PAS (Kennedy 2015). While the potential growth of developer-funded archaeological projects is illustrated by the commissioning of large infrastructure projects in recent years (Planning Inspectorate n.d.), the recent Brexit referendum vote has also led to a reduction in house construction (BBC News 2016). Furthermore, the cuts to local authority budgets in recent years, as a result of a period of austerity, have been particularly damaging to local heritage services, including HERs, potentially affecting the availability of new data for research (Historic England 2015c). Despite these problems, the quality of archaeological field methods continues to increase, particularly in relation to dating techniques (e.g. Bayesian modelling - Hamilton *et al.* 2015), and consequently any future excavations, however few in number, will only add to our interpretation of these settlements and periods.

The results of this thesis provide a theoretical and methodological framework for the consideration of other territorial *oppida* in Britain and similar sites on the Continent. A number of recent projects have aimed to further understand selected territorial *oppida* in Britain (e.g. the Silchester Town Life Project, the Bagendon Project) and the results of these projects, along with recent publications (e.g. Stanwick - Haselgrove 2016) provide a number of new datasets that could undergo a similar analysis to that undertaken within this thesis. Furthermore, the use of non-intrusive techniques such as large-scale geophysical survey (e.g. the Silchester Mapping Project), could be augmented for the further analysis of Camulodunum and Chichester, despite extensive development in these areas (**4.6**). The 'Sensing the Iron Age and Roman Past: Geophysics and the Landscape of Hertfordshire' project (Lockyear 2016) has demonstrated the vast scale at which geophysical survey can be accomplished, providing a linked landscape perspective to the Iron Age and Roman periods. The comparable geographic position and landscape-scale of some *oppida* on the Continent (**2.2.3**), illustrates the applicability of the approach developed in this thesis for those sites beyond the confines of Britain. This could potentially include the *oppida*

at Bourges (Augier *et al.* 2007; The University of Edinburgh 2016), which, despite being earlier in date (500BC), has undergone recent analysis and displays similar evidence to that of territorial *oppida* (funerary monuments, agriculture, workshops). Furthermore, recent examinations of settlement dynamics in LIA Eastern Iberia, has highlighted that the formation of *oppida* helped create new communal identities across these landscapes (Grau Mira 2016). Similar datasets from this region may provide a greater understanding of the communal forms of Iron Age society to distinct topographies on the Continent, particularly on a landscape-scale. Comparative sites from the Britain and the Continent demonstrate the potential for the framework developed through this thesis to be utilised for the understanding of *oppida* elsewhere in Britain and beyond.

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Territorial *Oppida* and the transformation of landscape and society in south-eastern Britain from BC 300 to 100 AD.

By

Nicky Jonathan Garland

Volume 2: Appendices

A thesis submitted for the degree of PhD

Institute of Archaeology, UCL

2016

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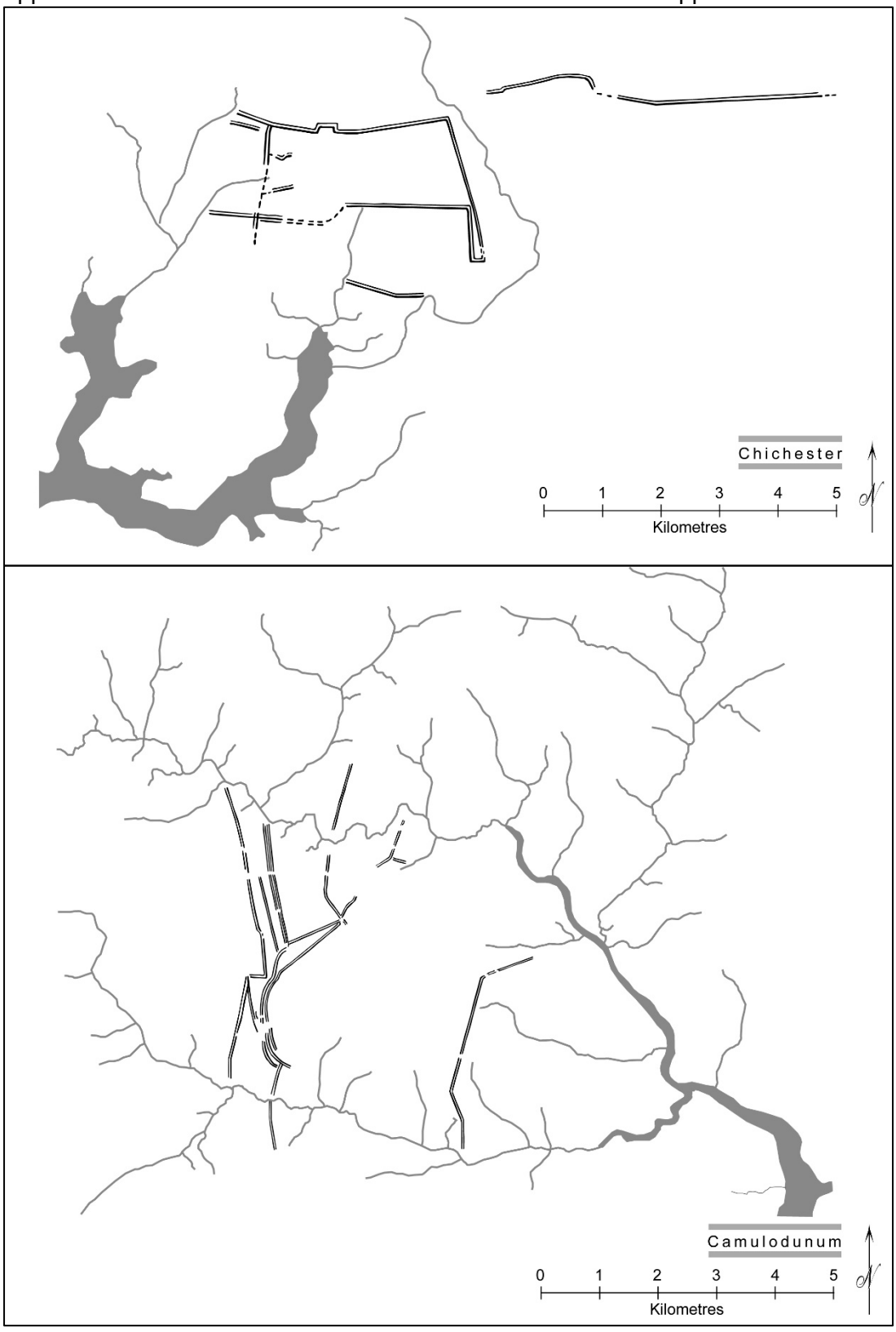
Appendix 1: Introduction

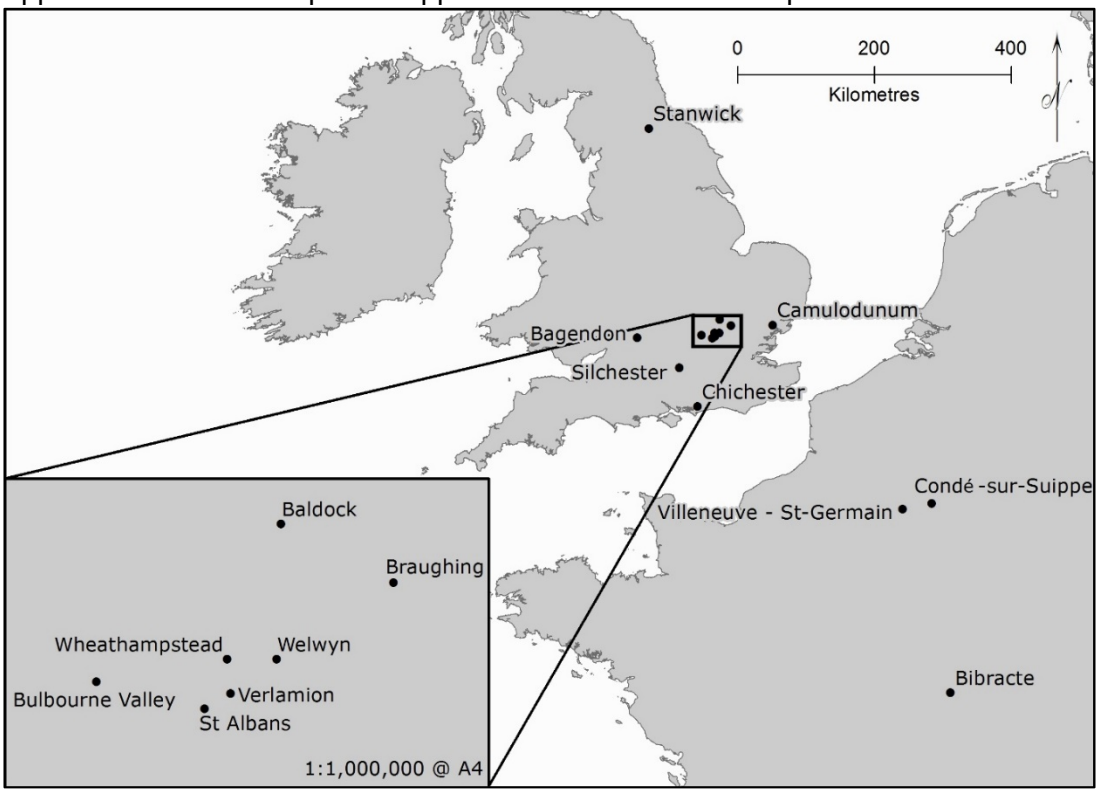
Appendix 1.1: Plan of Camulodunum and Chichester territorial oppida



Appendix 1.2: Location plan of Territorial *oppida* in Britain

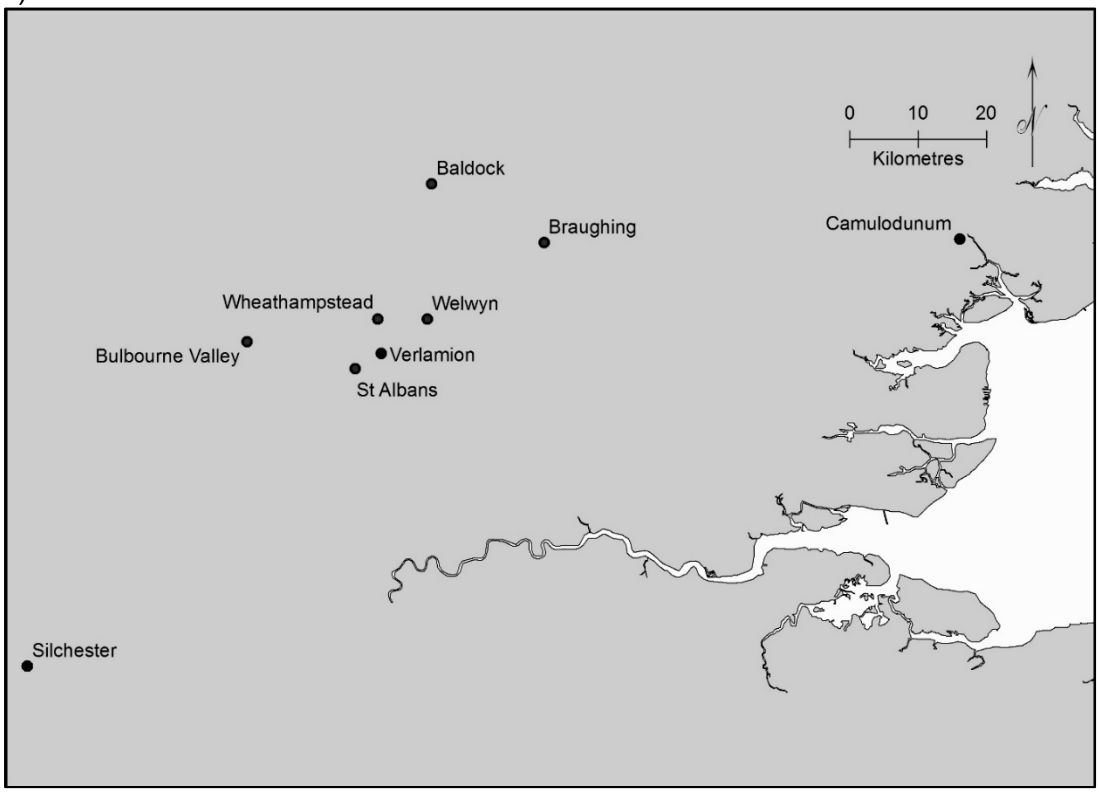
Appendix 2: Territorial *Oppida*

Appendix 2.1: Location plan of oppida sites discussed in chapter

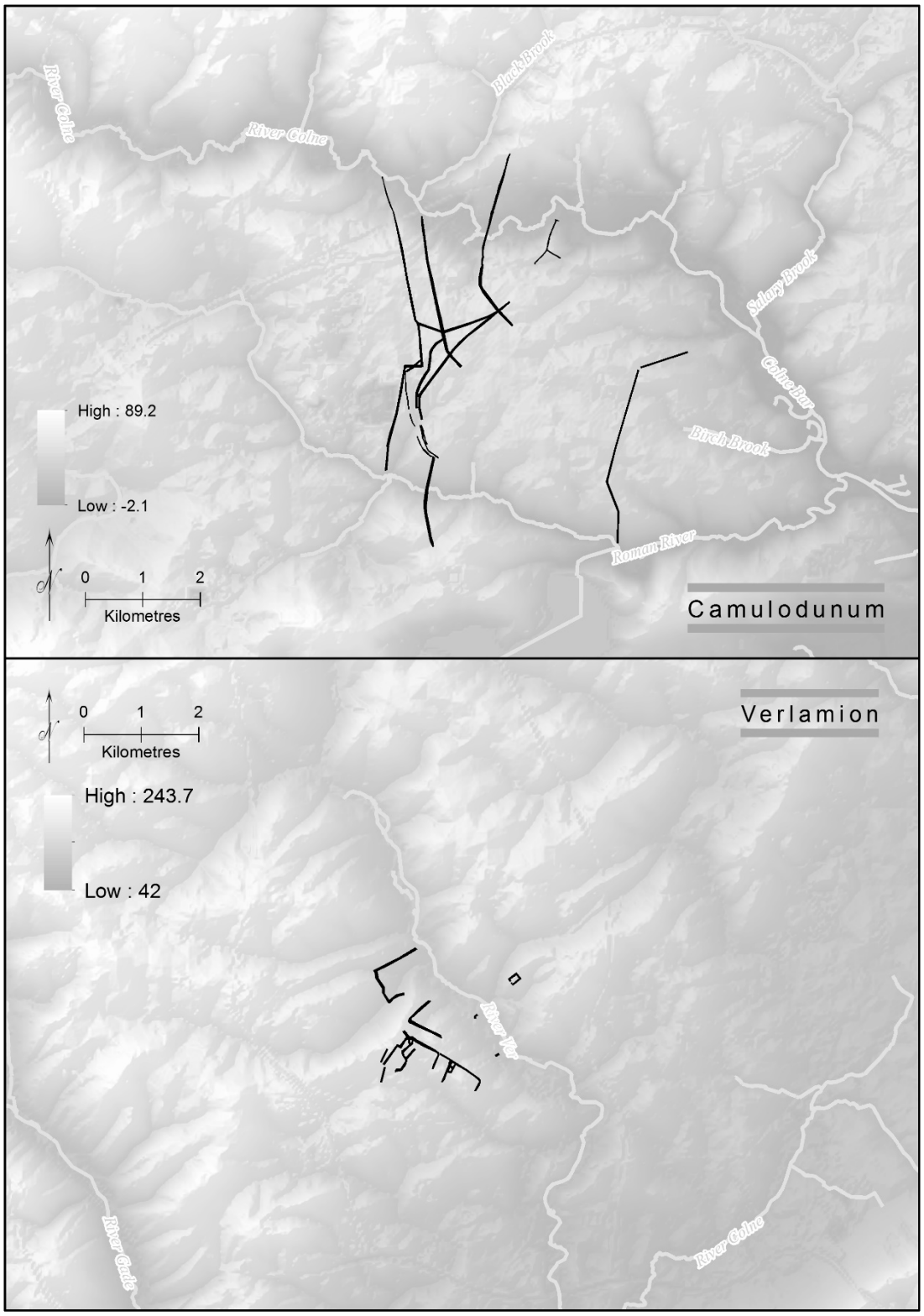


Appendix 2.2: Plans of Territorial oppida discussed in chapter

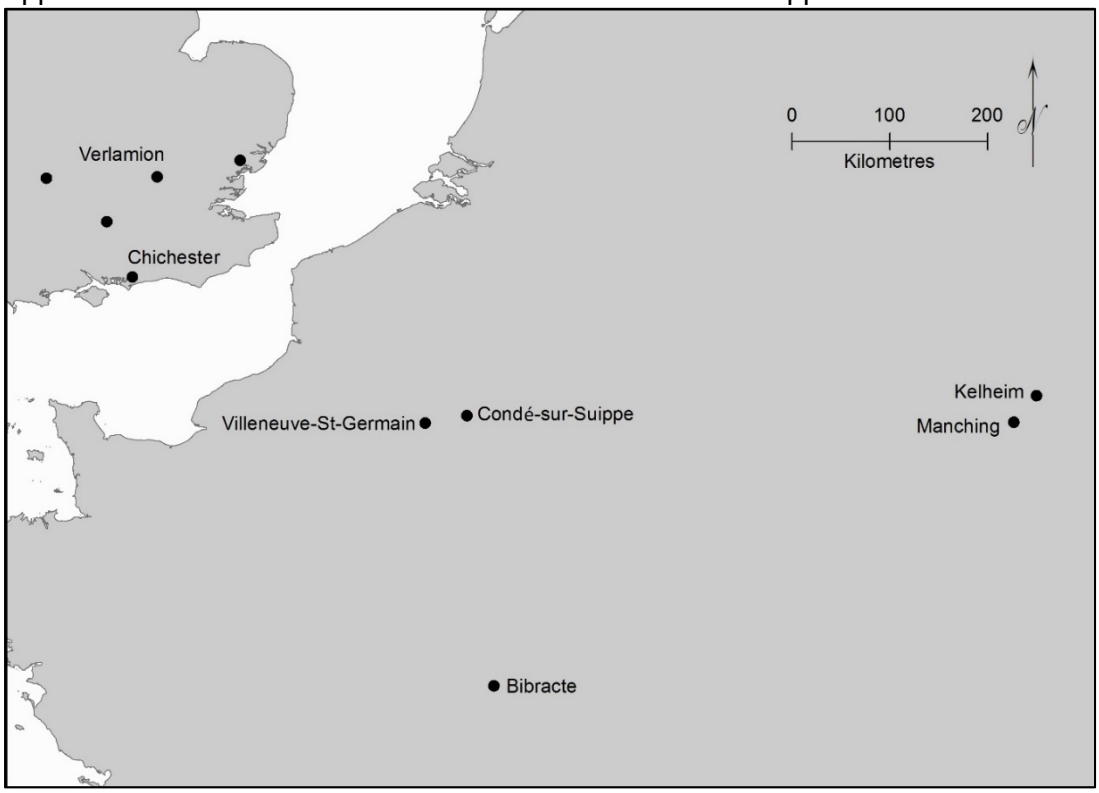
Appendix 2.3: Oppida of Hertfordshire and the North Chilterns (After Bryant 2007, 62 – Fig. 1)



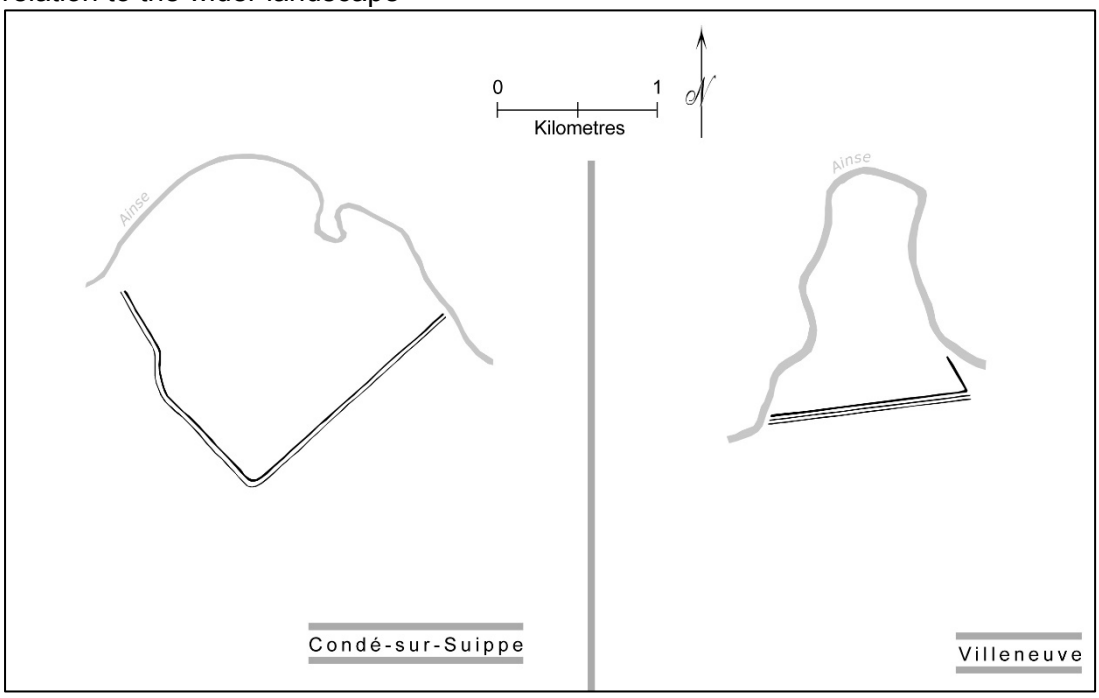
Appendix 2.4: Location of oppida in relation to river systems – Camulodunum and Verlamion



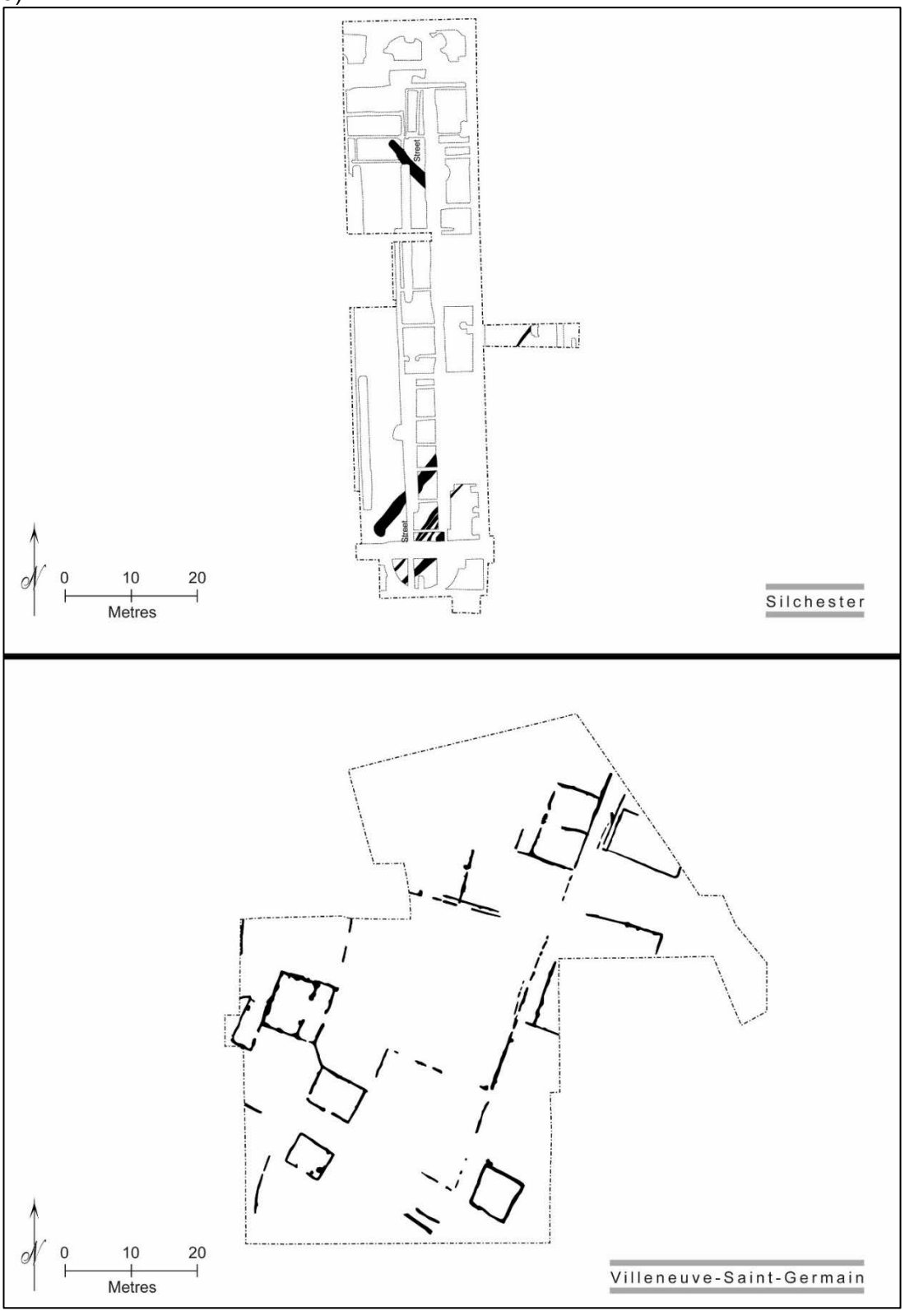
Appendix 2.5: Locations of selected British and continental oppida



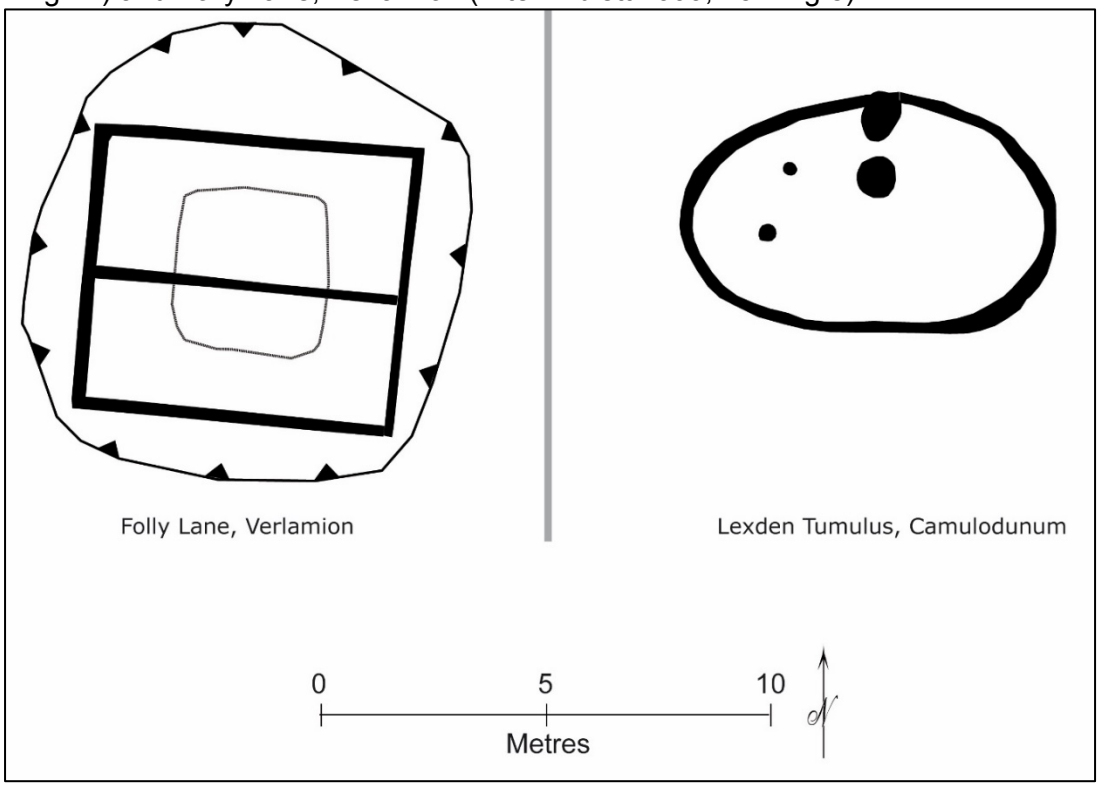
Appendix 2.6: Plans of oppida at Condé-sur-Suippe, Villeneuve-St-Germain in relation to the wider landscape



Appendix 2.7: Plan of streets and associated buildings; Villeneuve-St-Germain (After Collis 1982, 130 - Fig 8.20) and Silchester (Fulford and Timby 2000, 25 - Fig 3)



Appendix 2.8: Elite burials; Lexden Tumulus, Camulodunum (After Foster 1986, 166 - Fig 42) and Folly Lane, Verlamion (After Niblett 1999, 15 - Fig 8)



Appendix 2.9: Chronological sequence of selected sites - 1 (Hill 1995a) 2 (Déchelette 1914) 3 (Reinecke 1965)

Britain[1]	**Gaul**[2]	**Central European**[3]	**Date**	***Oppida***	**Historical events**
Late Bronze Age	Hallstatt I	Hallstatt C1	-700-	Heuneburg	
		Hallstatt C2	-600-		
Early Iron Age	Hallstatt I	Hallstatt D1			
		Hallstatt D2			
		Hallstatt D3	-475-		
	La Tène Ia	La Tène A	-400-		
Middle Iron Age	La Tène Ib	La Tène B1			
	La Tène Ic	La Tène B2	-250-	Manching	
	La Tène IIa	La Tène C1			
	La Tène IIb	La Tène C2		Condé-sur-Suippe	
Late Iron Age	La Tène III	La Tène D1	-100-	Kelheim, Silchester, Stanwick	Gallic Wars (58 to 50 BC)
	Gallo-Romaine précoce	La Tène D2	-50-	Villeneuve-Saint-Germain, Colchester, Silchester, Chichester	Campaigns into Britain (55 & 54 BC)
		La Tène D3		St Albans	
	Augustan	Augustan	-20-		
			-0-	Bagendon	Invasion of Britain (AD43)
Early Roman			-100-		

Appendix 2.10: Evidence for pre and post-settlement occupation

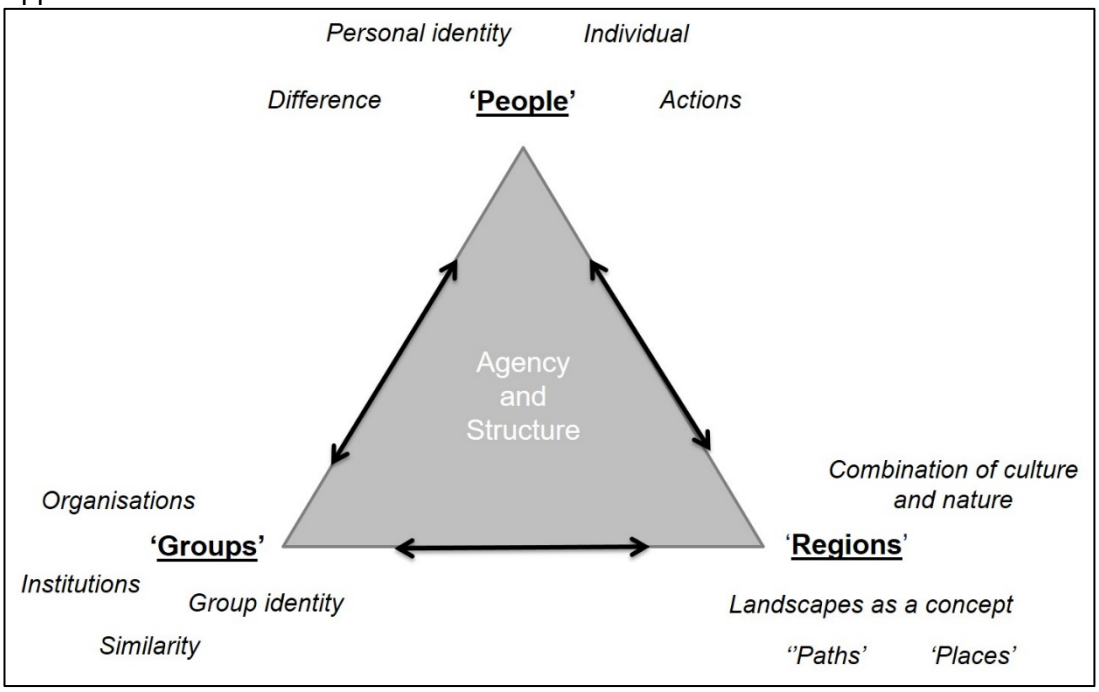
Oppidum	**Evidence of Pre-settlement Occupation**	**Evidence of Post-settlement Occupation**
Heuneburg	Late Bronze Age Urnfield	None
Manching	Flat grave cemeteries	Roman *Mansio* and fort
Condé-sur-Suippe	Late Halstatt/Early La Tene	None
Kelheim	Late Bronze Age occupation	Roman military camp
Silchester	None	Roman *civitas* capital
Stanwick	None	None
Villeneuve-Saint-Germain	Small necropolis cremation	Roman *civitas* capital
Camulodunum	None	Roman fortress and *colonia*
Chichester	Middle Iron Age occupation	Roman *civitas* capital
Verlamion	None	Roman *civitas* capital
Bagendon	None	Roman villa

Appendix 3: Theoretical Framework

Appendix 3.1: Factors for individual and group identity. (After Mattingly 2004, 10-11)

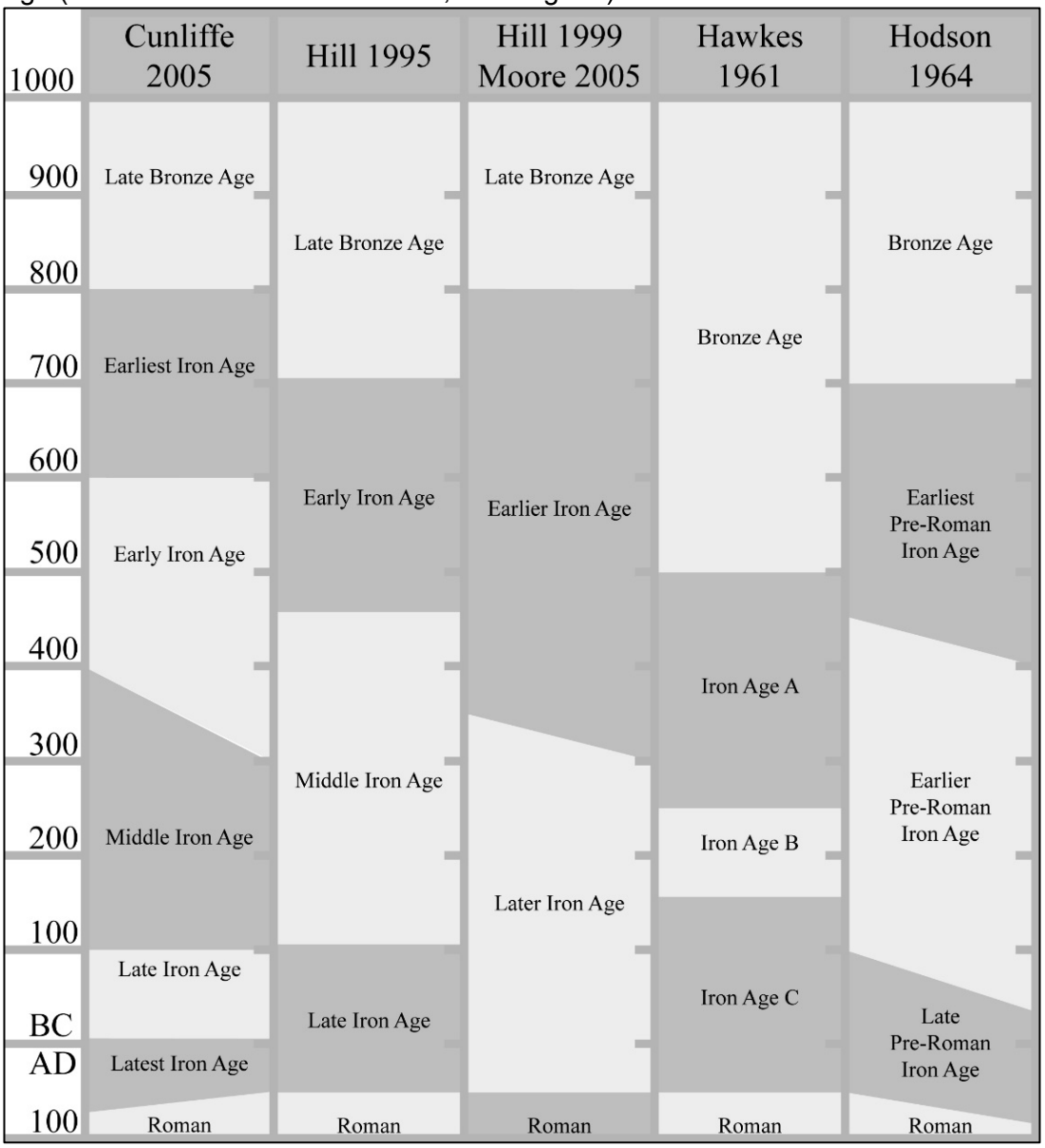
Status (incorporating the ancient sense of class: slave, free, freed, dependant, independent, barbarian, Roman citizen, non-citizen, *humiliores, honestiores*, curial class, equestrian, senator, Imperial household, [including Imperial slaves and freedom]
Wealth (above or below subsistence, linked to market economy, derived from non-agricultural sources, and so)
Location (urban, rural, military/civil zones, transient) and the degree of connectivity with the Empire in terms of communication lines and social networks
If living under civil or martial law
If connected or not with the Imperial government by service or profession
Employment (possession of craft skill, membership of guild, army)
Religion (especially exclusive cults: Mithraic devotes, mystery cults, Judaism, Christianity)
Origin (geographical or ethnic, including tribal), also linked to the history of contact between Rome and these groups
Language and literacy
Gender, Age

Appendix 3.2: Combined theoretical framework

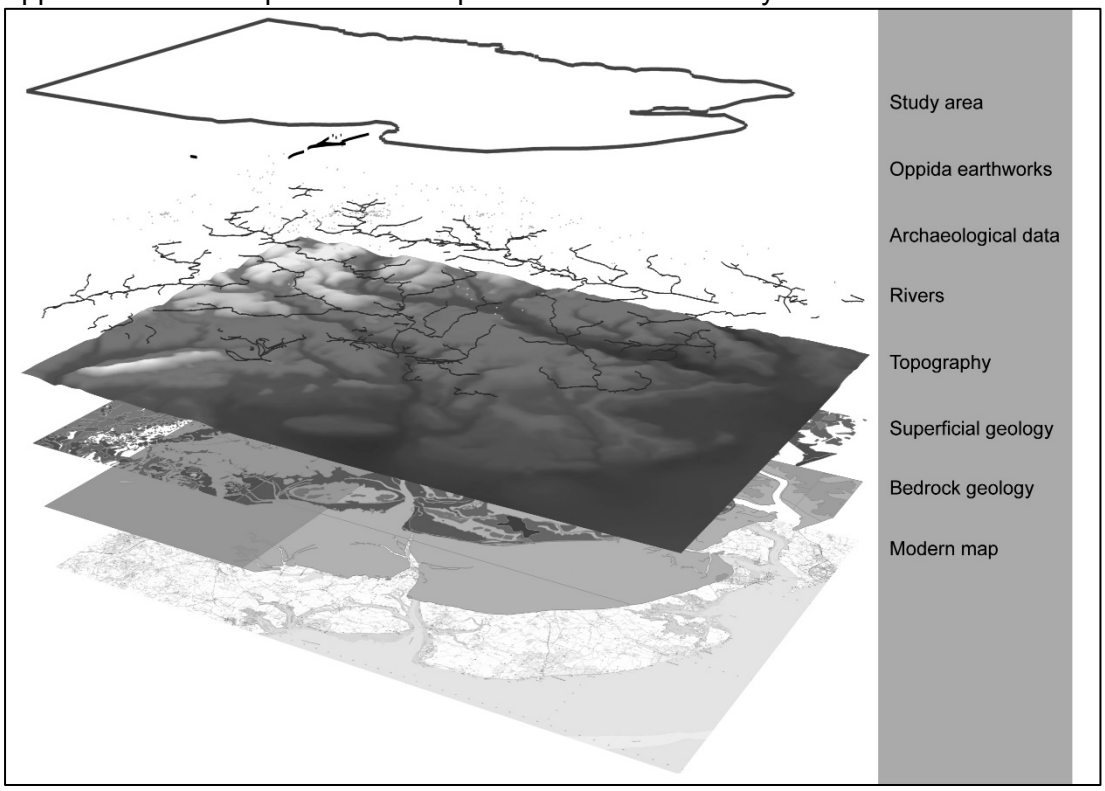


Appendix 4: Method

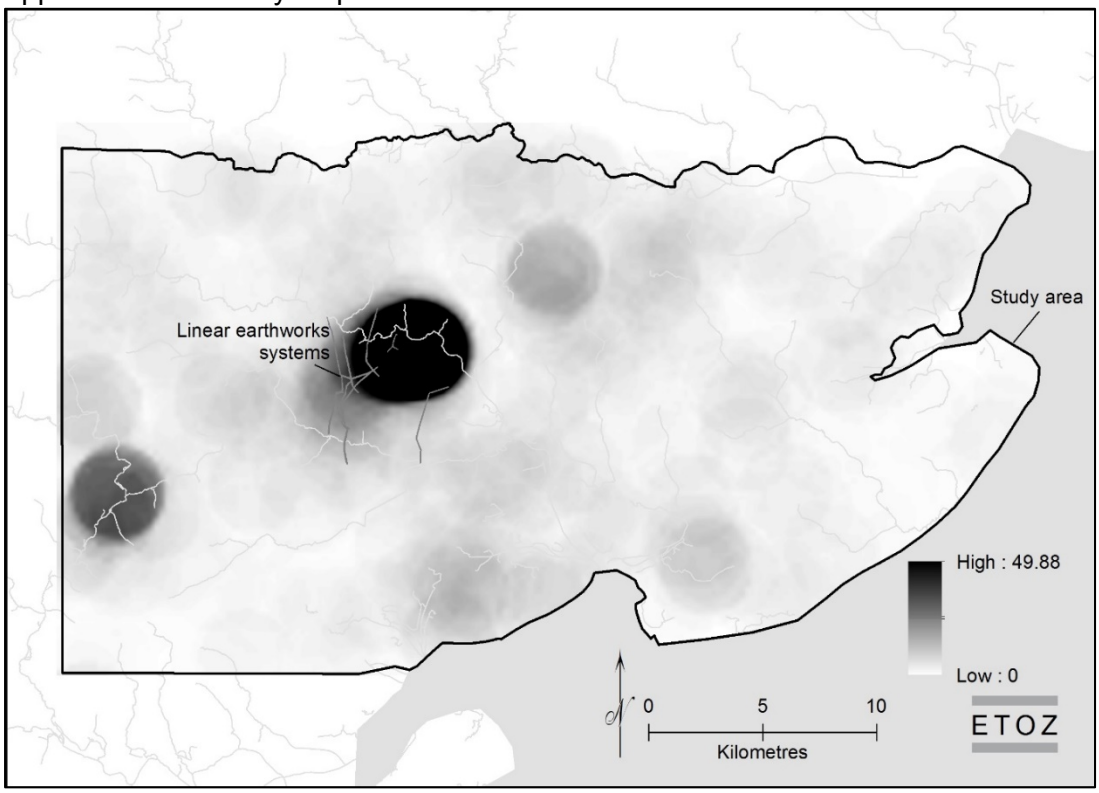
Appendix 4.1: Competing chronological frameworks for south-east Britain in the Iron Age (After Moore and Armada 2011, 19 – Fig 1.8)



Appendix 4.2: Example of base map sources for case study area



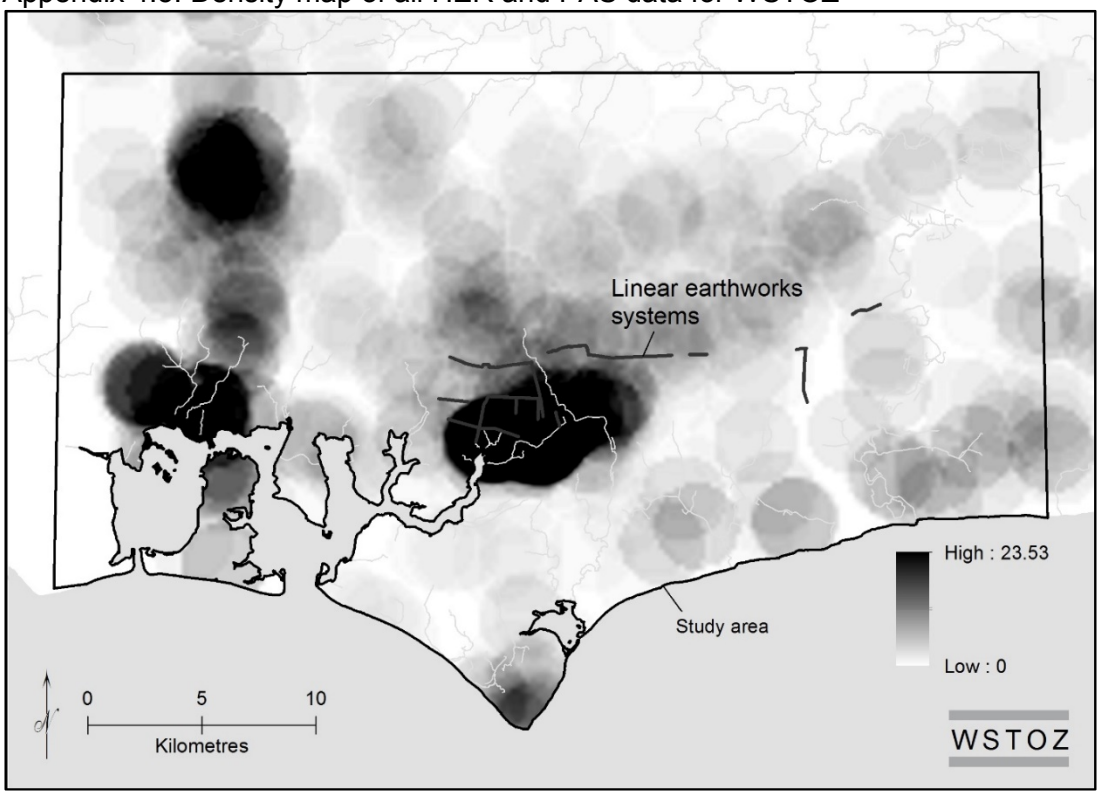
Appendix 4.3: Density map of all HER and PAS data for ETOZ



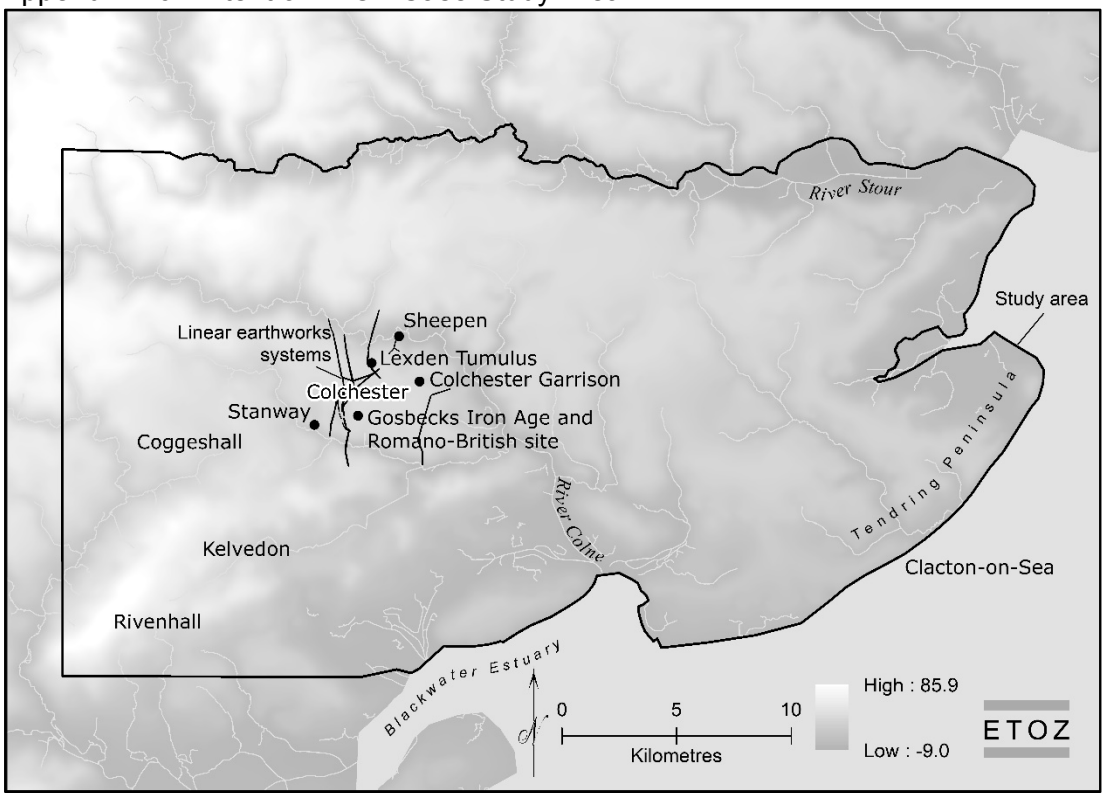
Appendix 4.4: Equation for Labour estimation after Brown 1991, 12

L x Section / CV = D
L = Length of ditch Section = Area of the section of the ditch CV = Volume of earth (chalk) excavated by one person in one hour in cubic metres (0.1415) D = Person hours

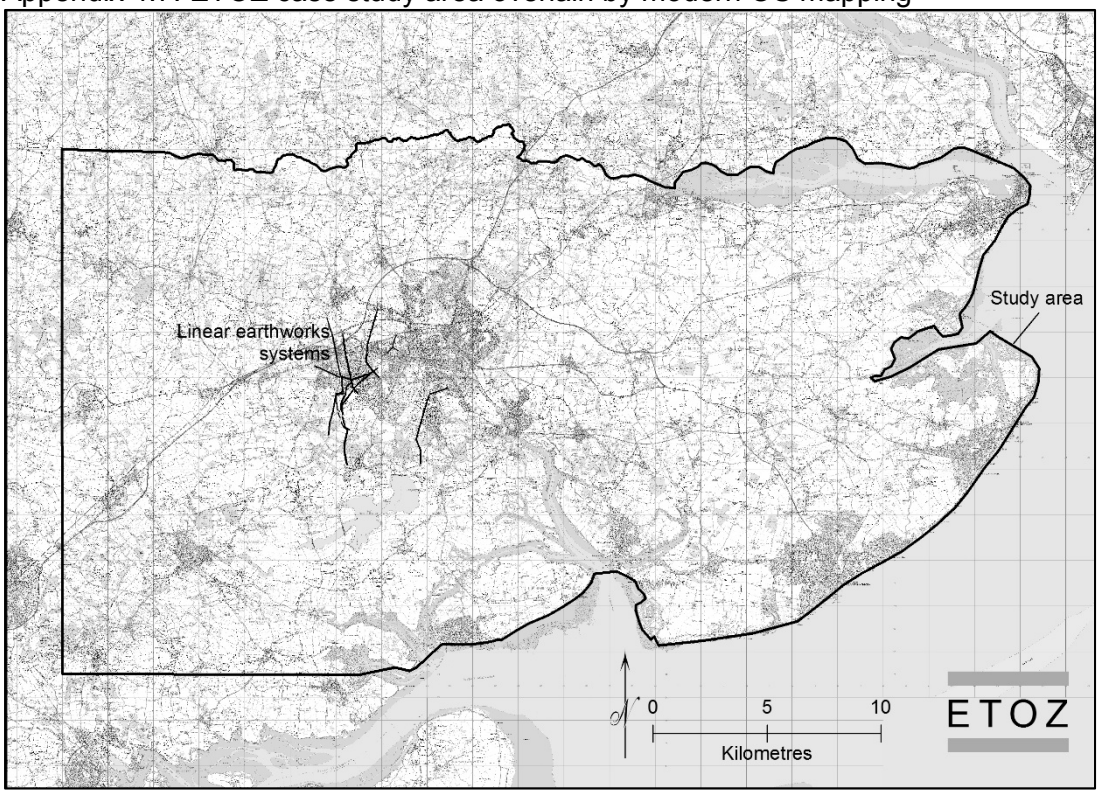
Appendix 4.5: Density map of all HER and PAS data for WSTOZ



Appendix 4.6: Extent of ETOZ Case Study Area



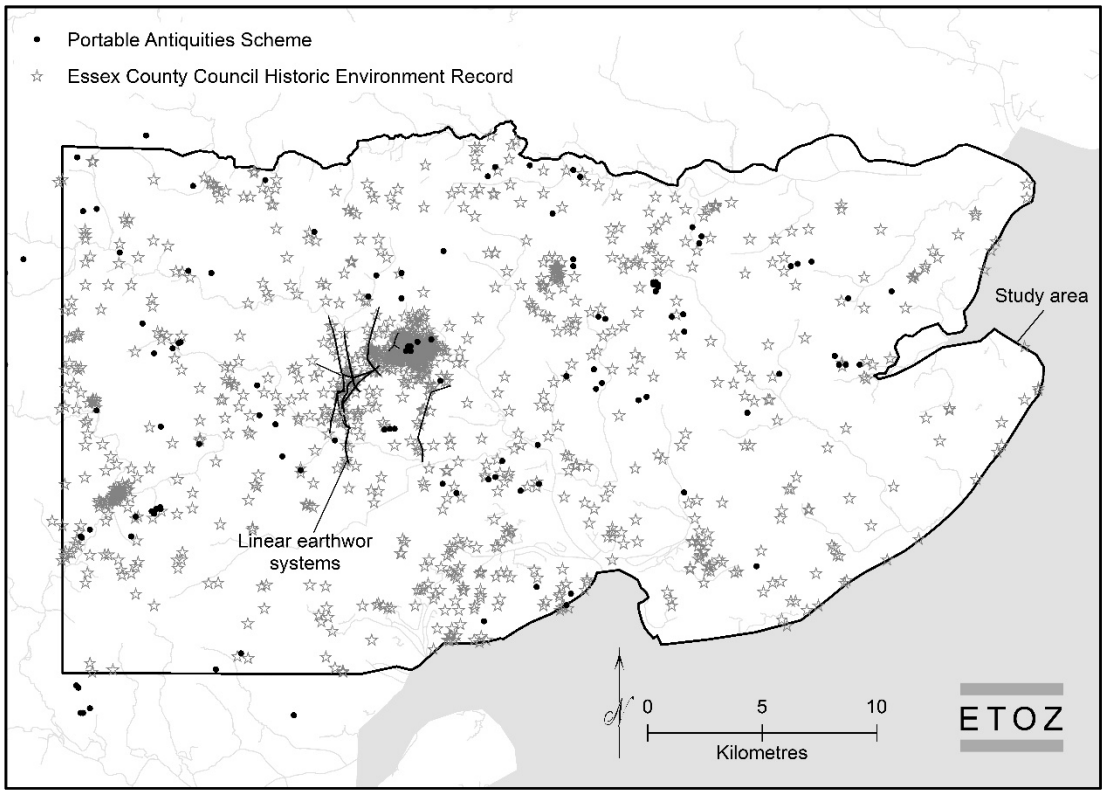
Appendix 4.7: ETOZ case study area overlain by modern OS mapping



Appendix 4.8: Original HER and PAS entries for ETOZ case study

Source	Points	Polylines	Polygons	Totals
Essex Historic Environment Record	1712	29	472	2213
Portable Antiquities Scheme	588	n/a	n/a	588

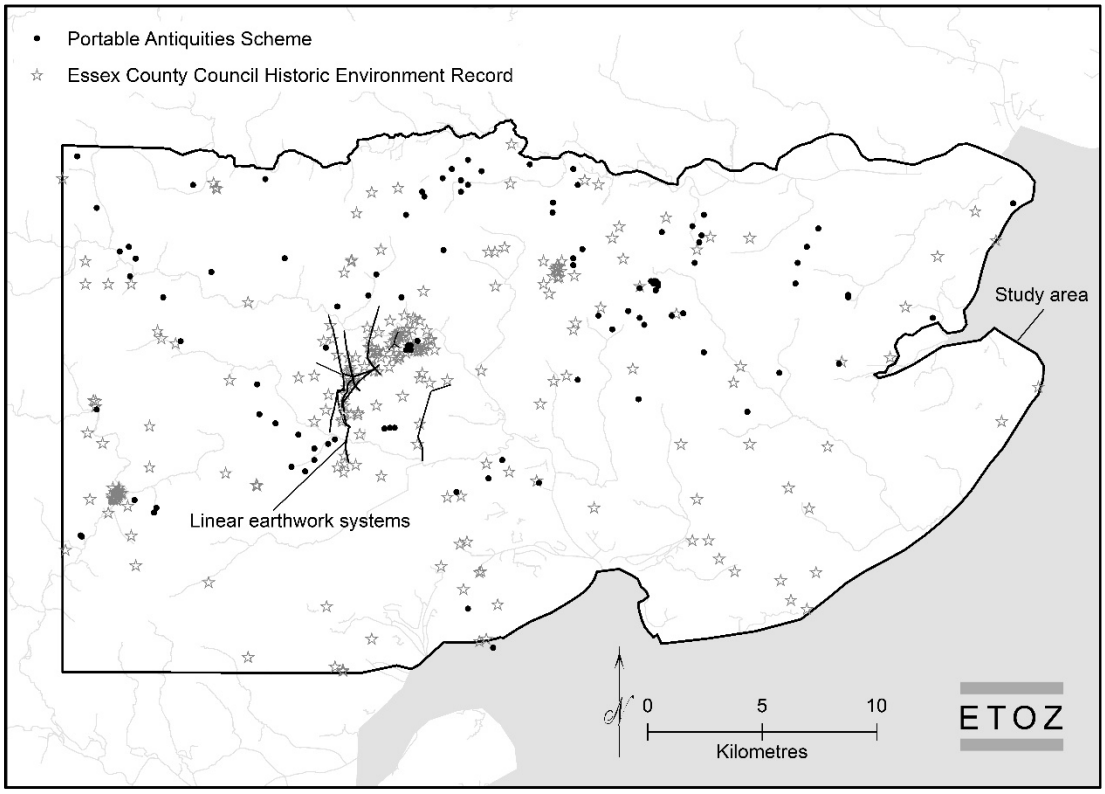
Appendix 4.9: Distribution of original data (HER and PAS) for ETOZ Case Study Area



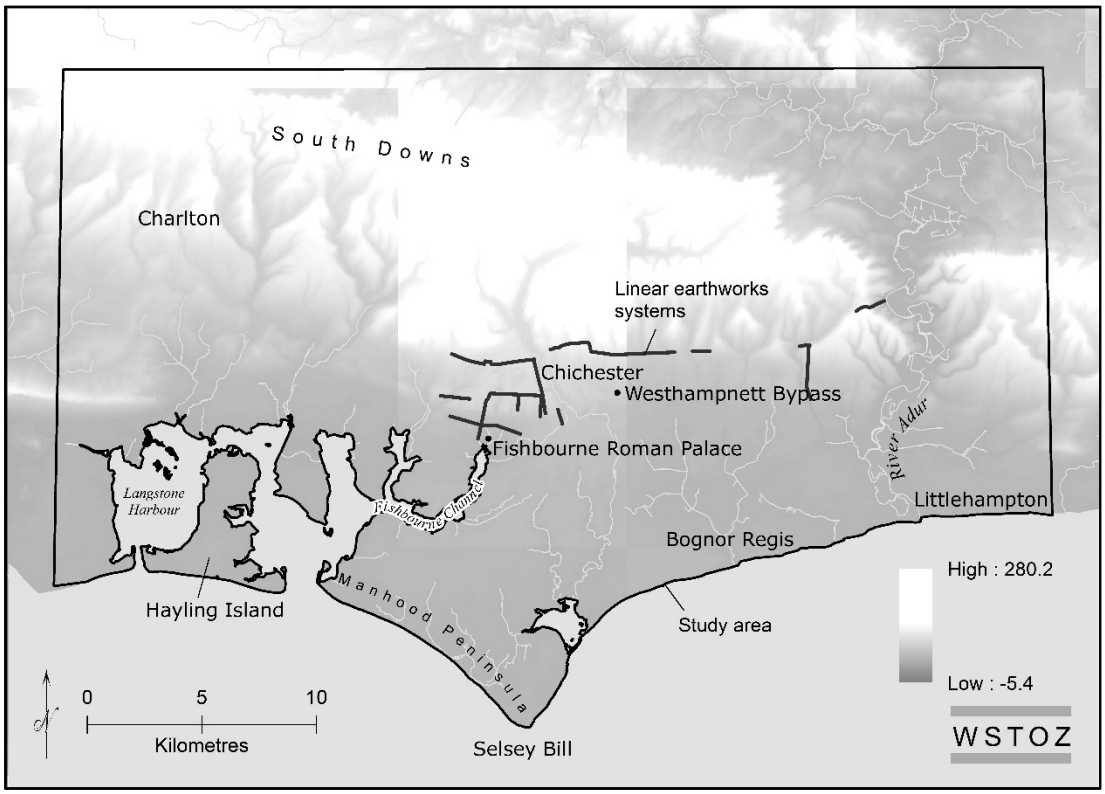
Appendix 4.10: Entries for ETOZ case study database

Period	Historic Environment Record	Portable Antiquities Scheme	Totals
Middle Iron Age	23	2	25
Late Iron Age	168	103	271
Early Roman	140	30	170

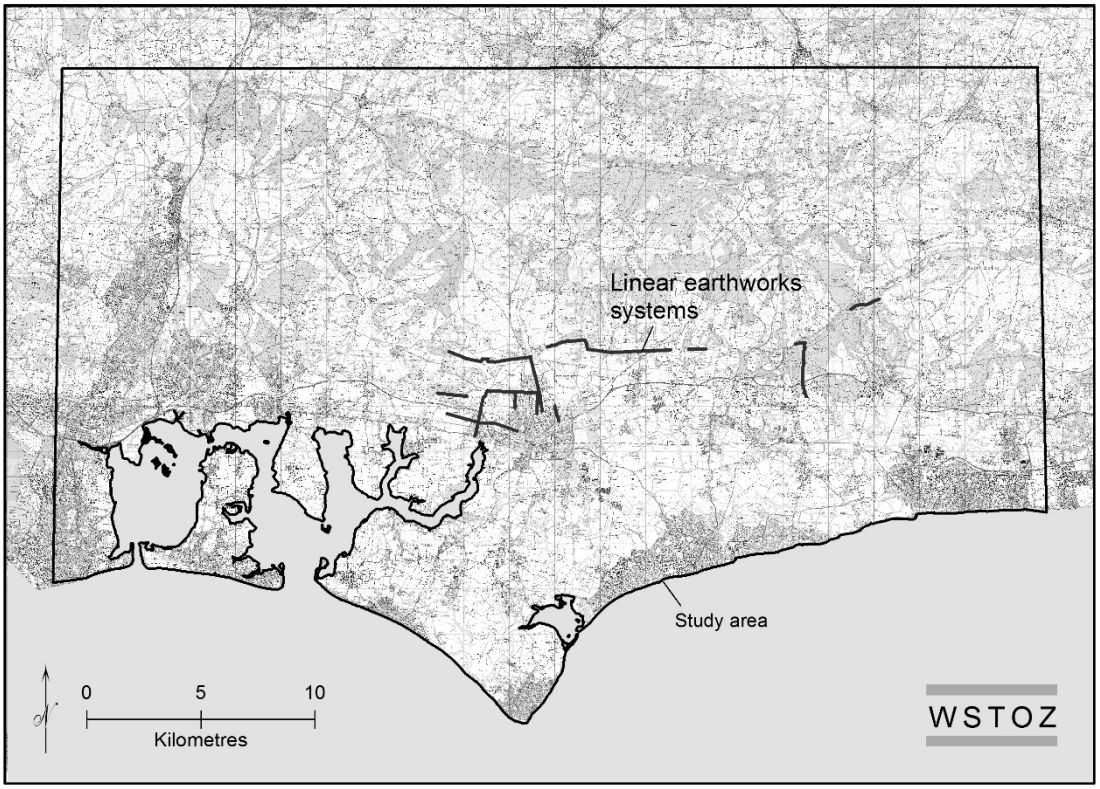
Appendix 4.11: Distribution of edited data (HER and PAS) for ETOZ Case Study Area



Appendix 4.12: Extent of WSTOZ Case Study Area



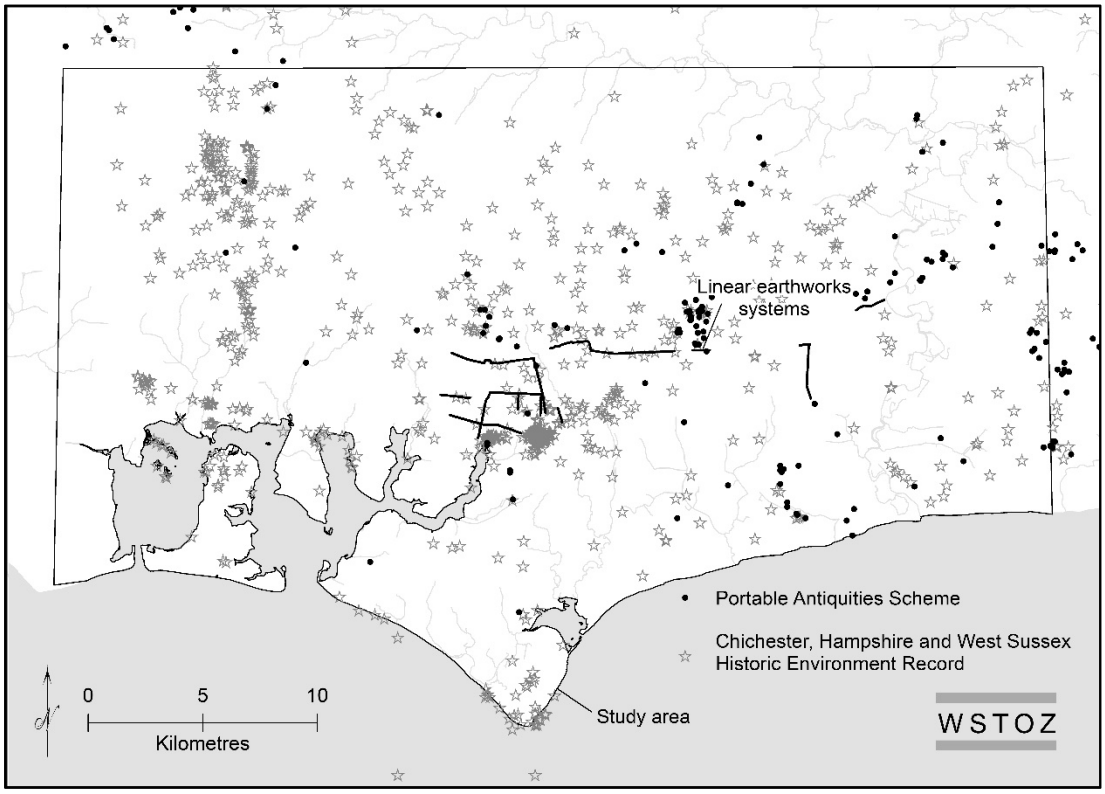
Appendix 4.13: WSTOZ overlain by modern OS mapping



Appendix 4.14: Original HER and PAS entries for WSTOZ case study

Source	Points	Polylines	Polygons	Totals
West Sussex Historic Environment Record	142	0	6	148
Chichester District Historic Environment Record	573	20	52	645
Hampshire Archaeology & Historic Buildings Record	601	0	0	601
Portable Antiquities Scheme	348	n/a	n/a	348

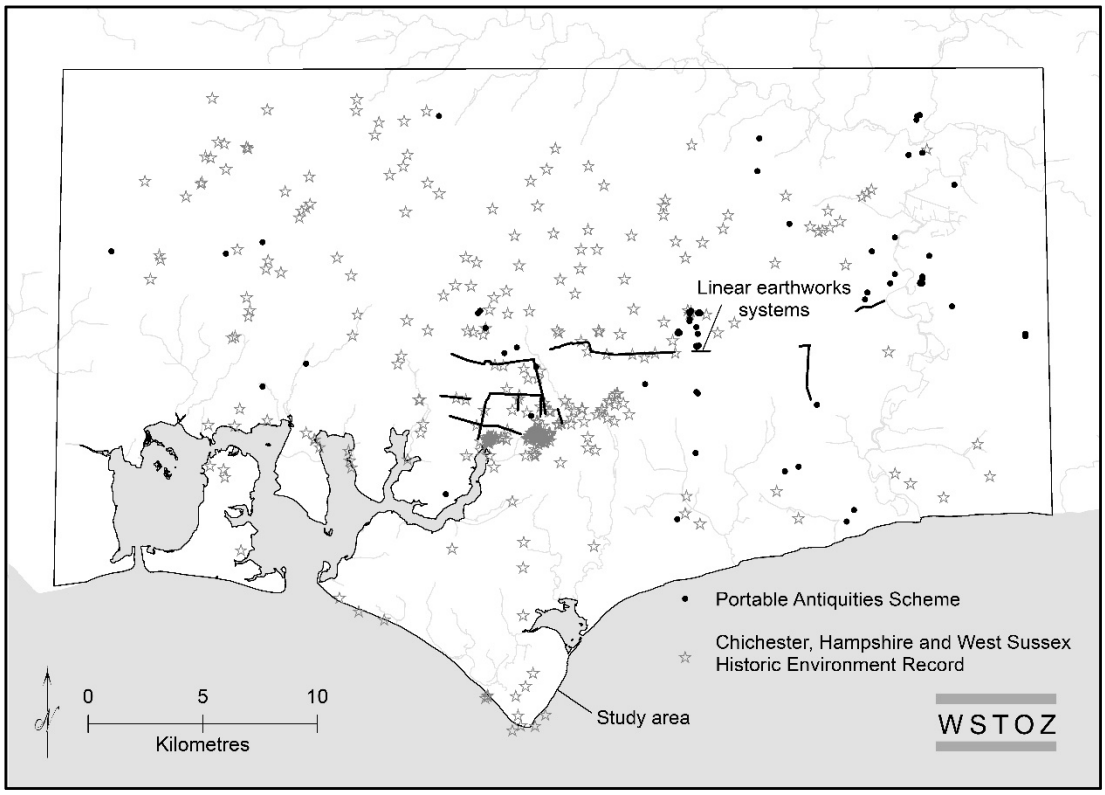
Appendix 4.15: Distribution of original data (HER and PAS) for WSTOZ Case Study Area



Appendix 4.16: Entries for WSTOZ case study database

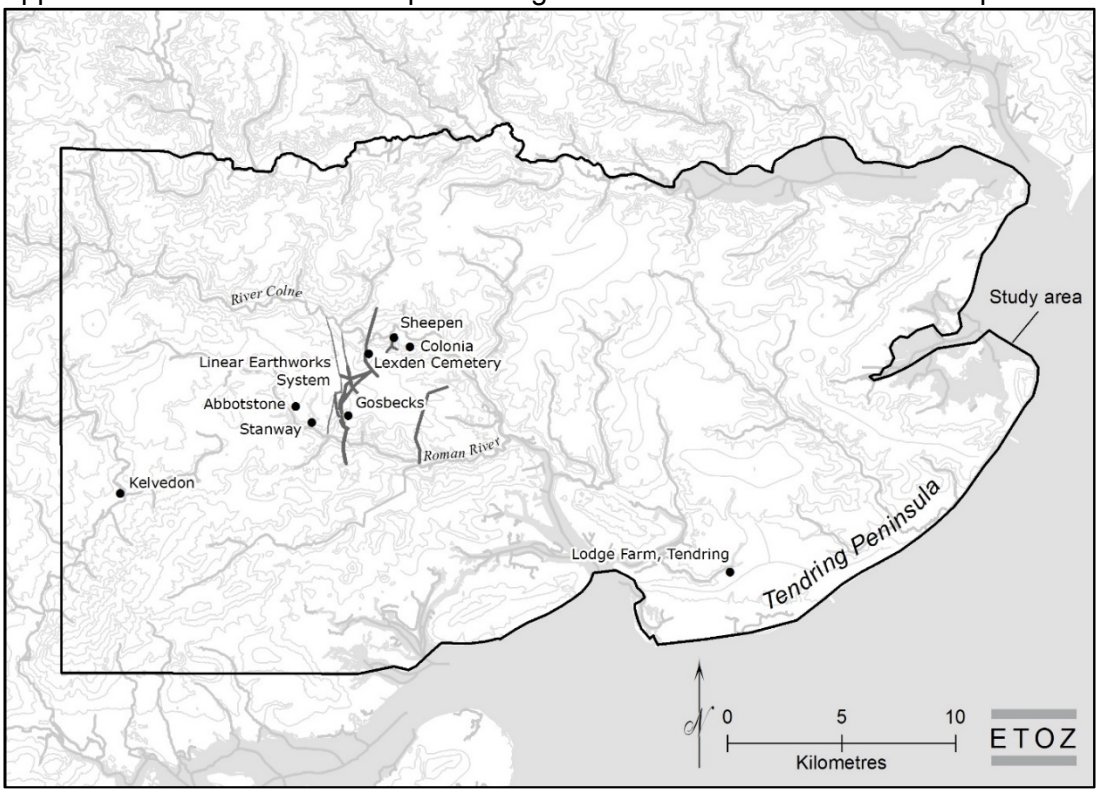
Period	Historic Environment Record	Portable Antiquities Scheme	Totals
Middle Iron Age	58	6	64
Late Iron Age	163	59	222
Early Roman	254	13	267

Appendix 4.17: Distribution of edited data (HER and PAS) for WSTOZ Case Study Area

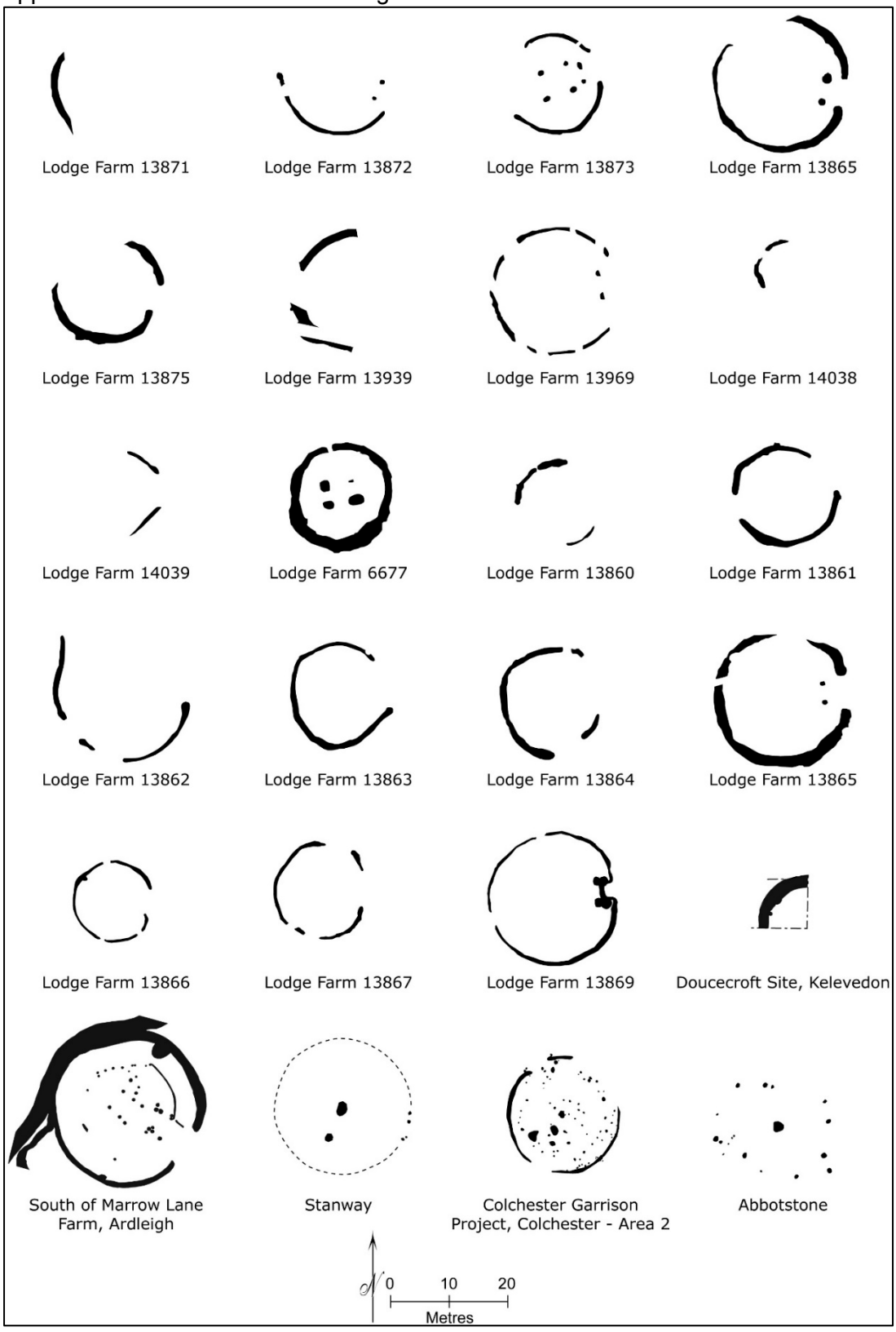


Appendix 5: The Essex Territorial *Oppidum* Zone

Appendix 5.1: Site Location map including areas and sites discussed in chapter



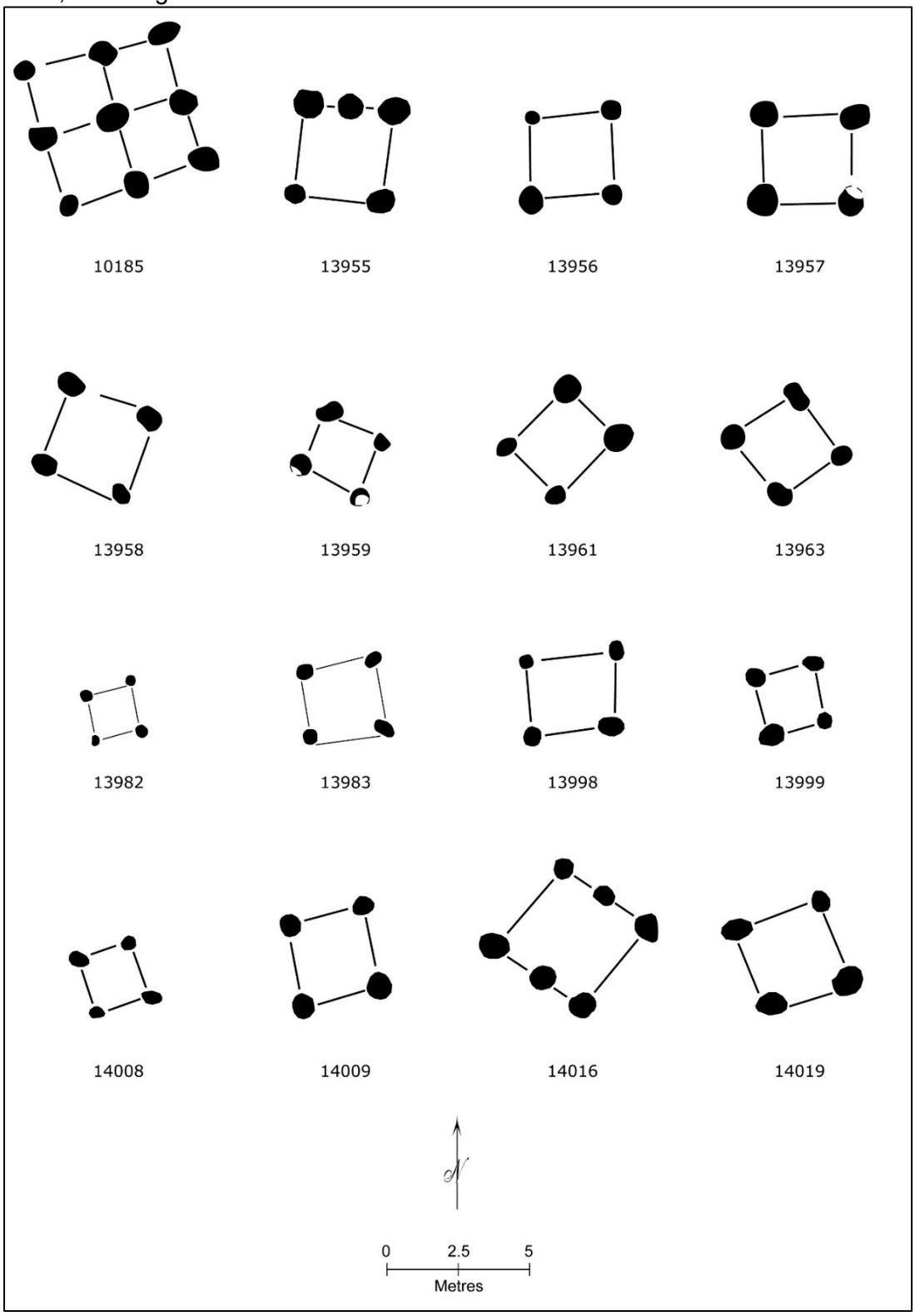
Appendix 5.2: Plan of Middle Iron Age roundhouse structures



Appendix 5.3: Middle Iron Age structures within ETOZ

Structure identifier	Shape	Diameter	Construction	Entrance facing	Reference
Abbotstone	circular	18m	Postholes	?	Benfield & Pooley 2005, 70
Colchester Garrison Project, Colchester - Area 2	circular	11.8m	drip gully, internal postholes	E	Brooks & Masefield 2005
Doucecroft Site, Kelvedon	circular	12m	drip gully	?	Clarke 1988
Lodge Farm 13871	circular	12.2m	drip gully	?	Germany 2007, 52
Lodge Farm 13872	circular	13m	drip gully	?	Germany 2007, 52
Lodge Farm 13873	circular	10.5m	drip gully	?	Germany 2007, 52
Lodge Farm 13874	circular	14m	drip gully	E	Germany 2007, 52
Lodge Farm 13875	circular	10.5m	drip gully	E	Germany 2007, 52
Lodge Farm 13939	circular	12.4m	drip gully	?	Germany 2007, 52
Lodge Farm 13969	circular	13.7m	drip gully	?	Germany 2007, 52
Lodge Farm 14038	circular	6.6m	drip gully	?	Germany 2007, 52
Lodge Farm 14039	circular	9.6m	drip gully	?	Germany 2007, 52
Lodge Farm 6677	circular	10.3m	drip gully	?	Germany 2007, 51
Lodge Farm 13860	circular	7.3m	drip gully	?	Germany 2007, 51
Lodge Farm 13861	circular	10.2m	drip gully	?	Germany 2007, 51
Lodge Farm 13862	circular	14.3m	drip gully	?	Germany 2007, 51
Lodge Farm 13863	circular	10.9m	drip gully	E	Germany 2007, 51
Lodge Farm 13864	circular	10.8m	drip gully	E	Germany 2007, 51
Lodge Farm 13865	circular	13.9m	drip gully	E	Germany 2007, 51
Lodge Farm 13866	circular	8.7m	drip gully	E	Germany 2007, 51
Lodge Farm 13867	circular	10.3m	drip gully	E	Germany 2007, 51
Lodge Farm 13869	circular	14.4m	drip gully	E	Germany 2007, 51
Lodge Farm 10185	rectangular	5m x 4.9m	Postholes	?	Germany 2007, 48
Lodge Farm 13961	rectangular	3.1m x 3.1m	Postholes	?	Germany 2007, 48
Lodge Farm 13963	rectangular	3.1m x 3.1m	Postholes	?	Germany 2007, 48
Lodge Farm 13957	rectangular	3.1m x 3.1m	Postholes	?	Germany 2007, 48
Lodge Farm 13958	rectangular	3.1m x 3.1m	Postholes	?	Germany 2007, 48
Lodge Farm 13959	rectangular	2.1m x 2.5m	Postholes	?	Germany 2007, 48
Lodge Farm 13956	rectangular	3.1m x 3.1m	Postholes	?	Germany 2007, 48
Lodge Farm 13982	rectangular	2.1m x 2.5m	Postholes	?	Germany 2007, 48
Lodge Farm 13983	rectangular	2.1m x 2.5m	Postholes	?	Germany 2007, 48
Lodge Farm 13998	rectangular	3.1m x 3.1m	Postholes	?	Germany 2007, 48
Lodge Farm 13999	rectangular	2.1m x 2.5m	Postholes	?	Germany 2007, 48
Lodge Farm 13955	rectangular	3.1m x 3.1m	Postholes	?	Germany 2007, 48
Lodge Farm 14019	rectangular	3.1m x 3.1m	Postholes	?	Germany 2007, 50
Lodge Farm 14009	rectangular	3.1m x 3.1m	Postholes	?	Germany 2007, 50
Lodge Farm 14008	rectangular	2.1m x 2.5m	Postholes	?	Germany 2007, 50
Lodge Farm 14016	rectangular	3.6m.x 2.6m	Postholes	?	Germany 2007, 50
South of Marrow Lane farm, Ardleigh	circular	15m	Drip gully, internal postholes	SE	Erith & Holbert 1970
Stanway	circular	15m	Postholes	E	Crummy et al 2007

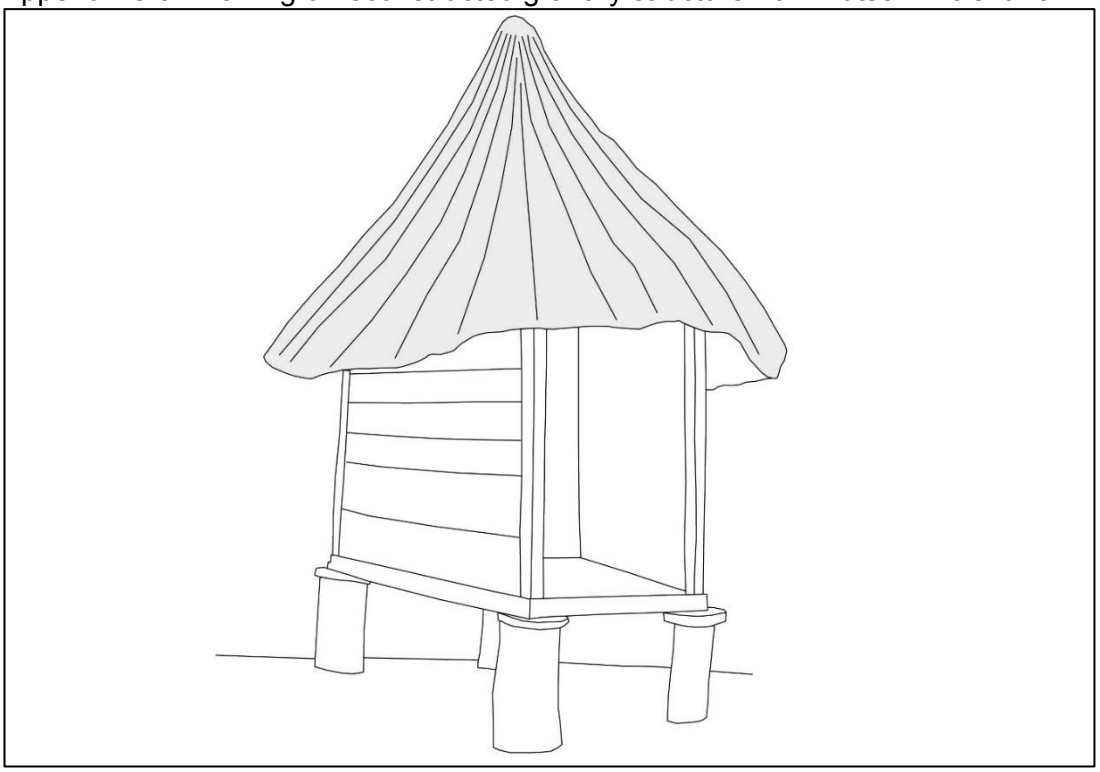
Appendix 5.4: Plan of Middle Iron Age square and rectangular structures at Lodge Farm, Tendring



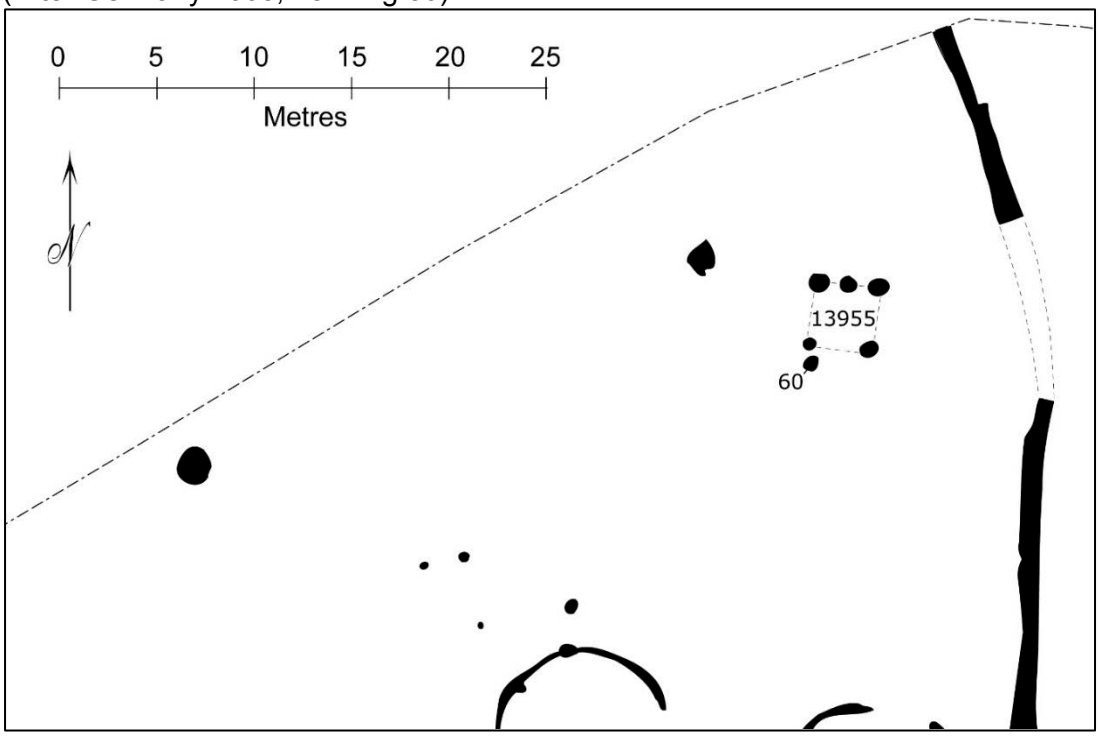
Appendix 5.5: Stanway - Pit CF250 – Illustrating iron disc and an iron saw (After Crummy et al 2007, 30)

IMAGE REMOVED DUE TO COPYRIGHT RESTRICTIONS

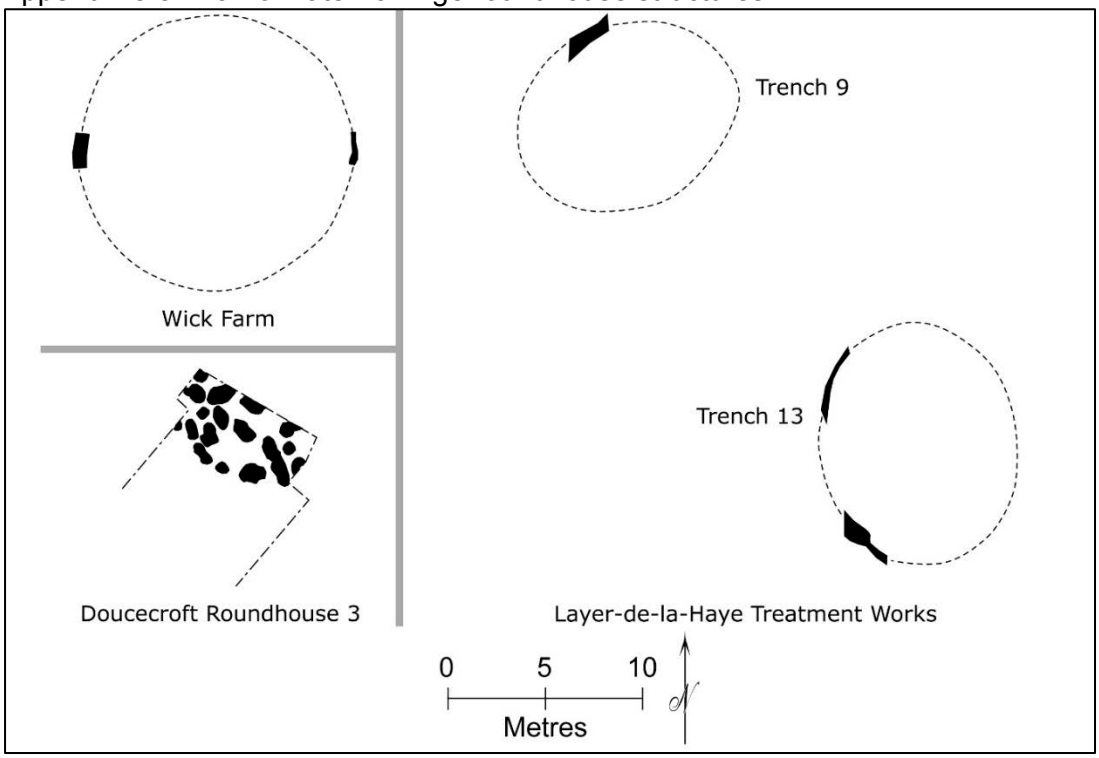
Appendix 5.6: Drawing of reconstructed granary structure from Butser Ancient Farm



Appendix 5.7: Figure of five posthole structure and pit – Lodge Farm, Tendring (After Germany 2005, 45 – Fig.30)



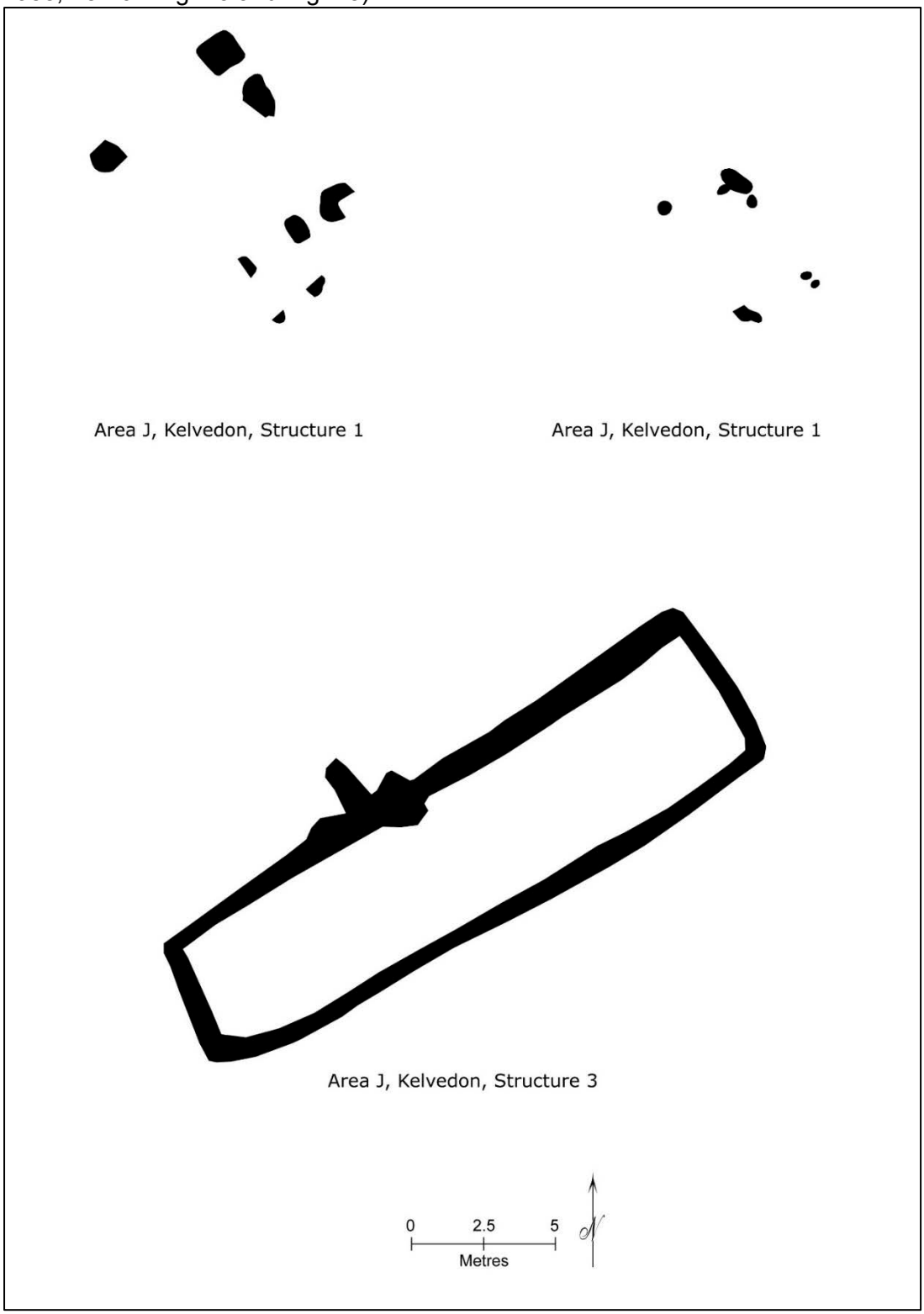
Appendix 5.8: Plan of Late Iron Age roundhouse structures



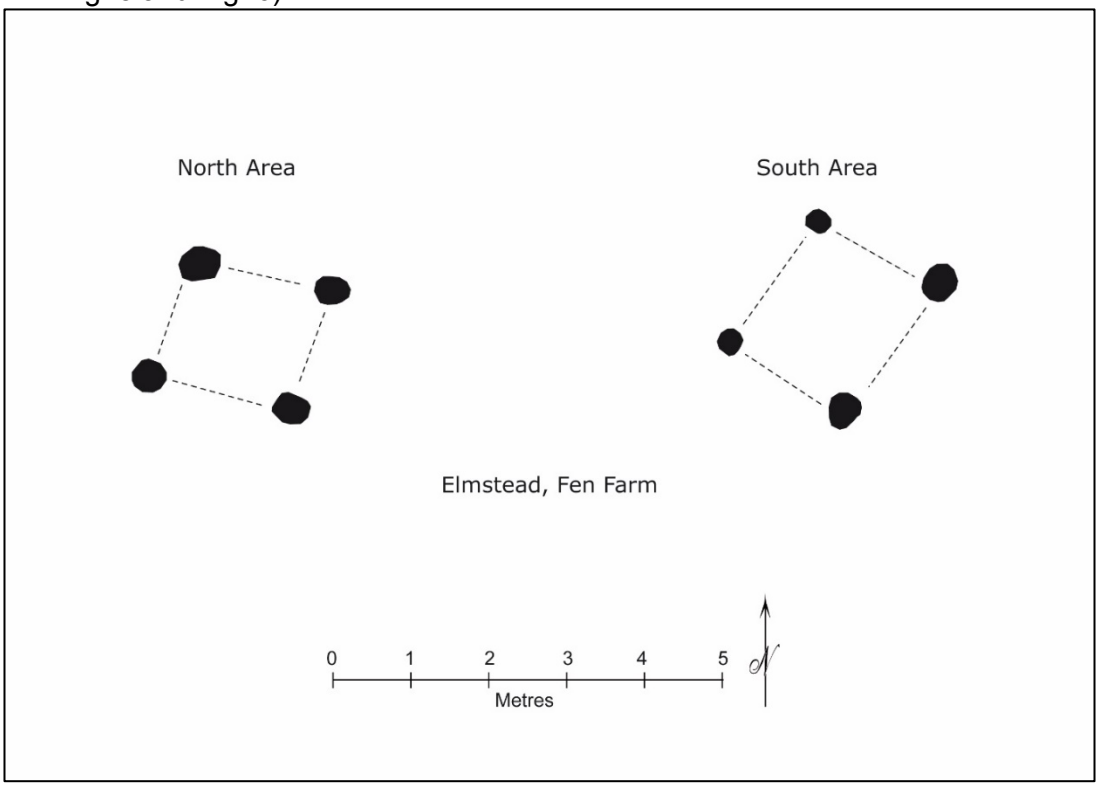
Appendix 5.9: Late Iron Age structures within ETOZ

Structure identifier	Shape	Diameter	Construction	Entrance facing	Reference
Area J, Kelvedon Structure 1	Rectangular	5.5m x 8m	wall trench and postholes	SE	(Rodwell 1988, 15-22)
Area J, Kelvedon Structure 2	Rectangular	5.2m x 2.6m	wall trench and postholes	?	(Rodwell 1988, 15-22)
Area J, Kelvedon Structure 3	Rectangular	21m x 5m	wall trench	NW?	(Rodwell 1988, 15-22)
Doucecroft Roundhouse 3	Circular	7.3m	drip gully and postholes	?	(Clarke 1988)
Fen Farm 464, 466, 468, 470	Rectangular	1.6m x 1.8m	Postholes	?	(Ennis 2008)
Fen Farm 424, 426, 428, 430	Rectangular	1.8m x 2m	Postholes	?	(Ennis 2008)
Hill Farm	Circular	13m	drip gully	E	(Adkins 1985)
Layer-de-la-Haye Treatment Works - Trench 9	Circular	12m	drip gully	?	(Robertson 2005)
Layer-de-la-Haye Treatment Works - Trench 13	Circular	7.8m	drip gully	?	(Robertson 2005)
Wick Farm	Circular	7.2m	drip gully	NE	(Germany 2006)

Appendix 5.10: Late Iron Age rectangular structures – Kelvedon (After Rodwell 1988, 18-20 - Fig. 13 and Fig. 15)



Appendix 5.11: Late Iron Age granary structures – Fen Farm (After Ennis 2008, 41-42 - Fig. 5 and Fig. 6)



Appendix 5.12: Evidence for local and imported pottery on Late Iron Age sites in ETOZ

Site name	Details of Pottery	Source
East of Ardleigh	Local - Strainer bowls, flagons, bowls and cooking pots, storage jars, butt beaker and pedestal beaker Imports - Samian , Terra Nigra pottery	(Erith and Holbert 1974)
Institute Hall, High Street, Kelvedon	Local - Grog tempered jars Imports – None	(Crank 2002)
Kelvedon Excavations by Eddy	Local - Coarseware jars, cups, beakers and platters. Imports - Terra Rubra, Terra Nigra, Amphorae, Arrentine platter	(Rodwell 1988, 4-5)
Kelvedon - Blandford House (Trench H)	Local - Grog tempered pottery Imports – None	(Eddy 1981, 8)
The Chase, Area J, Kelvedon	Local - handmade coarsewares jars, storage jars, beakers, bowls Imports – Amphorae	(Rodwell 1988, 15-22)
Hill Farm	Local - Grog tempered jars and beakers Imports - Central Gaulish samian platter and cup	(Heppel 1997)
Institute Hall, High Street, Kelvedon	Local - Two grog-tempered storage jars, Black surfaced 'romanising' wares. Imports - Terra Nigra platter, Amphorae from Italy, Spain and Central Gaul	(Ennis 2002)
North of	Local - 90% of total weight, bowls and jars	(Germany 2006)

Site name	Details of Pottery	Source
Gatehouse Farm, Ardleigh reservoir	Imports - From central Gaul including high status cream slipped ware	
Elmstead, Fen Farm	Local - Majority of assemblage, including grog wares and some local copies of foreign imports. Forms include jars and butt beakers	(Ennis 2008)
	Imports - Small percentage of total (>1%)	
Wick Farm, Ardleigh, Essex	Local - 95% of total assemblage including local grog tempered wares, forms includes jars, beakers, bowls and platters	(Allen & Germany 2009)
	Imports - North Gaulish white ware, terra rubra and Central Gaulish cream-slipped ware, amphorae	
Hall Farm B	Local - Copies of wares of Roman tradition. Forms including bowls and cooking pots.	McMaster & Fawn 1982
	Imports – None	
Sheepen industrial site	Local - Coarse tempered pottery. Forms included butt beakers, a carninated bowl and simple cooking pots.	(Niblett 1985)
	Imports - Dressel form I amphorae, Gallo-Belgic wares including flagons	
Dugard and Oaklands Avenue	Local - Predominance of 'native' wares including platters, bowls, cooking pot and beakers. Copy of Gaulish beaker	(Hawkes & Crummy 1995, 117-120)
	Imports – None	
Hill Farm - Malting Barn	Local - Fine and coarse wares	(HER)
	Imports - An amphora handle and fragment of Arretine ware	
Colchester-Kiln Road	Locals - Copies of foreign forms	(Hawkes & Crummy 1995, 131-137)
	Imports - Samian from southern Gaul	
Pitchbury hillfort	Local - Locally made pottery	(Hawkes & Crummy 1995, 138-154)
	Imports – None	
Gosbecks Iron Age and Romano-British site	Local - Locally made Sheepen wares	(Hawkes & Crummy 1995, 95-105)
	Imports - Gallo-Belgic wares including south Gaulish terra sigilatta	
Gosbecks Iron Age and Romano-British site B	Local - Handmade pottery (fragmentary)	(Dunnett 1971, 29)
	Imports – None	
Sheepen Farm	Local - 'Belgic' fine and coarse wares, forms including cooking pots, storage jars and bowls.	(Hawkes & Hull 1947)
	Imports - South Gaulish decorated and plain wares and Terra Sigillata. Forms include cups and platters. Gallo-Belgic wares including platters, bowls, flagons, amphorae and mortaria.	
West Clacton reservoir and pumping station	Local - Several wheel thrown pottery sherds and some grog tempered wares	(Brooks and Holloway 2006)
	Imports – None	
Birch airfield compost site	Local - Grog tempered wares. Forms include storage jars and butt beakers	(Crosson 2006)
	Imports - Gaulish flagons	
Birch Pit, Maldon Road	Local - Grog tempered wares. Forms including bowls, butt beakers, jars and storage jars	(Benfield & Spurgeon 2008)
	Imports – Amphorae	

Site name	Details of Pottery	Source
University of Essex	Local - Grog tempered wares, forms include jars, bowl and platters	
	Imports - Terra Nigra and North Gaulish white wares	(Ennis 2004)
Layer-de-la-Haye Treatment Works	Local - Pedestal jars and bowls	
	Imports – None	(Robertson 2005)
Colchester General Hospital	Local - Grog tempered forms include jars and bowl	
	Imports - Terra rubra, Terra nigra and South Gaulish samian, amphorae, mortaria. Forms include dishes and platters	(Crossan 2001)
Doucecroft site, Kelvedon (KL 4)	Local - Grog tempered wares including jars, butt beakers and bowl	
	Imports – None	(Clarke 1988)
Rear of Lawson Villas, High St. (KL8), Kelvedon	Local - Grog tempered wares, forms include storage jars. Black-surfaced Romanising wares	
	Imports - Terra Nigra platter	(Ennis 2002)

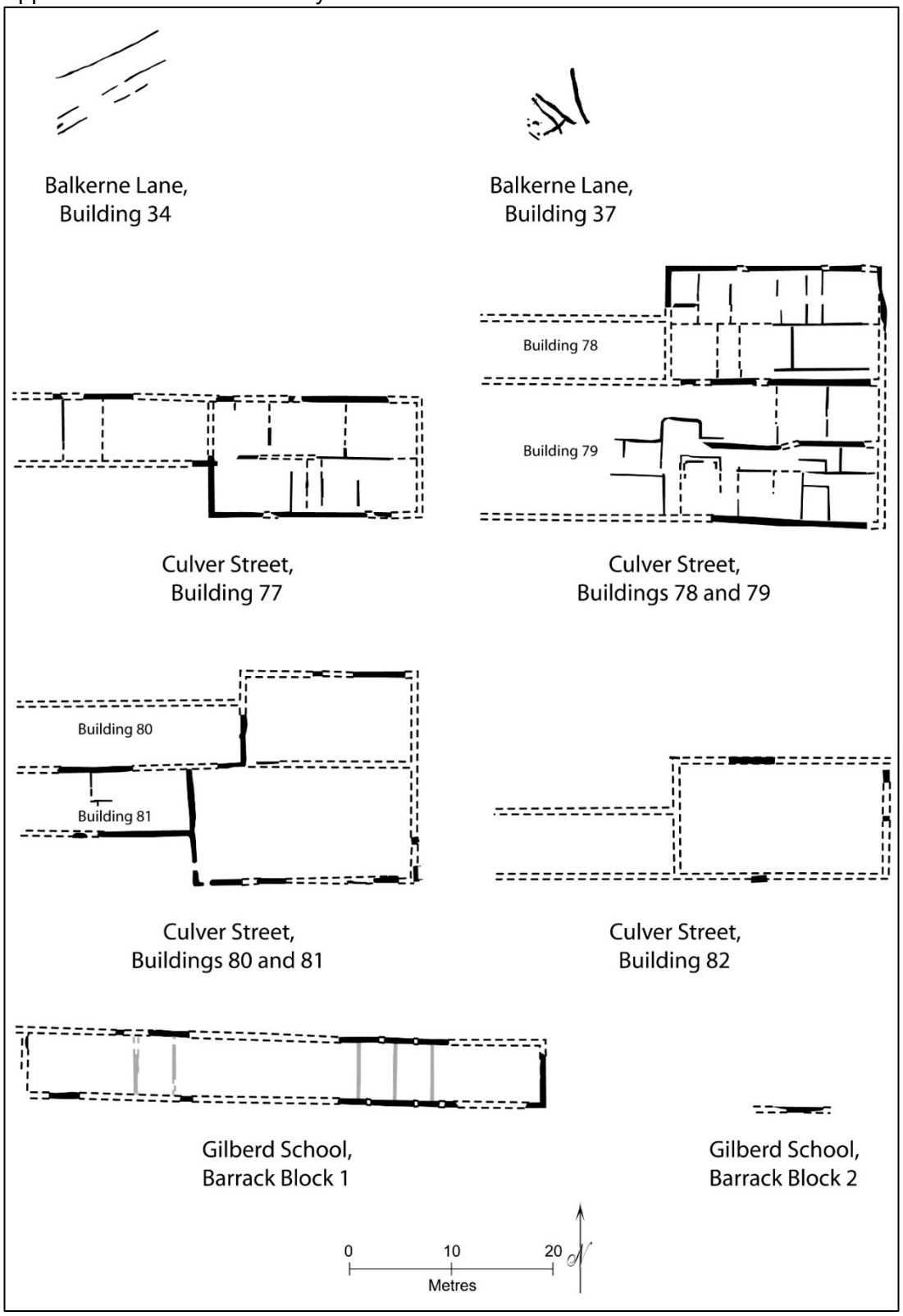
Appendix 5.13: Evidence for local and imported pottery on Late Iron Age ritual / mortuary sites in ETOZ

Site name	Details of Pottery	Source
A120 bypass, just NE of Elmstead Church	Local - Majority of assemblage was grog tempered pedestal pottery	
	Imports - Single terra nigra platter	(Eddy 1982a)
South Elms Farm, Ardleigh	Local - Pedestalled urn	(Couchman & Savory 1983)
	Imports - Omphalos bowl	
Rivenhall End	Local - Grog tempered ware	
	Imports – None	(Warwick & Rodwell 1985)
Kelvedon Iron Age Warrior	Local - Pedestal urns	
	Imports – None	(Sealey 2007)
Lexden Tumulus	Local - Grog tempered Butt Beaker, bowl, jar	
	Imports - Amphorae. Terra rubra butt beaker from Gaul	(Foster 1986)
Lexden Cemetery	Local wares - Urns, bowls with lids and cups	(Hawkes and Crummy 1995, 164)
	Imports – None	
Lexden Grange	Local – None	(Hawkes & Hull 1947, 13 - plate LIX)
	Imports - Gallo-Belgic flagons	
Mount Bures-Middle field and Butt field	Local – None	
	Imports - Amphorae, Gallo-Belgic platters	(Fawn 1983)
Stanway	Local - Majority of assemblage. Grog tempered wares, forms include storage jars, flagons and cups.	
	Imports - Gallo-Belgic wares, forms include flagons, beakers, and butt beakers, Terra Rubra, Terra Nigra, Amphorae, flagons cups, platters and beakers.	(Crummy et al 2007)

Appendix 5.14: Late Iron Age burials in ETOZ

Site Name	Form	Within enclosure?	Grave goods	Comments	Date	Reference
Lexden Mount	Burial mound with central chamber, mostly robbed in the Roman period	No	No details	No details	?	(Hawkes and Crummy 1995)
Lexden Tumulus	Burial mound 27m in diameter covering oblong mortuary chamber measuring 6.1 by 4.6m. Cremated remains found within chamber.	No	Pottery (amphorae), Bronze silver and gold objects, casket, chain mail, iron objects including folding chair	All sizeable objects were deliberately broken prior to deposition within grave	15-10 BC	(Foster 1986)
Kelvedon Warrior Burial	Warrior inhumation, no surviving bone due to acidic soils. Rich grave goods including some which were deliberately broken/damaged.	No	Sword, scabbard, short sword, spear head, ferrule, shield boss, tankard, roman Bronze bowl, iron fittings, pottery including pedestal urns	Bronze bowl Italian in origin, sword type Gaulish in origin, tankard and scabbard created locally	75-25 BC	(Sealey 2007)
Stanway - Enclosure 1 Chamber	Burial chamber measuring 3.3m x 2.5m x 1.1m, Lined with wooden planks containing unurned cremated human remains	Yes	Pottery, animal bone, copper alloy objects	Deliberately broken pottery	Mid-1st century BC	(Crummy et al 2007, 101)
Stanway - Enclosure 1 Cremation burial	Urned cremation of adult female	Yes	Jar (cremation vessel), Cloth bag containing Verdigus	Pottery local in origin	Mid-1st century BC	(Crummy et al 2007, 167)
Stanway - Enclosure 3 Chamber	Burial chamber (5.5x 5x1.2m), Lined with wooden planks, posts to support chamber roof, containing cremated human remains	Yes	Pottery (23 vessels), possible furniture, copper alloy objects	Pottery imported and of a 'specialised function' - from Gaul	35-43 AD	(Crummy et al 2007, 104)

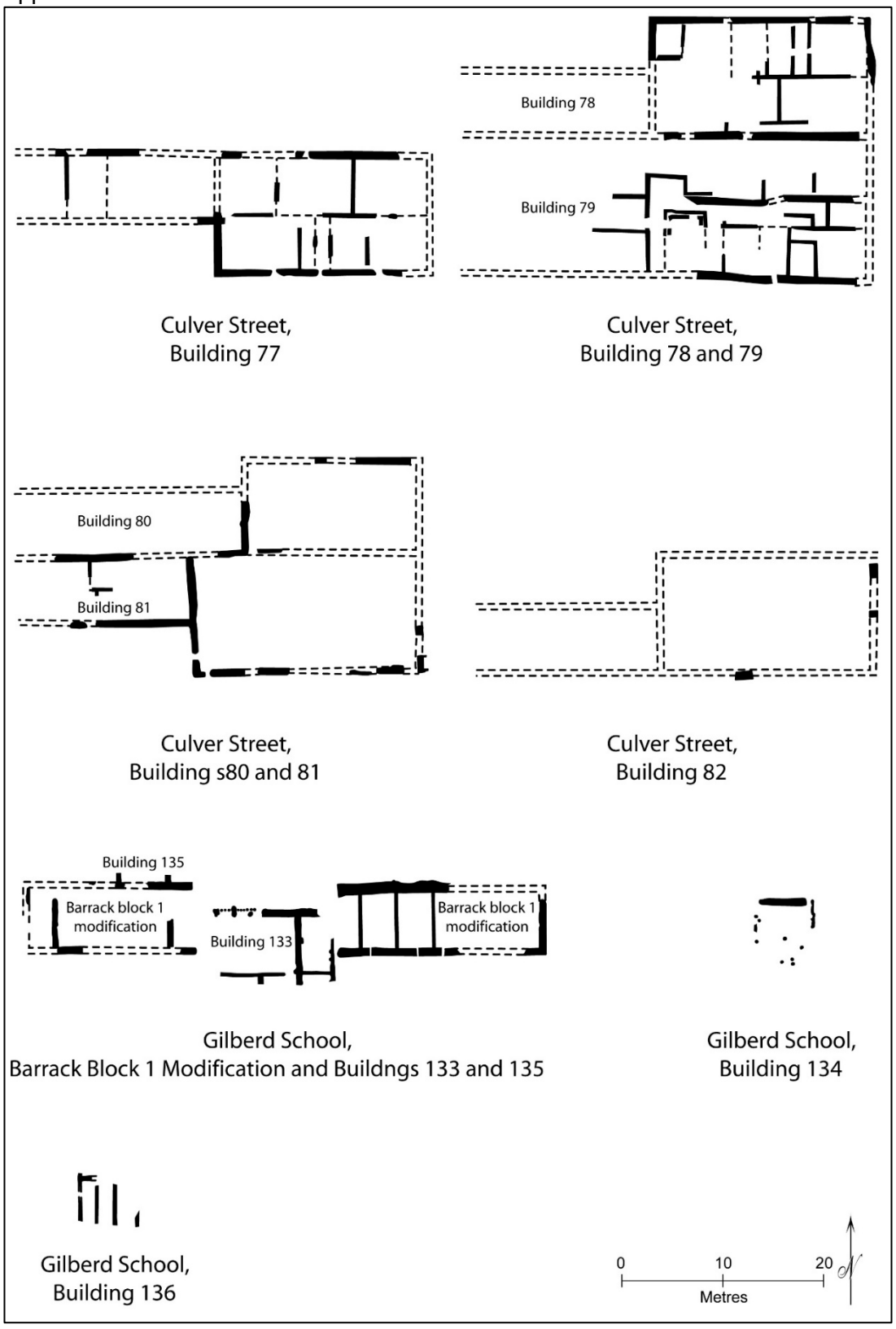
Appendix 5.15: Plan of Military barrack blocks and associated structures



Appendix 5.16: Military and associated structures in ETOZ

Structure name	Shape	Dimensions	Construction	Entrance facing	Reference
Balkerne Lane, Building 34	Rectangular	13.2m by 5.7m	Palisade trenches, stakeholes	?	Crummy 1984, 99
Balkerne Lane, Building 35	Rectangular	? (not fully excavated)	Slots and stakeholes	?	Crummy 1984, 101
Balkerne Lane, Building 36	Rectangular	? (not fully excavated)	Slots and stakeholes	?	Crummy 1984, 101
Balkerne Lane, Building 37	Rectangular	5.9m by 5.4m	Palisade trenches and stakeholes	NW? (facing onto street)	Crummy 1984, 101-2
Balkerne Lane, Building 38	Rectangular	? (not fully excavated)	Slots and stakeholes	?	Crummy 1992, p132
Culver Street, Building 77 (Barrack Block 1)	Rectangular	34m by 12m (not fully excavated)	Masonry wall plinths, palisade trenches	E? (facing onto street)	Crummy 1992, 39-41
Culver Street, Building 78 (Barrack Block 2)	Rectangular	22.5m by 12.5m (not fully excavated)	Masonry wall plinths, palisade trenches	E? (facing onto street)	Crummy 1992, 44-45
Culver Street, Building 79 (Barrack Block 3)	Rectangular	25.5m by 15.5m (not fully excavated)	Masonry wall plinths, palisade trenches	E? (facing onto street)	Crummy 1992, 45-48
Culver Street, Building 80 (Barrack Block 4)	Rectangular	19m by 9.5m (not fully excavated)	Masonry wall plinths, palisade trenches	E? (facing onto street)	Crummy 1992, 48
Culver Street, Building 81 (Barrack Block 5)	Rectangular	36.5m by 13m (not fully excavated)	Masonry wall plinths, palisade trenches	E? (facing onto street)	Crummy 1992, 48-49
Culver Street, Building 82 (Barrack Block 6)	Rectangular	14m by 13m (not fully excavated)	Masonry wall plinths, palisade trenches	E? (facing onto street)	Crummy 1992, 49
Gilberd School, Barrack Block 1	Rectangular	52m by 7m	Timber buildings on mortar plinths, daub walls with tiled roof	S (facing onto street)	Crummy 1992, 128-131
Gilberd School, Barrack Block 2	Rectangular	52m by 7m?	Timber buildings on mortar plinths, daub walls with tiled roof	N (facing onto street)	Crummy 1992, 132

Appendix 5.17: Plan of Pre-Boudican *Colonia* structures

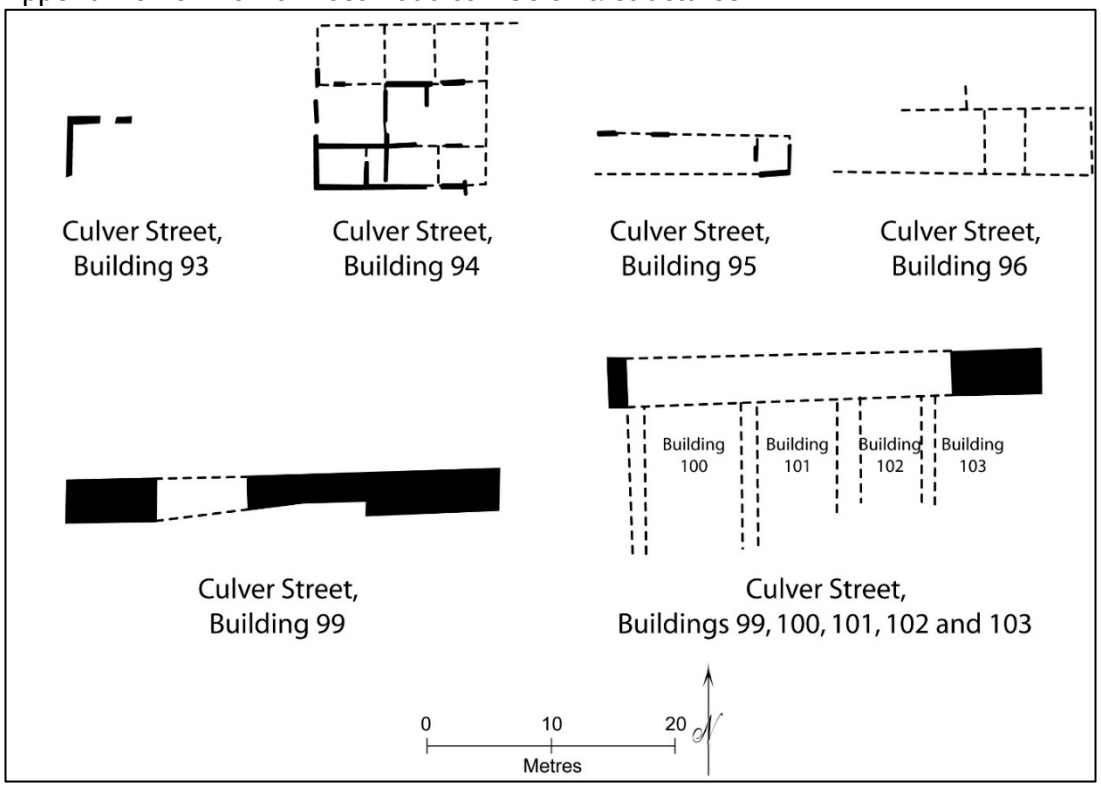


Appendix 5.18: Pre-Boudican *Colonia* structures in ETOZ

Structure name	Shape	Dimensions	Construction	Entrance facing	Reference
Balkerne Lane, Building 39	Rectangular	7.3m by 6.9m	Wattle and daub evidence	?	(Crummy 1984, 103-5)
Balkerne Lane, Building 40	Rectangular	14.3m by 4.3m	Wattle and daub evidence	NW? (facing onto street)	(Crummy 1984, 103-5)
Balkerne Lane, Building 41	Rectangular	? (not fully excavated)	Wattle and daub evidence	NW? (facing onto street)	(Crummy 1984, 103-5)
Balkerne Lane, Building 42	Rectangular	? (not fully excavated)	Wattle and daub evidence	NW? (facing onto street)	(Crummy 1984, 103-5
Balkerne Lane, Building 43	Rectangular	? (not fully excavated)	Wattle and daub?	N? (facing onto street)	(Crummy 1984, 105)
Balkerne Lane, Building 44	Rectangular	36.3m by 3.6m	Wattle and daub with stakeholes	E? (facing onto street)	(Crummy 1984, 105-6)
Balkerne Lane, Building 45	Rectangular	39.6m by 9.1m	Wattle and daub with stakeholes	E? (facing onto street)	(Crummy 1984, 107-8)
Balkerne Lane, Building 46	Rectangular	37.2m by 12.3m	Wattle and daub with stakeholes	E? (facing onto street)	(Crummy 1984, 108-110)
Castle Park, House II	Rectangular	42.7m by 42.1m	Masonry foundations	S (facing onto street)	(Hull 1958, 81-85)
Castle Park, House III	Rectangular	47.5m by 38.1m	Masonry foundations	S (facing onto street)	(Hull 1958, 81-85)
Culver Street, Building 77	Rectangular	34m by 12m (not fully excavated)	Masonry wall plinths, palisade trenches	E? (facing onto street)	(Crummy 1992, 41-43)
Culver Street, Building 78	Rectangular	22.5m by 12.5m (not fully excavated)	Masonry wall plinths, palisade trenches	E? (facing onto street)	(Crummy 1992, 45)
Culver Street, Building 79	Rectangular	25.5 by 15.5m (not fully excavated)	Masonry wall plinths, palisade trenches	E? (facing onto street)	(Crummy 1992, 48)
Culver Street, Building 80	Rectangular	19m by 9.5m (not fully excavated)	Masonry wall plinths, palisade trenches	E? (facing onto street)	(Crummy 1992, 48)
Culver Street, Building 81	Rectangular	36.5m by 13m (not fully excavated)	Masonry wall plinths, palisade trenches	E? (facing onto street)	(Crummy 1992, 48-49)
Culver Street, Building 82	Rectangular	14m by 13m (not fully excavated)	Masonry wall plinths, palisade trenches	E? (facing onto street)	(Crummy 1992, 49)
Cups Hotel, Building 152	Rectangular	8.4m by 3.7m	Timber framed, Slots, wattle and daub	?	(Crummy 1992, 330)
Cups Hotel, Building 153	Rectangular	? (not fully excavated)	Masonry wall, bricks	?	(Crummy 1992, 333)
Gilberd School, Barrack Block 1 Modification	Rectangular	52m by 7m?	Structure same, new floors, postholes, pits. Internal layout changed	S (facing onto street)	(Crummy 1992, 132-3)
Gilberd School, Building 133	Rectangular	18.75m by 12.5m	Timber framed building, supported by piles, daub walls, tile roof	?	Crummy 1992, 133-4)

Structure name	Shape	Dimensions	Construction	Entrance facing	Reference
Gilberd School, Building 134	Rectangular	? (not fully excavated)	Postholes, floor material, ground plates, wattle and daub construction	?	(Crummy 1992, 134-5)
Gilberd School, Building 135	Rectangular	? (not fully excavated)	Postholes, floor material, ground plates, wattle and daub construction	?	(Crummy 1992, 135)
Gilberd School, Building 136	Rectangular	? (not fully excavated)	Slots, ground plates, floor material, piles	?	(Crummy 1992, 135)
Cups Hotel, Building 152	Rectangular	8.4m by 3.7m	Timber framed, Slots, wattle and daub	?	(Crummy 1992, 330)
Cups Hotel, Building 153	Rectangular	? (not fully excavated)	Masonry wall, bricks	?	(Crummy 1992, 333)

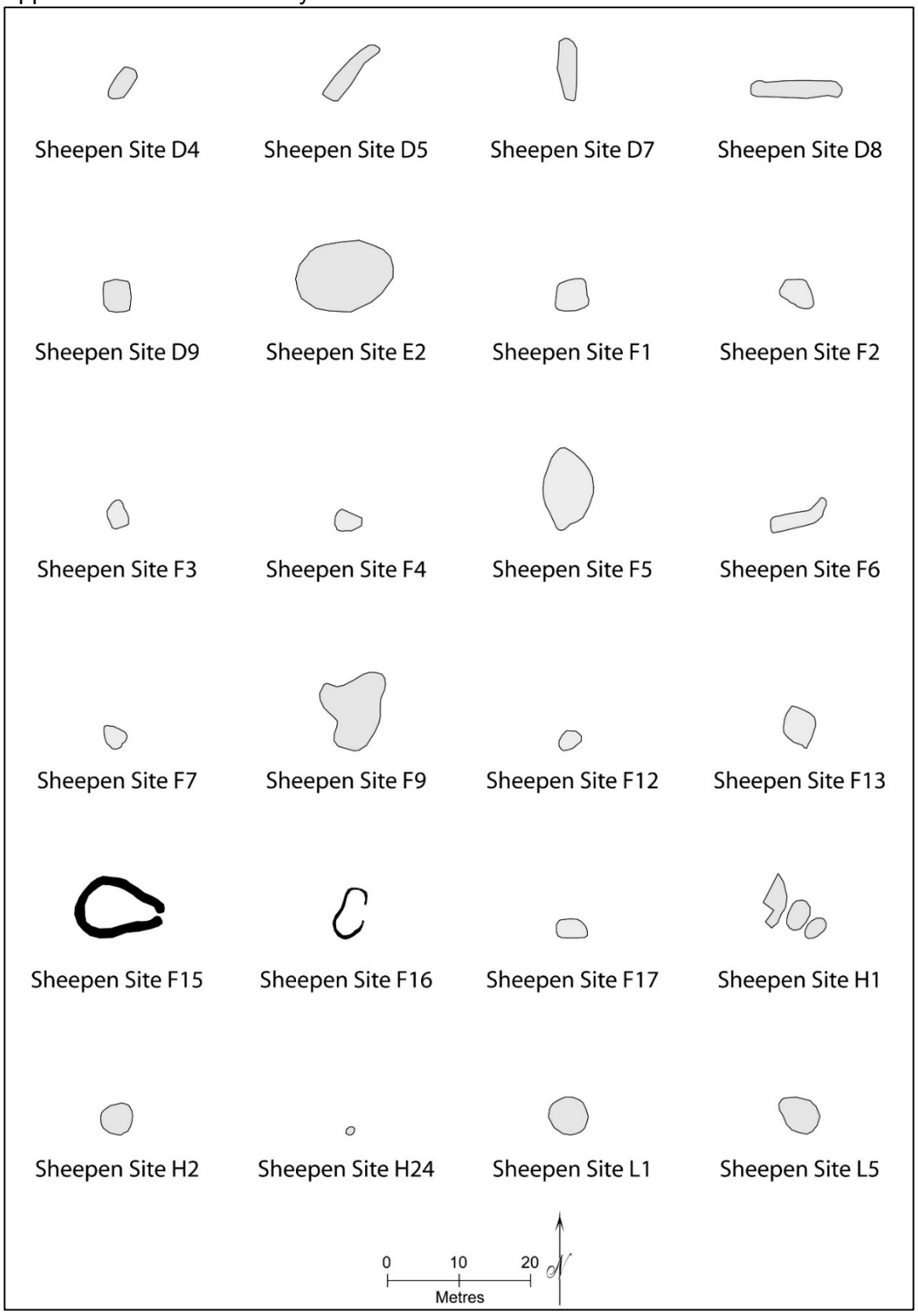
Appendix 5.19: Plan of Post-Boudican *Colonia* structures



Appendix 5.20: Post- Boudican *Colonia* structures in ETOZ

Structure name	Shape	Dimensions	Construction	Entrance facing	Reference
Culver Street, Building 93	Rectangular	5.5 by 4.5m (not fully excavated)	Masonry walls, palisade trenches	N? (facing onto street)	(Crummy 1992, 65-67)
Culver Street, Building 94	Rectangular	14.5 by 12m (not fully excavated)	Masonry walls, palisade trenches	E? (facing onto street)	(Crummy 1992, 67-69)
Culver Street, Building 95	Rectangular	11.5m by 4m (not fully excavated)	Masonry wall plinths, palisade trenches	?	(Crummy 1992, 69)
Culver Street, Building 96	Rectangular	6.5 by 4m (not fully excavated)	Masonry wall?, palisade trenches	?	(Crummy 1992, 69-70)
Culver Street, Building 97	Rectangular	? (not fully excavated)	Palisade trenches	?	(Crummy 1992, 70-71)
Culver Street, Building 98	Rectangular	? (not fully excavated)	Palisade trenches	E? (facing onto street)	(Crummy 1992, 71)
Culver Street, Building 99	Rectangular	10m by 5m (not fully excavated)	Post-pits, palisade slots	S? (Facing onto street)	(Crummy 1992, 71)
Culver Street, Building 100	Rectangular	12m by 8.5m (not fully excavated)	Post-pits, palisade slots	N? (Facing onto street)	(Crummy 1992, 72-73)
Culver Street, Building 101	Rectangular	12m by 6.5m (not fully excavated)	Post-pits, palisade slots	N? (Facing onto street)	(Crummy 1992, 72-73)
Culver Street, Building 102	Rectangular	8m by 6m (not fully excavated)	Post-pits, palisade slots	N? (Facing onto street)	(Crummy 1992, 72-73)
Culver Street, Building 103	Rectangular	9m by 5m (not fully excavated)	Post-pits, palisade slots	N? (Facing onto street)	(Crummy 1992, 72-73)

Appendix 5.21: Plan of Early Roman roundhouse structures

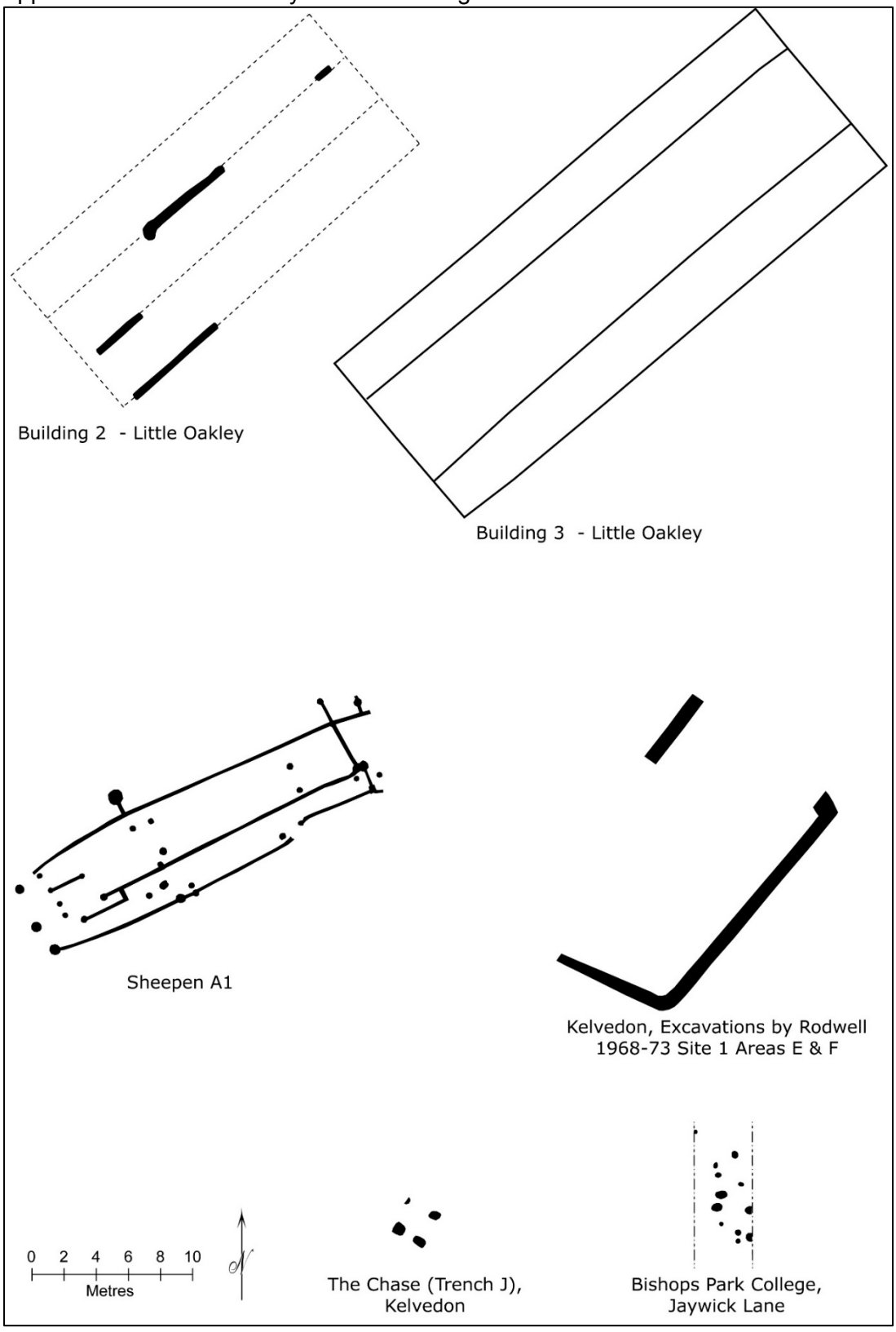


Appendix 5.22: Roundhouse style structures in ETOZ

Structure name	Shape	Dimensions	Construction	Entrance facing	Reference
Doucecroft site, Kelvedon (KL 4)	Circular	6.6m diameter	Drip gully	E	(Clarke 1988)
Langley Green	Circular?	6.1m	Drip gully	?	(McMaster et al 1974, 21)
Sheepen, Site F15	Circular	12.2m x 7.9m	Low wall bank, pre conquest pottery including imports and LIA coins of Cunobelin	?	(Hawkes & Hull 1947, 66)
Sheepen, Site F13	Circular	5.9m by 4.6m	Possible posthole with LIA pottery.	?	(Hawkes & Hull 1947, 65)
Sheepen, Site H2	Circular	2.5m	Contains LIA pottery	?	(Hawkes & Hull 1947, 67)
Sheepen, Pit H24	Circular	1.5m	Hollow	?	(Hawkes & Hull 1947, 67)
Sheepen, Pit F9	Circular	5.3m by 4.6m	Evidence of collapsed wall / bank of loam	?	(Hawkes & Hull 1947, 65, 67)
Sheepen, Site F16	Circular	6.9m by 4.1m	Centre of floor covered by loam (possible wall).	?	(Hawkes & Hull 1947, 65, 67)
Sheepen, Site F1	Circular	4.9m	Blackened floor including Roman wares from abroad and local wares including S Gaul.	?	(Hawkes & Hull 1947, 61, 65, 68)
Sheepen, Site F2	Circular	3.9m x 2.7m	Floor of blackened occupation earth, two postholes by s wall	?	(Hawkes & Hull 1947, 61, 65, 68)
Sheepen, Site F3	Circular	3.9m x 2.7m	Blackened floor	?	(Hawkes & Hull 1947, 61, 65, 68)
Sheepen, Site F4	Circular	12.4m by 10.1m	Palisade trench, one recognisable posthole	?	(Hawkes & Hull 1947, 68)
Sheepen, Site F5	Circular	37.7m by 23.2m	Three postholes approx 6.1m apart. Including cobbled hearth	?	(Hawkes & Hull 1947, 62)
Sheepen, Site F6	Circular	24.7m by 7.2m	Two postholes	?	(Hawkes & Hull 1947, 68)
Sheepen, Site F7	Circular	3.65m x 2.7m	Contains native pottery, Gallo-Belgic and Roman	?	(Hawkes & Hull 1947, 63)
Sheepen, Site F12	Circular	3.65m x 2.4m	Layer of occupation	?	(Hawkes & Hull 1947, 68)
Sheepen, Site F17	Circular	4.9m x 2.7m	Layer of occupation	?	(Hawkes & Hull 1947, 68)
Sheepen, Site H1	Circular	6.1m	Loam floor	?	(Hawkes & Hull 1947, 68)
Sheepen, Site E2	Circular	4.6m	Clay floor with remains of wall bank on S, typical pottery of period and British coin	?	(Hawkes & Hull 1947, 75)
Sheepen, Site L5	Circular	5.2m x 4.3m	Thick occupation later of loam. An *as* of Claudius found, pottery and bronze working debris	?	(Hawkes & Hull 1947, 104)
Sheepen, Site D8	Circular	7.9m x 3.6m	Loam floor	?	(Hawkes & Hull 1947, 104)
Sheepen, Site A5	Circular	2.4m diameter	Clay wall bank, six small stakeholes	?	(Hawkes & Hull 1947, 91)
Sheepen, Site L1	Circular	5.5m diameter	Wall bank on eastern side	?	(Hawkes & Hull 1947, 104)
Sheepen, Site D4	Circular	5.9m diameter	Loam layer, pottery	?	(Hawkes & Hull 1947, 103)
Sheepen, Site D5	Circular	14.9m by 4.7m	Loam layer, pottery	?	(Hawkes & Hull 1947, 101)
Sheepen,	Circular	10.4m	Remains of wall banks, filled	?	(Hawkes &

Structure name	Shape	Dimensions	Construction	Entrance facing	Reference
Site D7		diameter	with charred debris and burnt clay		Hull 1947, 104)
Sheepen, Site D9	Circular?	4.5m by 3.7m	Not well defined	?	(Hawkes & Hull 1947, 104)

Appendix 5.23: Plan of early Roman rectangular structures



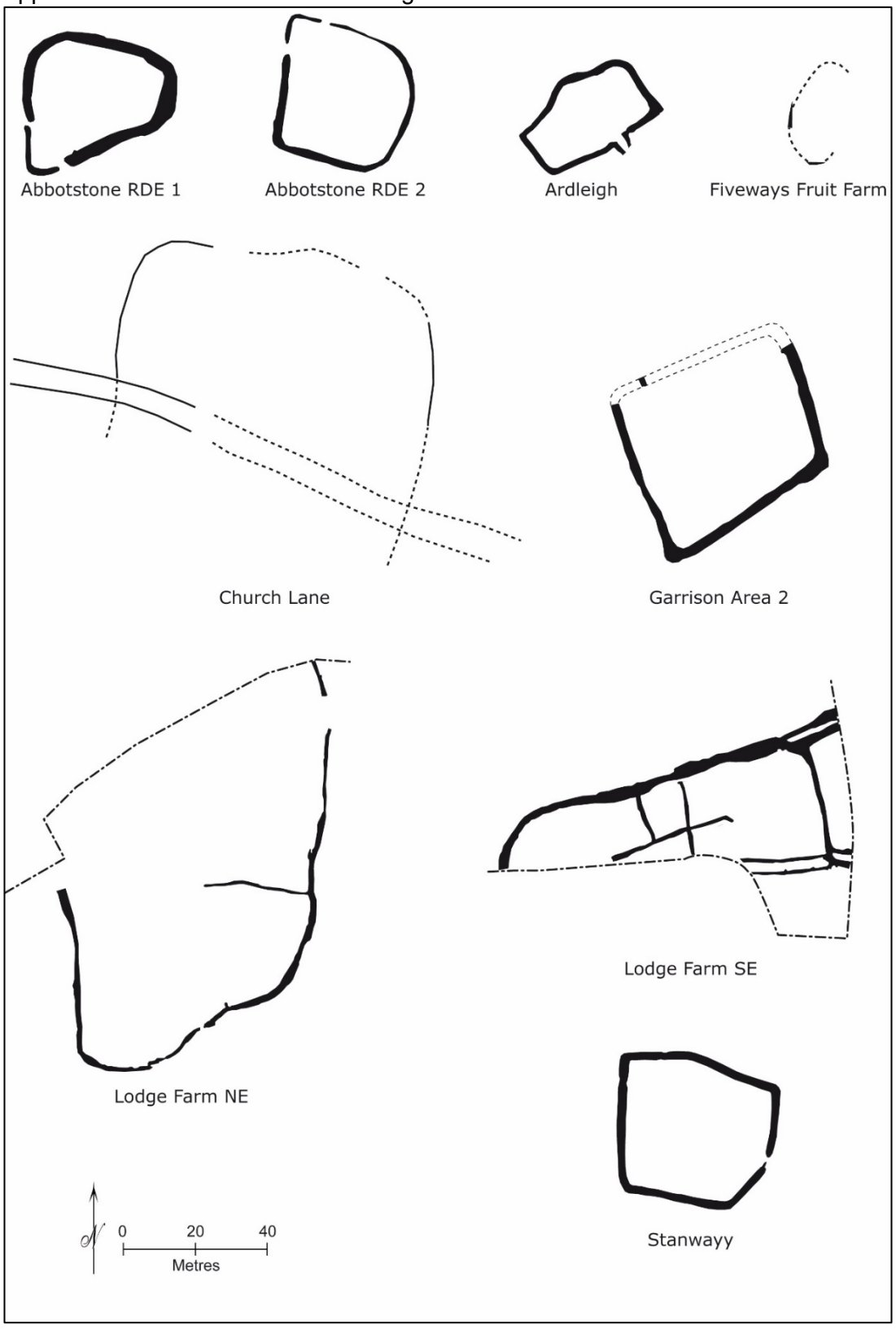
Appendix 5.24: Early Roman Rectangular structures in ETOZ

Structure name	Shape	Dimensions	Construction	Entrance facing	Reference
Bishops Park College, Jaywick Lane	Rectangular	5.6m by 2m	Postholes	?	(Letch 2002)
Kelvedon, Excavations by Rodwell 1968-73 Site 1 Areas E & F	Rectangular	18.5m by 11.7m	Beam slot, clay floor, two hearths	?	(Rodwell 1988, 12-14)
Kelvedon, Excavations by Rodwell 1968-73 Site 2 Area B	Rectangular	13.5m by 6m	Beam slots	?	(Hull 1958, 153-158)
Little Oakley - Building 3	Rectangular	34.1m by 12.7m	Beam slots	?	(Barford 2002, 19-20)
Little Oakley – Building 2	Rectangular	24.6m by 10.9m	Beam slots	?	(Barford 2002, 19-20)
Little Oakley - Sunken Floor Building	Rectangular	6.1m by 3.1m	Excavated hole	?	(Barford 2002, 19-20)
Sheepen, A1	Rectangular	16.7m by 4.6m	Timber posts, subdivisions and possible veranda	?	(Hawkes & Hull 1947, 90-1)
Sheepen, L3	Rectangular	17.1m length	Floor of stiff loamy clay with pebbled surface, beam gullies, postholes	?	(Hawkes & Hull 1947, 104)
The Chase (Trench J), Kelvedon	Rectangular	2.6m by 1.84m	Postholes	?	(Rodwell 1988)

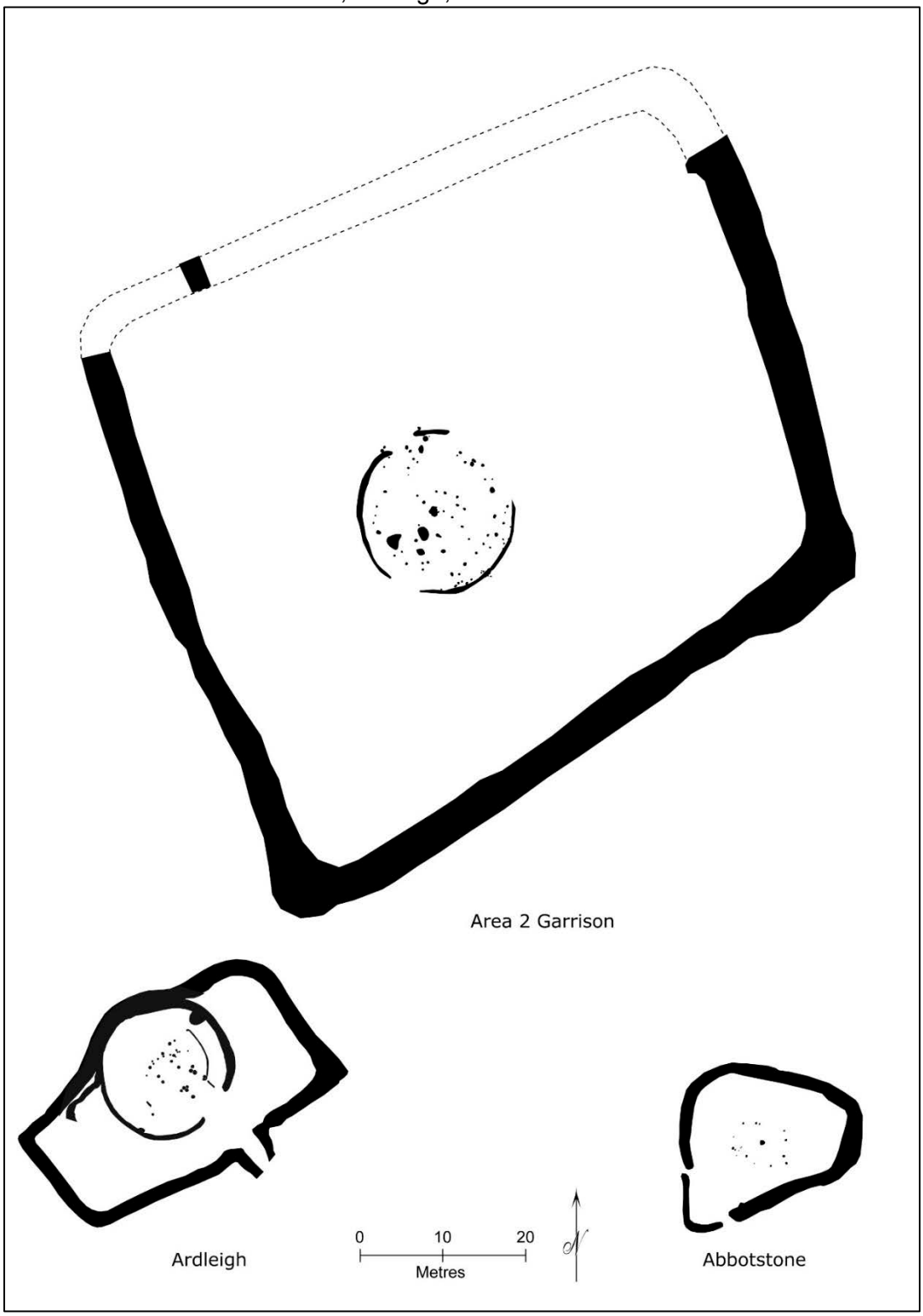
Appendix 5.25: Early Roman burials at Stanway

Site Name	Burial name	Grave Goods	Details	Comments	Date
Enclosure 4 Chamber	Burial chamber measuring 3.3m x 2.3m x 1.7m, Lined with wooden planks containing unurned cremated human remains	Pottery, beads, glass, silver brooches	Pottery vessels - 3 imported, 19 local origin	50-70 AD	(Crummy et al 2007, 128)
Enclosure 5 Chamber	Burial chamber measuring 4m x 4m x 1.7m, Lined with wooden planks, no human remains present	Pottery, metalwork, animal bone, gaming counter, copper alloy objects	-	Claudian?	(Crummy et al 2007, 142)
Enclosure 3 Warriors Burial	Pit measuring 2m x 1.5m x 0.4m containing cremated bone of an adult. 31 grave goods suggesting 'warrior' status	Pottery, shield, spear head, brooch, wooden box, glass, gaming board, textile	Pottery imports from Gaul, Complete amphorae	40-50 AD	(Crummy et al 2007, 167
Enclosure 3 Inkwell burial	Burial pit 1.65m square, 0.5m depth containing cremated bone of adult.	Pottery, brooch, remains of a box, copper alloy objects	One vessel is an inkwell, hence name	50-60 AD	(Crummy et al 2007, 197)
Enclosure 5 Doctor's burial	Pit measuring 2.1m x 1.7m 1 0.7m containing cremated remains and objects suggesting a 'Doctor'	Pottery, surgical instruments, gaming boards and pieces, brooches, beads, rings and rods, copper alloy objects	Pottery includes 14 vessels, 11 of which are cups and platters from Gaul. Copper alloy strainer bowl and pan	40-50 AD	(Crummy et al 2007, 201)
Enclosure 5 Brooches burial	Pit measuring 1m square and 0.2m deep containing cremated remains covered by textile remains	Glass vessels, Six brooches, pottery	Glass vessels including rare 'pyxis' coloured blue and white, cosmetic container, all brooches postdate 43AD	50s AD	(Crummy et al 2007, 254)
Enclosure 5 Mirror burial	Small pit burial containing grave goods including fragment of a mirror	Pottery, bottle, mirror	Pottery includes cup and flagon from Gaul	43-75 AD	(Crummy et al 2007, 260)
Enclosure 5 Cremation burial	Square pit measuring 0.57m and 0.2m depth containing cremated remains	Pottery	Two locally made jars and platters		(Crummy et al 2007, 262)

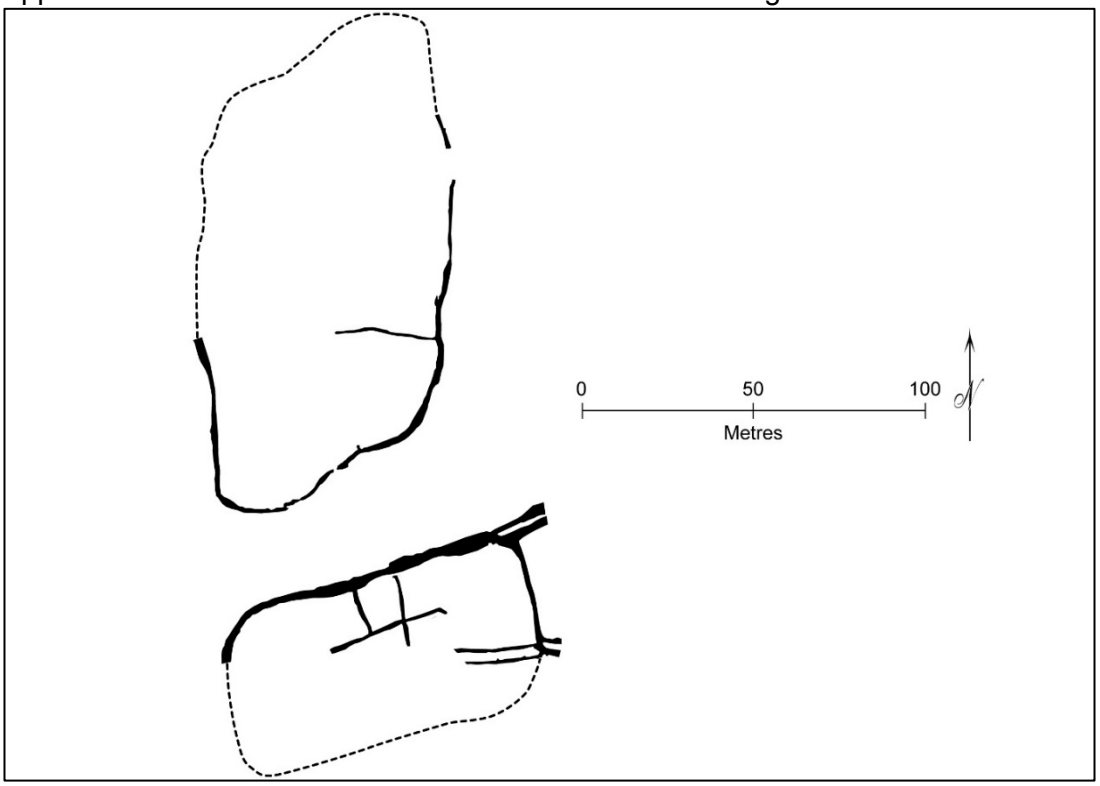
Appendix 5.26: Plans of Middle Iron Age enclosures



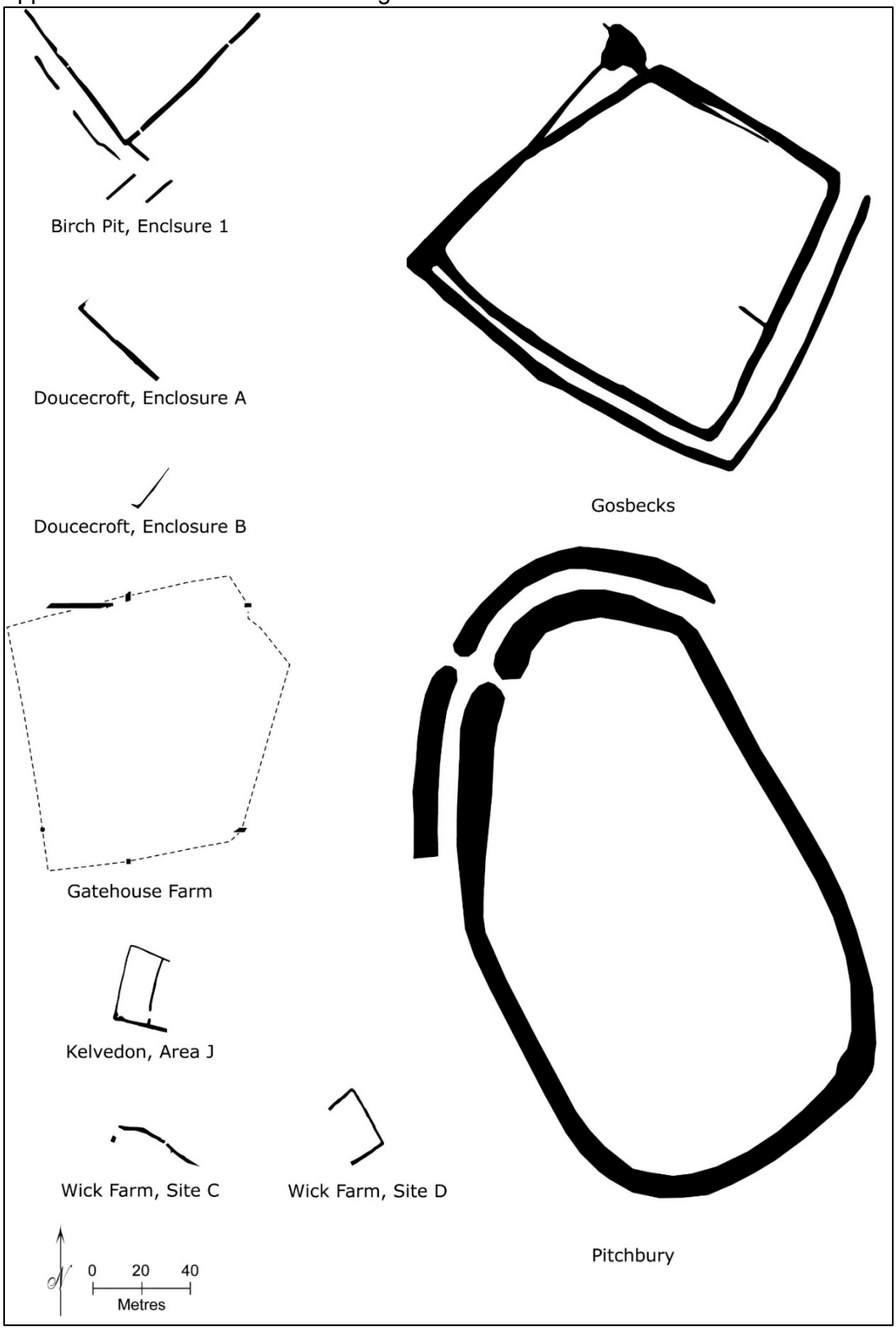
Appendix 5.27: Plans of Middle Iron Age enclosures and corresponding roundhouses - Area 2 Garrison, Ardleigh, Abbotstone.



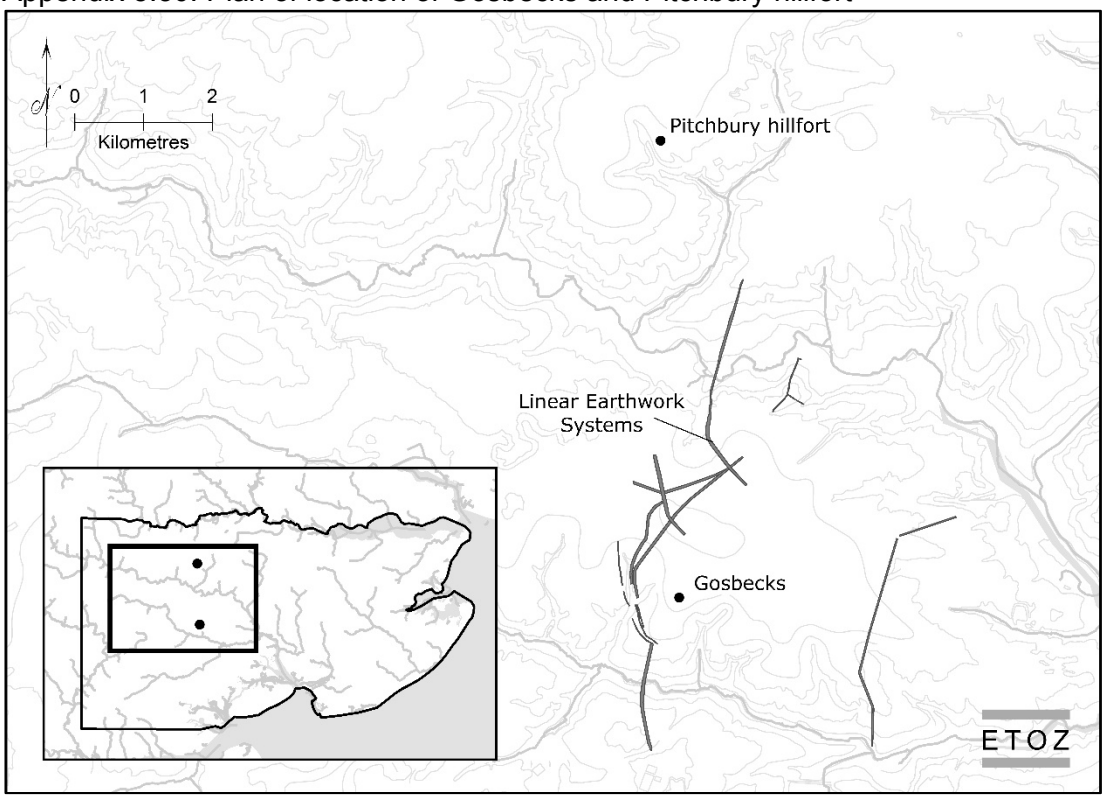
Appendix 5.28: Plan of estimated size of enclosures at Lodge Farm



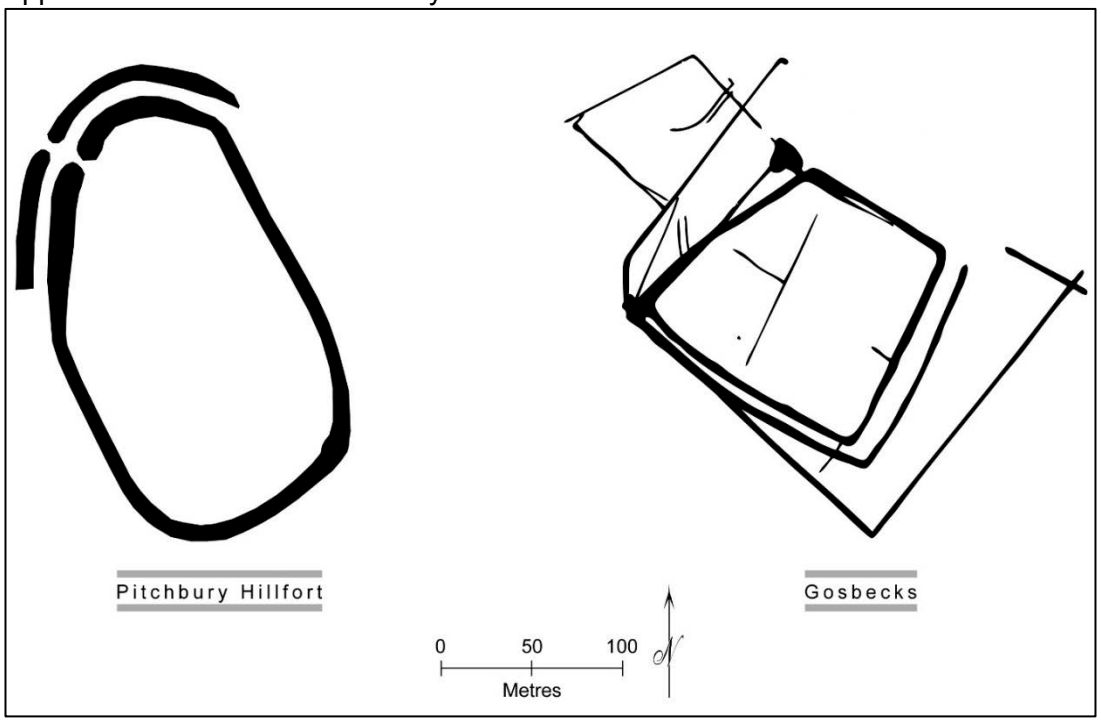
Appendix 5.29: Plans of Late Iron Age enclosures



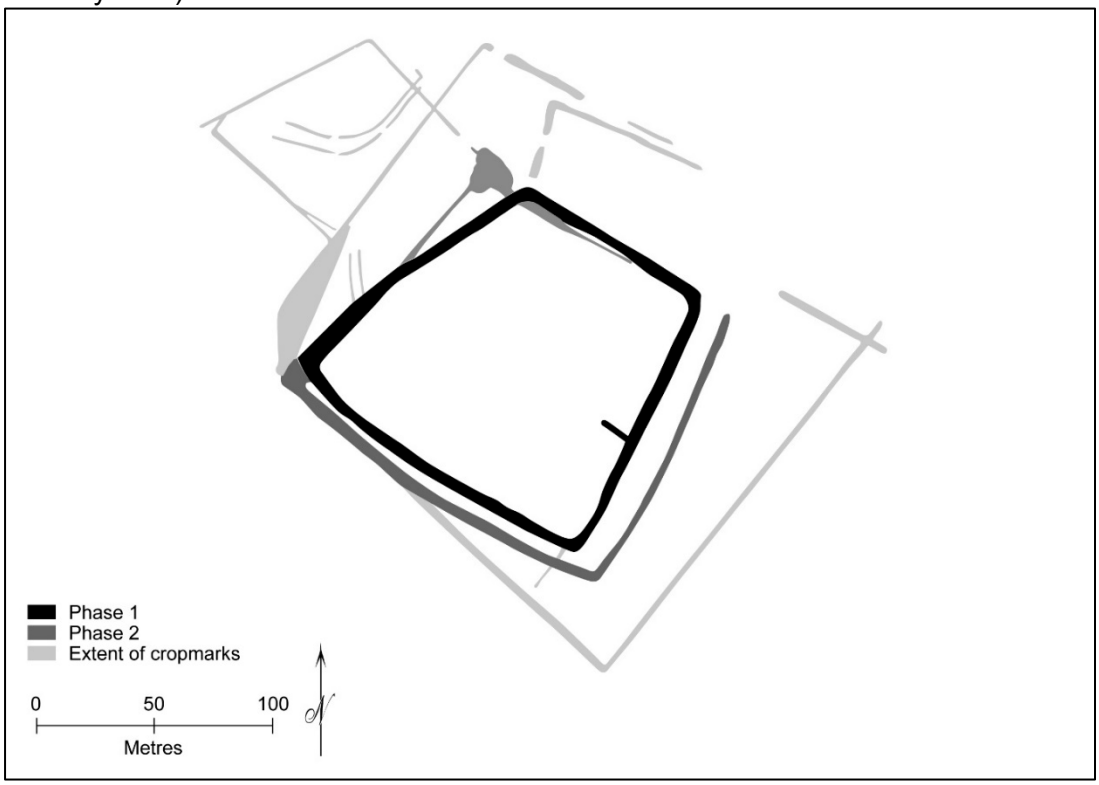
Appendix 5.30: Plan of location of Gosbecks and Pitchbury hillfort



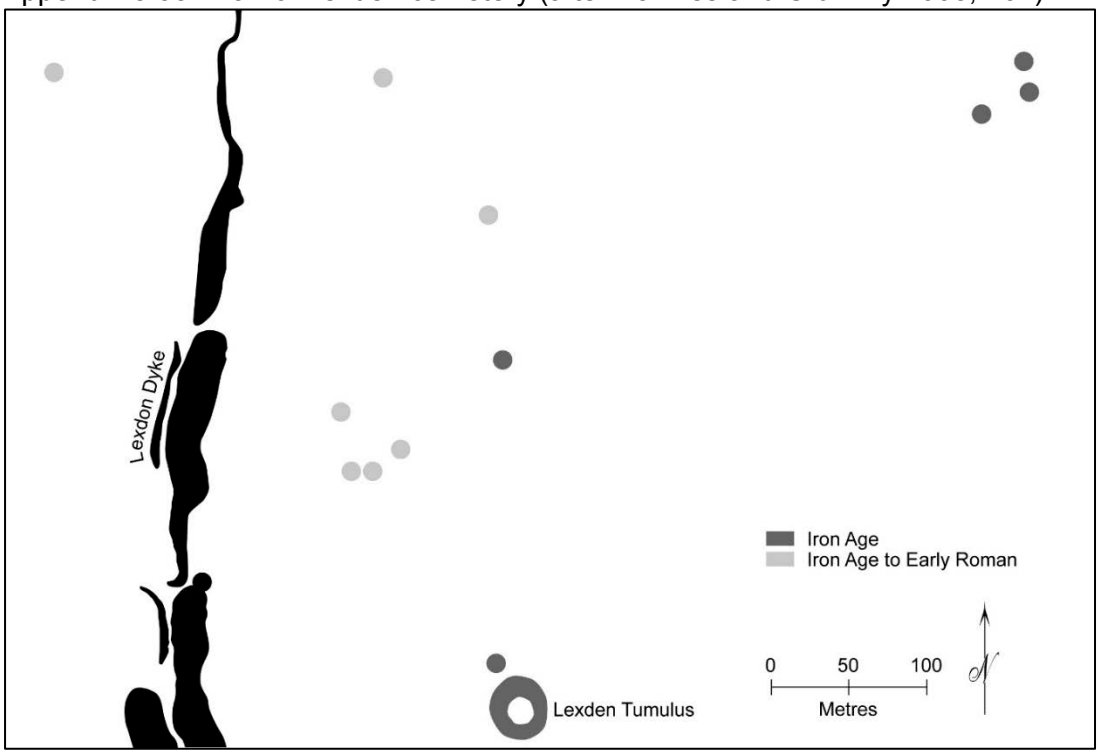
Appendix 5.31: Plans of Pitchbury Hillfort and Gosbecks enclosure



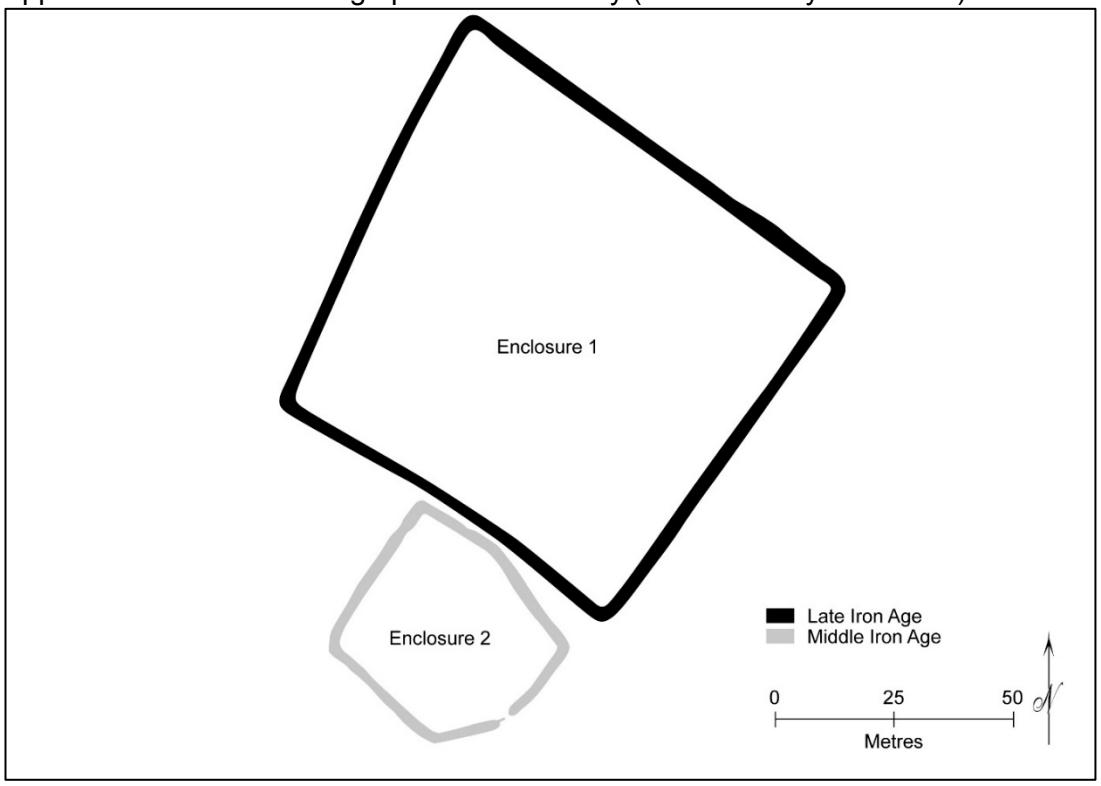
Appendix 5.32: Detailed plan of phases of Gosbecks enclosure (After Hawkes and Crummy 1995)



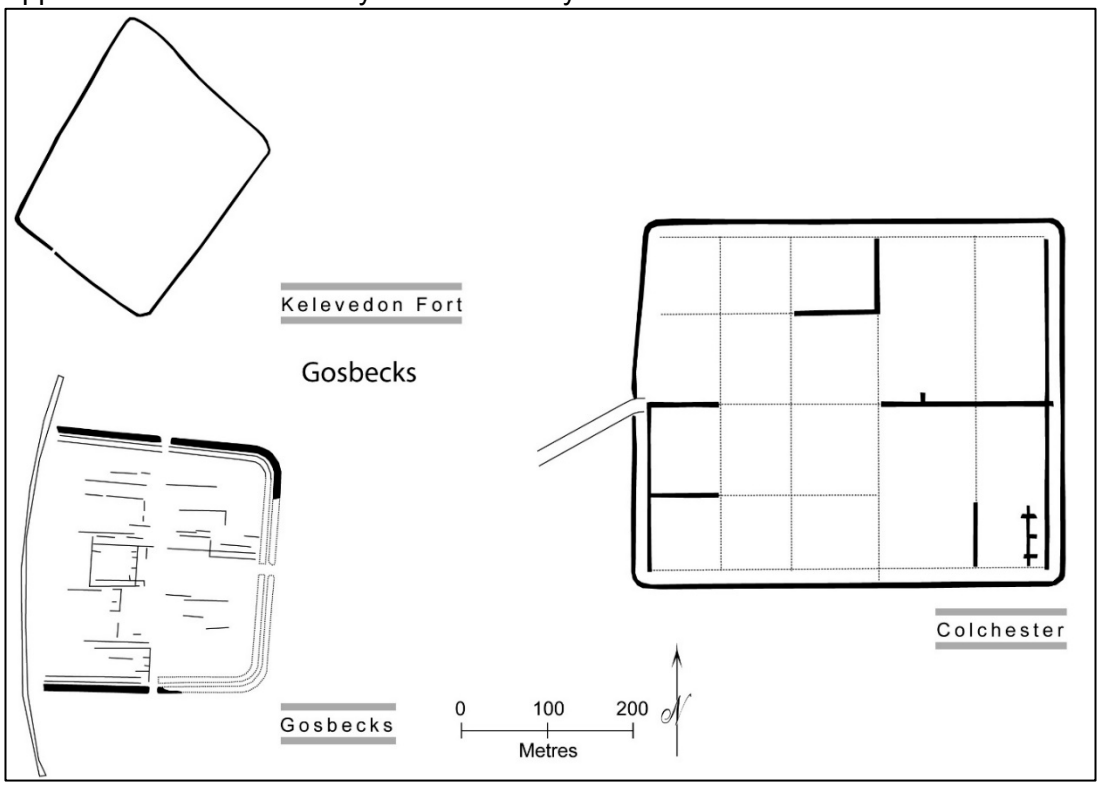
Appendix 5.33: Plan of Lexden cemetery (after Hawkes and Crummy 1995, 164)



Appendix 5.34: Late Iron Age phase of Stanway (after Crummy et al 2007)



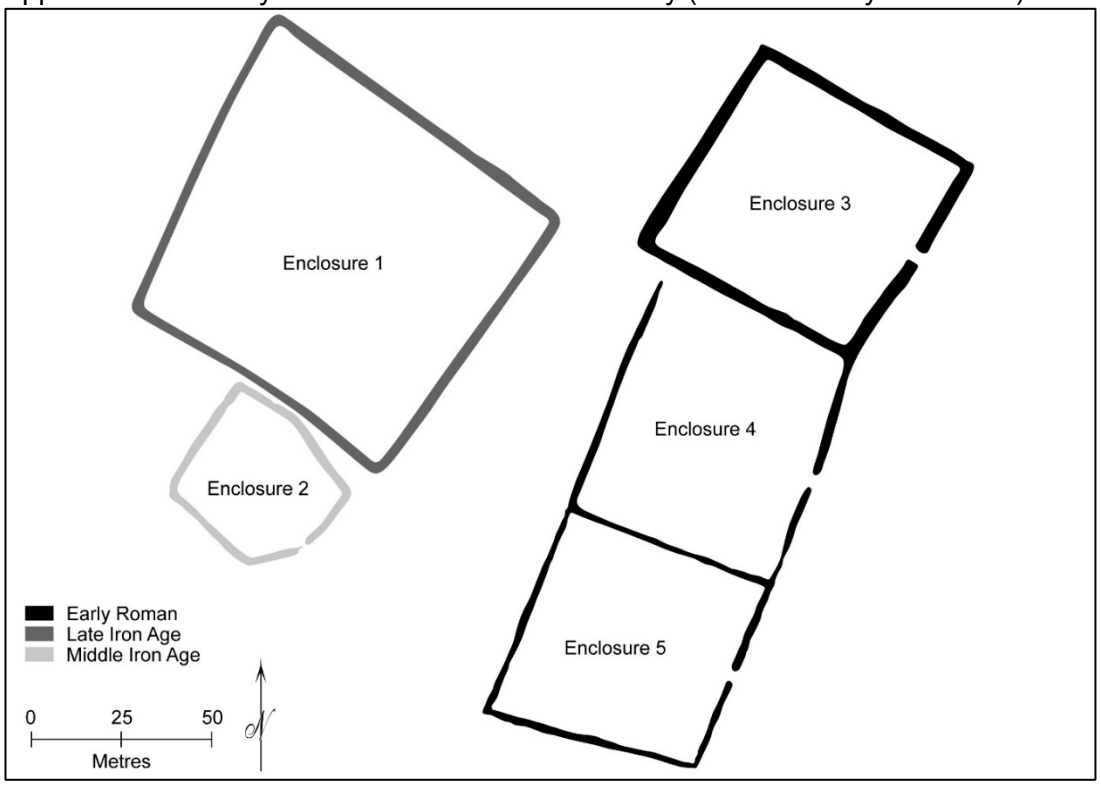
Appendix 5.35: Plan of Early Roman military enclosures



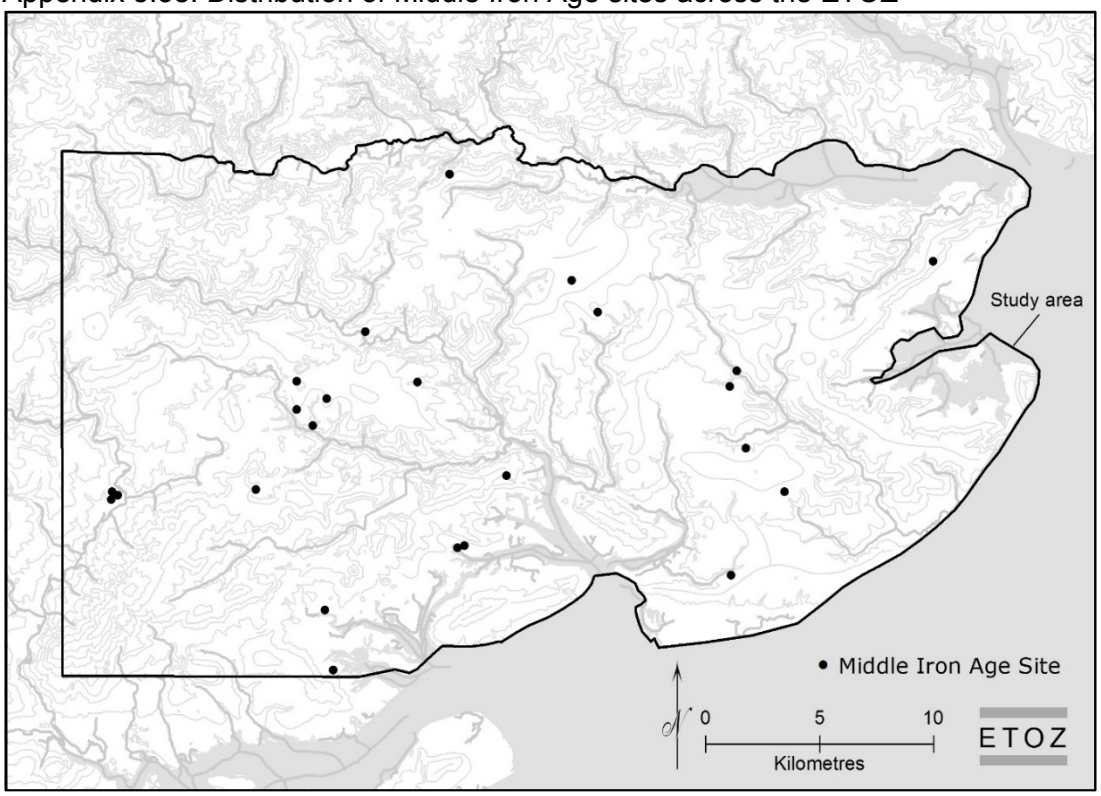
Appendix 5.36: Early Roman cemeteries

Name	Details	Reference
Gutteridge Wood, Weeley	Single ditch (possible boundary) and five cremation burials (cremated remains of five adults, not full bodies but major parts including skull, pelvis etc)	(Wade 2008, 35-37)
Kelvedon Area J	Some small scale cremation burial probably 3, two urned.	(Rodwell 1988, 42)
Kelvedon Roman cemeteries	Area J - cremation burials dating to 1st century AD. Some urned and some unurned.	(Rodwell 1988)
Lexden - Roman cemetery	One phase of the cemetery ended c.AD 50 but burials began again in the Flavian period, in a very small way, including number of urns	(HER)
Near Beverley Road	A Roman walled cemetery dated c.AD100 found during excavations between 1934 and 1940 by AF Hall in the garden of Gurney Benham House. There are both cremations and inhumation burials. This is located on western side of town	(Hull 1958, 254)
Sheepen Cemetery	Excavation in 1971 produced five pre-Flavian cremation groups. May have been located within an enclosure delimited by a ditch or possibly even a robbed out wall.	(Niblett 1985, 22)
St Botolph's Vicarage	Four vessels (cremation urns) at least have been found in the garden of St Botolph's Vicarage. They are of C1 and C2 date. Though ashes are not recorded from them they were probably present	(Hull 1958, 258)
St Peter's School, Coggeshall (CG2)	Sizeable settlement, rectangular plan, n-s boundary ditch, internal boundary ditches. Cremation burial and child inhumation just outside boundary ditch	(Clarke 1985)
The Avenue	Two Roman cremation urns under the pavement adjacent to numbers 15 to 17, The Avenue.	(Crummy 1992, 344)
The North-east cemetery	8 graves located in this area outside North-eastern gate. The cemetery seems to have been used from the late 1st century onwards.	(Hull 1958, 257-8)
Near Creffield Road	Roman terracotta figures found with a child inhumation (AKA 'the Childs Grave'), including figures of Hercules, together with pottery and 36 coins of Agrippa and Claudius dated by Hull to 43 AD	(Hull 1958, 254)
North Cemetery	In 1928-9 the museum recovered 32 graves consisting of groups or single vessels. None of these are remarkably early and the cemetery seems to have been used to a moderate extent fairly evenly from the end of the C1	(Hull 1958, 257)

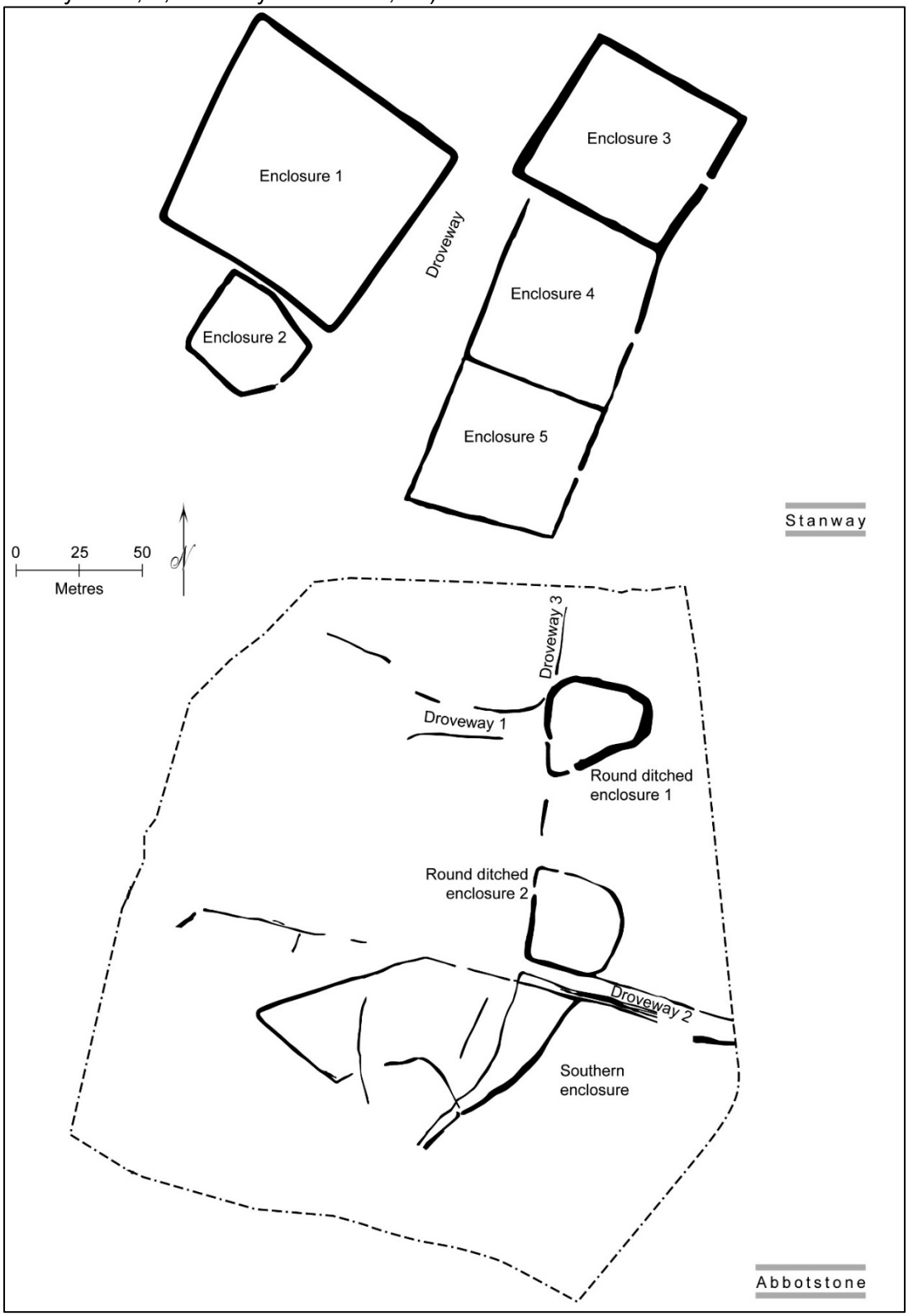
Appendix 5.37: Early Roman enclosures at Stanway (After Crummy et al 2007)



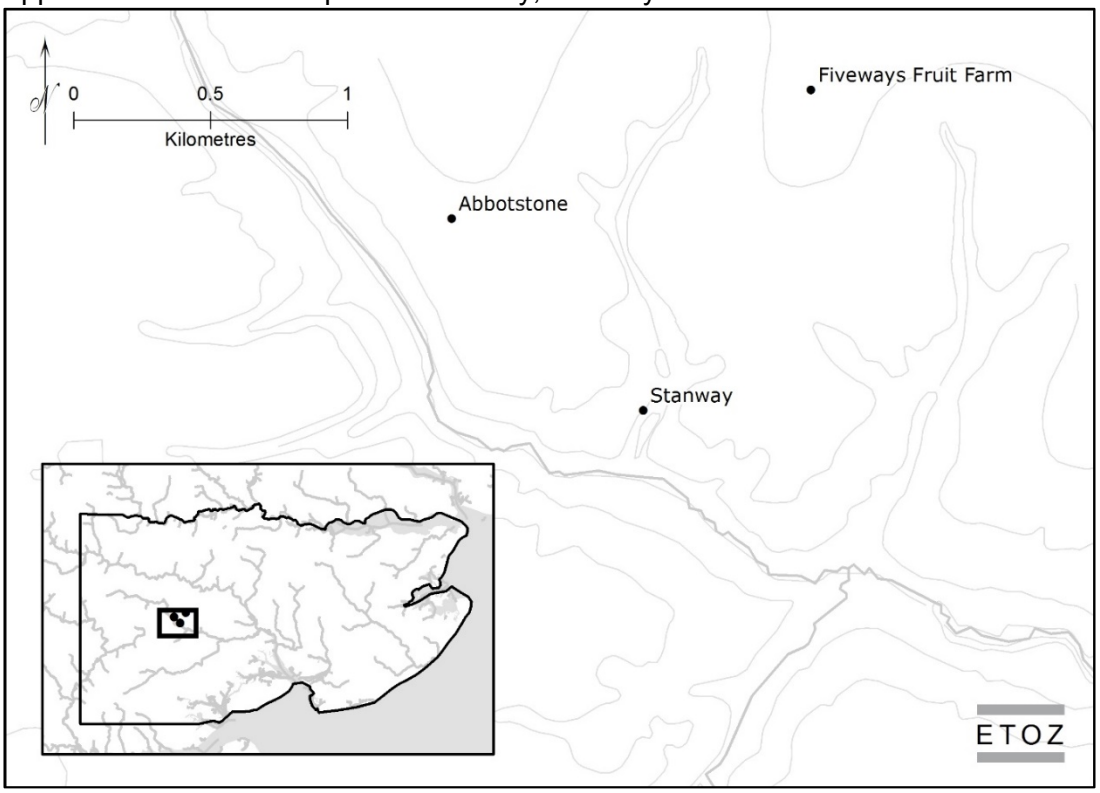
Appendix 5.38: Distribution of Middle Iron Age sites across the ETOZ



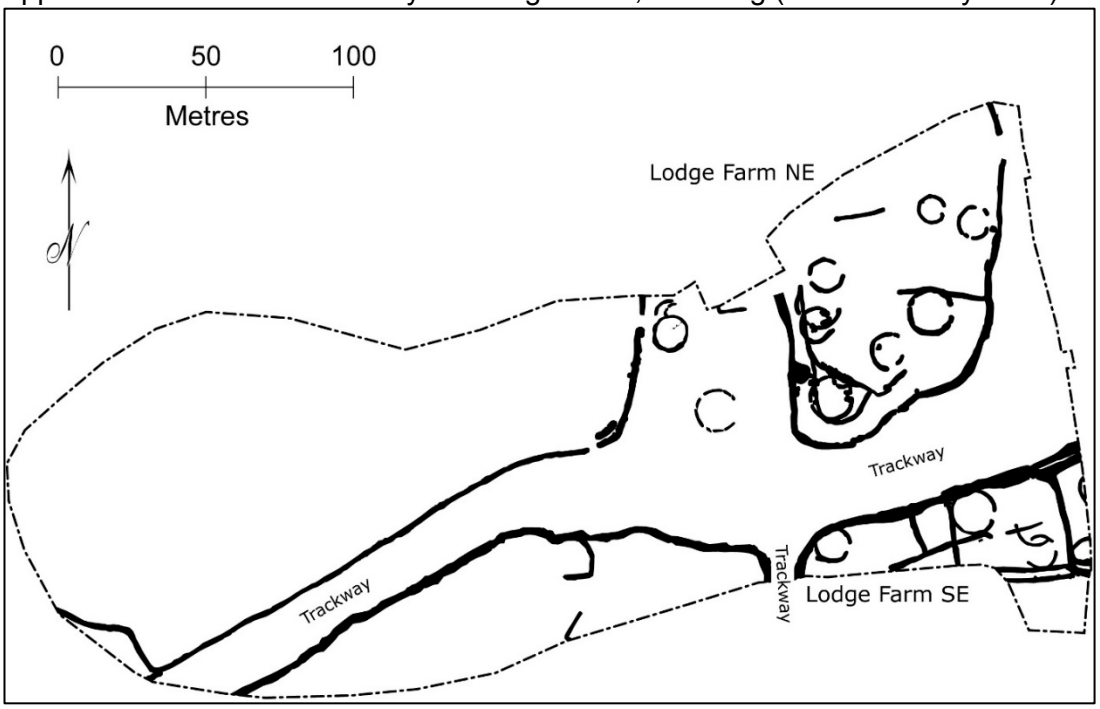
Appendix 5.39: Plan of droveways at Stanway and Abbotstone (After Benfield and Pooley 2005, 8; Crummy et al. 2007, 30)



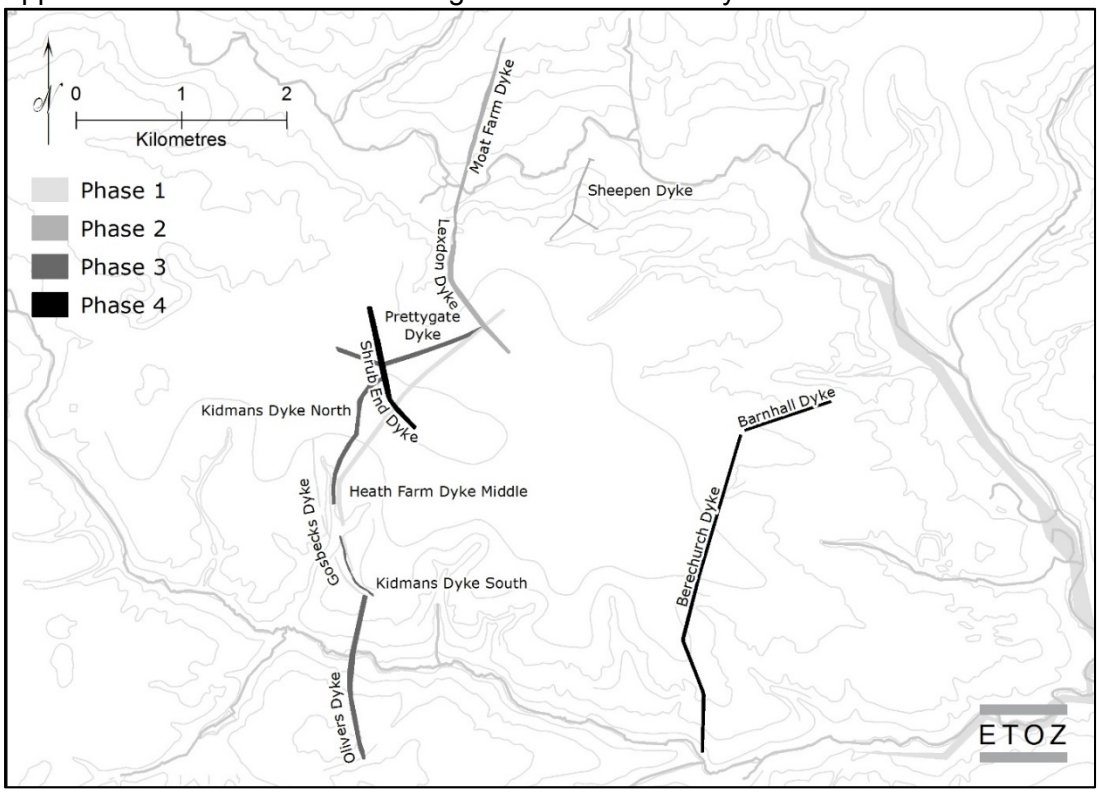
Appendix 5.40: Location plan of Stanway, Fiveways Fruit Farm and Abbotstone



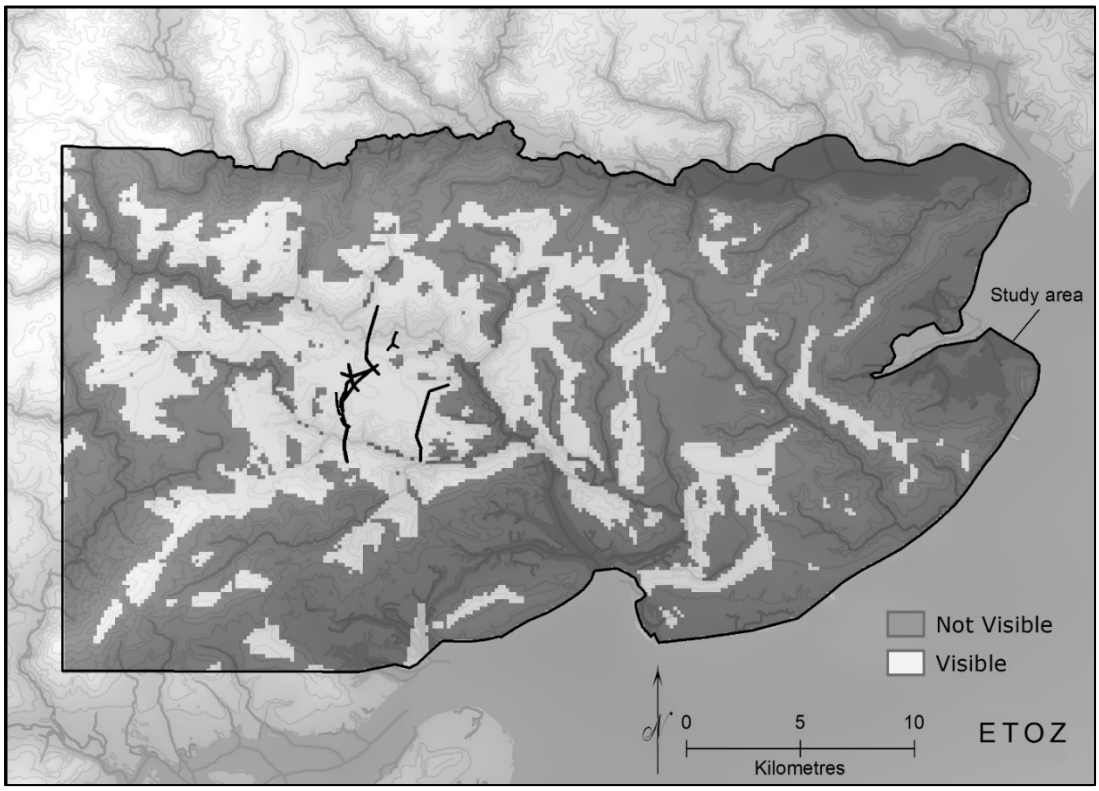
Appendix 5.41: Plan of trackways at Lodge Farm, Tendring (After Germany 2007)



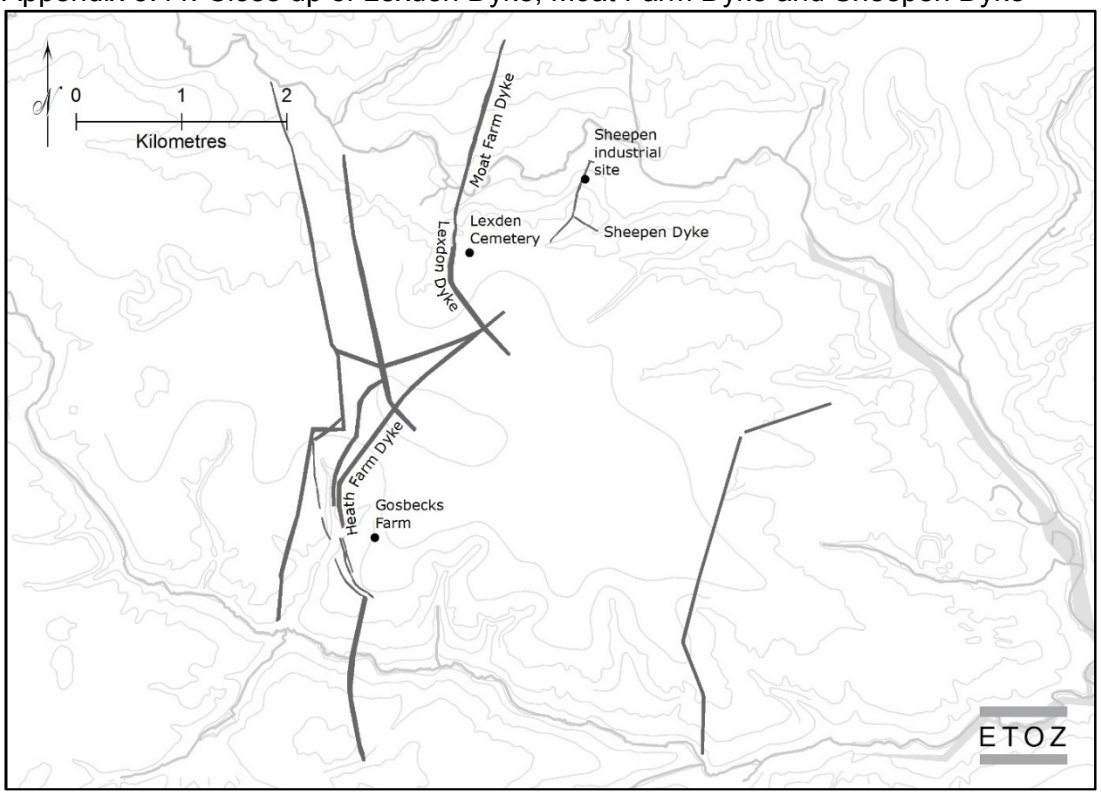
Appendix 5.42: Plan of Late Iron Age linear earthwork system in the ETOZ



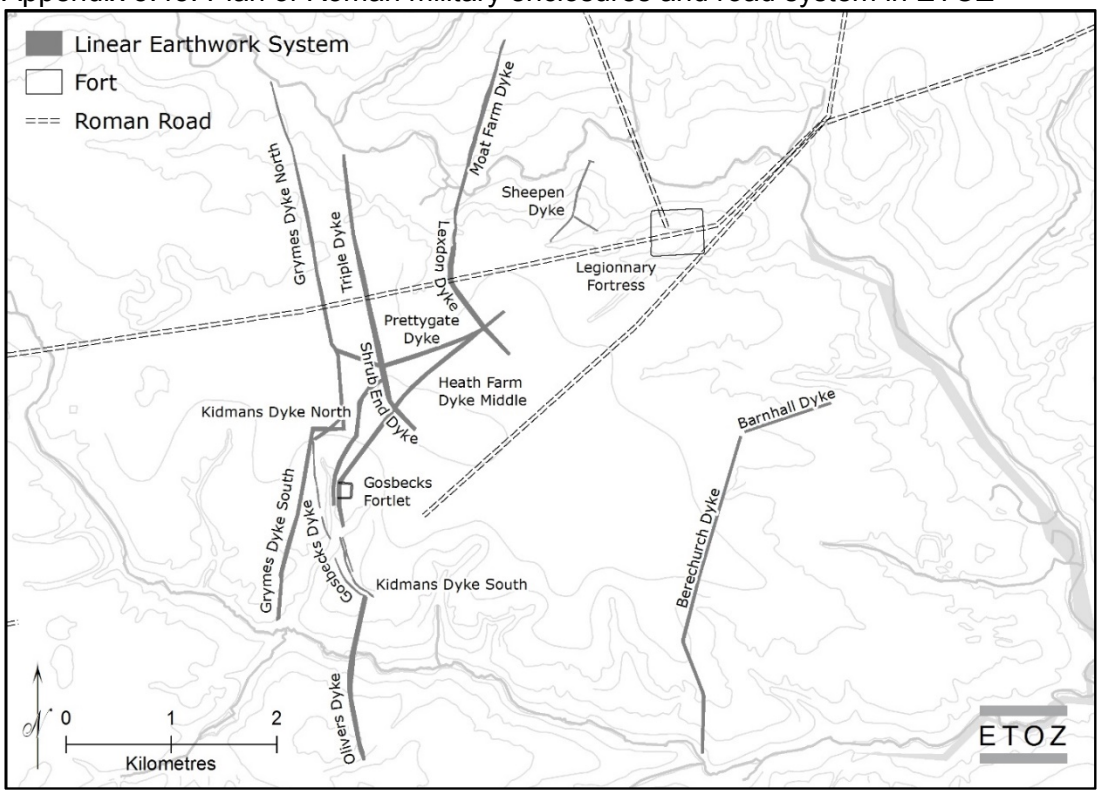
Appendix 5.43: Viewshed analysis of Late Iron Age linear earthwork system in the ETOZ



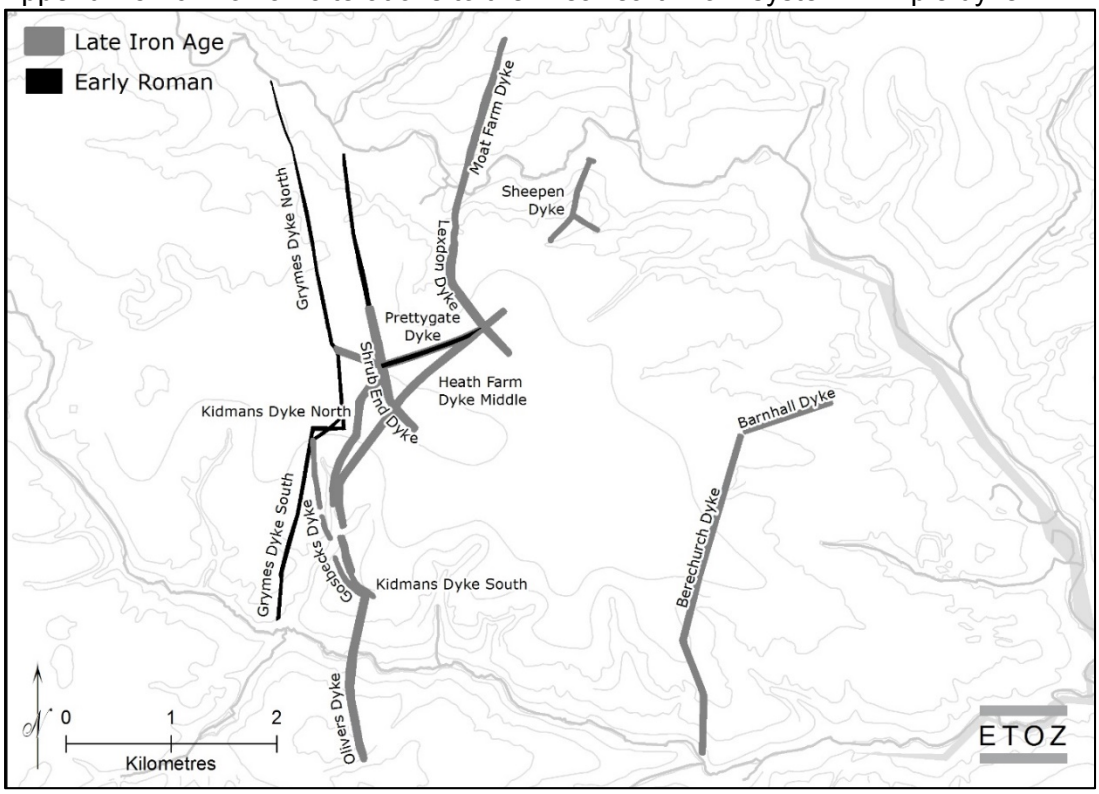
Appendix 5.44: Close up of Lexden Dyke, Moat Farm Dyke and Sheepen Dyke



Appendix 5.45: Plan of Roman military enclosures and road system in ETOZ

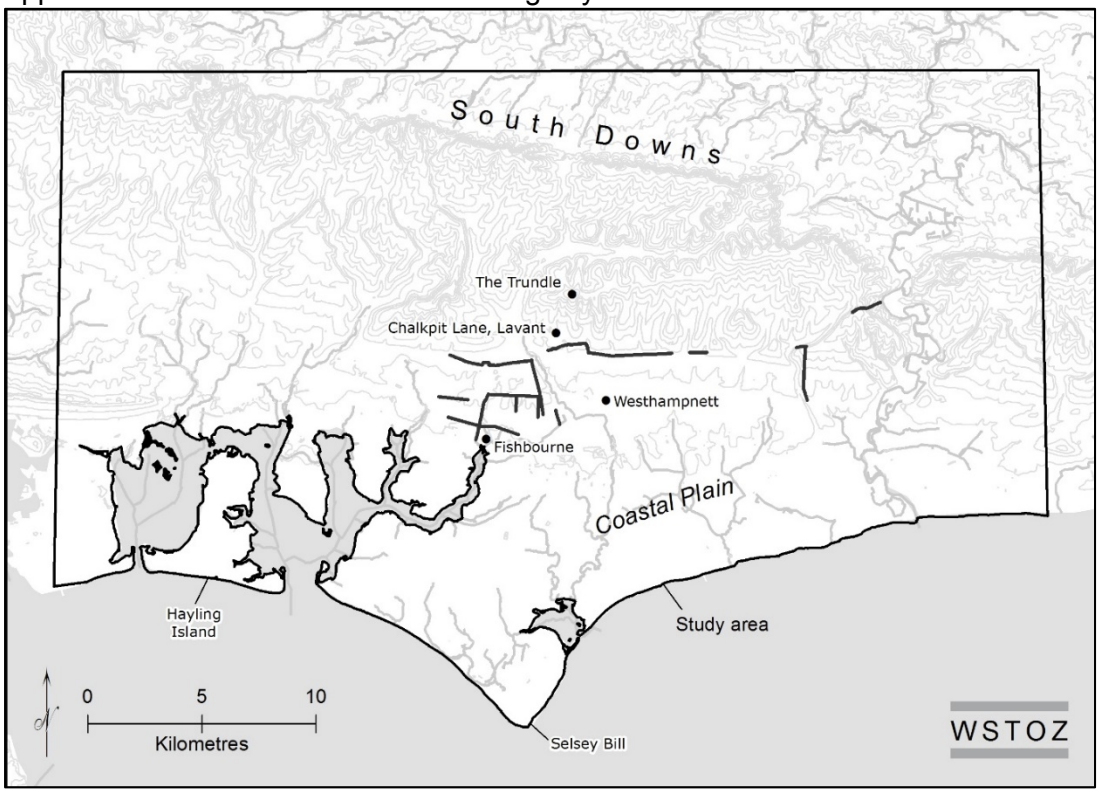


Appendix 5.46: Roman alterations to the linear earthwork system – Triple dyke

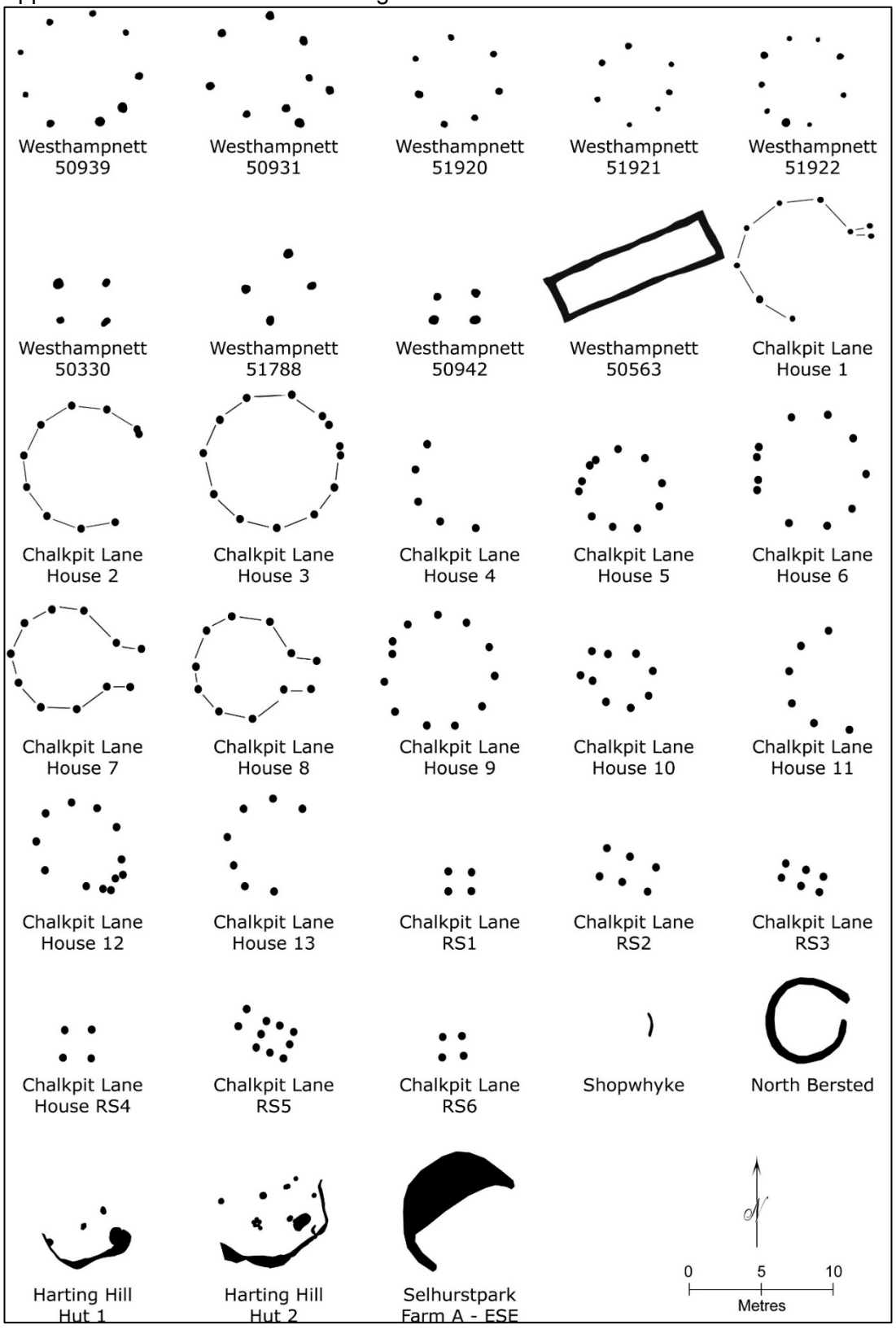


Appendix 6: The West Sussex Territorial *Oppidum* Zone

Appendix 6.1: Site Location Plan showing key sites



Appendix 6.2: Plan of Middle Iron Age roundhouse structures



Appendix 6.3: Middle Iron Age structures in the WSTOZ

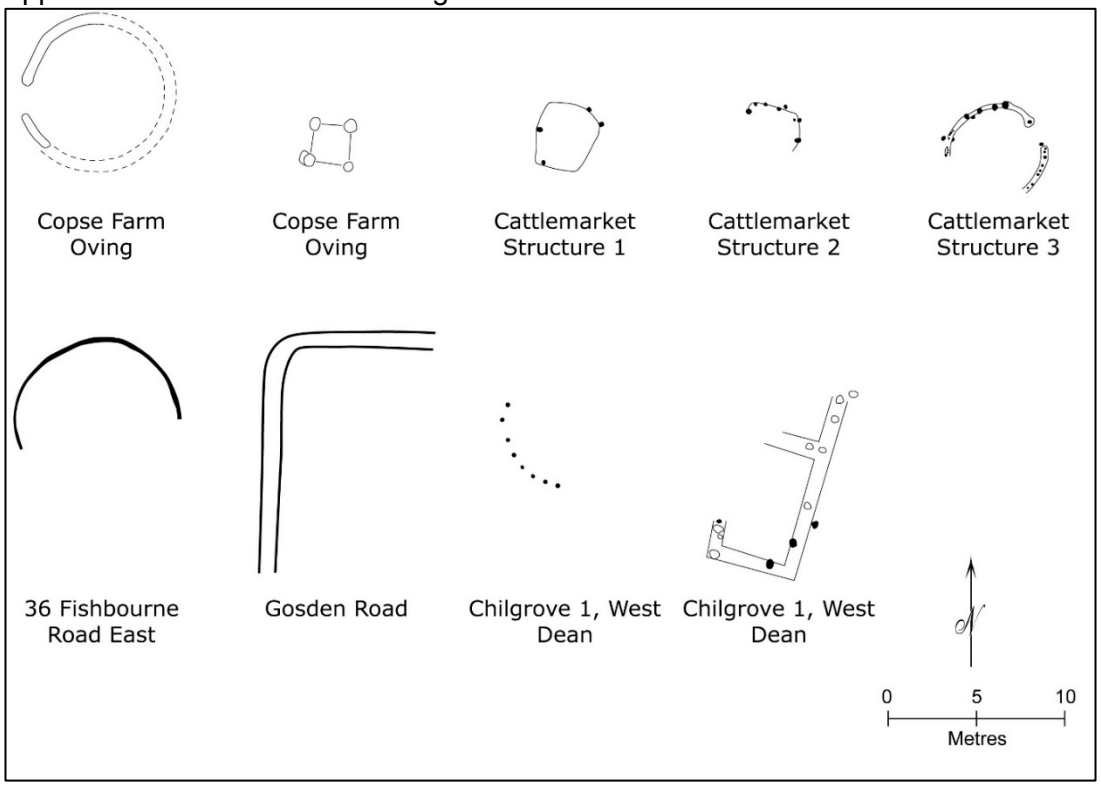
Structure identifier	Shape	Diameter	Construction	Entrance facing	Reference
Chalkpit Lane - House 1	Circular	7.7	post built	E	(Kenny 1993, 28–9)
Chalkpit Lane - House 2	Circular	8.3	post built	E/SE	(Kenny 1993, 28–9)
Chalkpit Lane - House 3	Circular	8.9	post built	ENE	(Kenny 1993, 28–9)
Chalkpit Lane - House 4	Circular	7.1	post built	ESE	(Kenny 1993, 28–9)
Chalkpit Lane - House 5	Circular	5.21	post built	NW	(Kenny 1993, 28–9)
Chalkpit Lane - House 6	Circular	7.4	post built	W	(Kenny 1993, 28–9)
Chalkpit Lane - House 7	Circular	6.6	post built	ESE	(Kenny 1993, 28–9)
Chalkpit Lane - House 8	Circular	6.6	post built	ESE	(Kenny 1993, 28–9)
Chalkpit Lane - House 9	Circular	7.6	post built	?	(Kenny 1993, 28–9)
Chalkpit Lane - House 10	Circular	3.65	post built	NW	(Kenny 1993, 28–9)
Chalkpit Lane - House 11?	Circular	6.2	post built	?	(Kenny 1993, 28–9)
Chalkpit Lane - House 12?	Circular	5.4	post built	SE	(Kenny 1993, 28–9)
Chalkpit Lane - House 13?	Circular	6.9	post built	?	(Kenny 1993, 28–9)
Chalkpit Lane - RS1?	rectangular	1.7 x 1.4	post built	?	(Kenny 1993, 28–9)
Chalkpit Lane - RS2?	rectangular	3.5 x 2.2	post built	?	(Kenny 1993, 28–9)
Chalkpit Lane - RS3?	rectangular	2.8 x 1.25	post built	?	(Kenny 1993, 28–9)
Chalkpit Lane - RS4?	rectangular	2.2 x 2	post built	?	(Kenny 1993, 28–9)
Chalkpit Lane - RS5?	rectangular	3.5 x 1.8	post built	?	(Kenny 1993, 28–9)
Harting Hill Hut 1	Circular	7.1m	post built, cut into side of hill	N	(Keef 1950, 179–187)
Harting Hill Hut 2	Circular	6.3m	post built, cut into side of hill	N	(Keef 1950, 179–187)
North Bersted	Circular	4.9m	drip gully	S	(Bedwin and Pitts 1978, 301–2)
Selhurstpark Farm A – ESE	Circular	8.2m	Unknown	SE	(Anelay pers comm)
Shopwhyke	Circular	9.8?	drip gully	?	(Wessex Archaeology 2004)
Westhampnett 50939	Circular	7.8	post built	SE	(Fitzpatrick *et al.* 2008, 150)
Westhampnett 50931	Circular	6.7	post built	?	(Fitzpatrick *et al.* 2008, 151)
Westhampnett 51920	Circular	5.3	post built	?	(Fitzpatrick *et al.* 2008, 151)
Westhampnett 51921	Circular	5.2	post built	SE	(Fitzpatrick *et al.* 2008, 151)
Westhampnett 51922	Circular	5.8	post built	SE	(Fitzpatrick *et al.* 2008, 153)
Westhampnett 50330	rectangular	3.3 x 2.7	post built	?	(Fitzpatrick *et al.* 2008, 153)

Structure identifier	Shape	Diameter	Construction	Entrance facing	Reference
Westhampnett 51788	rectangular	3.7 x 2.7	post built	?	(Fitzpatrick *et al.* 2008, 155)
Westhampnett 50942	rectangular	2.5 x 2	post built	?	(Fitzpatrick *et al.* 2008, 155)
Westhampnett 50563	rectangular	11.6 x 3.3	foundation trenches	?	(Fitzpatrick *et al.* 2008, 155)

Appendix 6.4: Middle Iron Age finds from sites in the WSTOZ

Site name	Details of finds	Reference
Bilsham	Pottery – Hand made of local materials.	(HER)
	Other finds - Burnt daub, fire cracked flint and worked flint (scrapers).	
Carne's Seat, Westhampnett	Pottery – Handmade of local material -'saucepan' pottery, Imports - Dressel I Amphorae from Italy (mid 1st C BC date).	(Holgate 1986a, 43–8)
	Other finds - Fire cracked flint, flint flakes, animal bones (incl cattle, sheep/goat, pig).	
Chalkpit Lane, Lavant	Pottery – Hand made of local materials.	(Kenny 1993, 28)
	Other finds – Saddle quern.	
Chilgrove 1, West Dean	Pottery - Hand made of local materials.	(Down 1979, 53)
	Other finds – None.	
Copse Farm, Oving	Pottery – Hand made of local materials - 'saucepan' pottery, decorated with horizontal lines, forms also include jars.	(Bedwin and Holgate 1985, 220–234)
	Other finds - Flint, charcoal, animal bone and fired clay.	
Harting Hill	Pottery - Hand made of local materials - undecorated 'flint gritted ware' and black surfaced ware. Forms include bowls, saucepan pottery.	(Keef 1950, 187–191)
	Other finds - Charcoal, iron pan, animal bone (incl boar tusk, sheep, pig and ox).	
North Bersted	Pottery – Hand made of local materials - 'saucepan' pottery.	(Bedwin and Pitts 1978, 300–302)
	Other finds - Burnt daub, iron slag, animal bone, burnt flint.	
Shopwhyke, Oving	Pottery – Hand made of local materials (flint gritted wares) including 'saucepan' pots. Forms included jars and bowls.	(Wessex Archaeology 2004, 10–15)
	Other finds - Daub, iron slag, animal bone (including sheep, goat and small number of cattle)	
Tarmac Quarry, Shopwhyke	Pottery – Hand made of local materials - 'saucepan' pottery (incl rims and sherds).	(Kenny 1992)
	Other finds - Fire cracked flint and burnt clay.	
The Trundle	Pottery – Locally made 'saucepan' pottery	(Curwen 1931)
	Other finds - Worked flint, Iron blade of adze, animal bone (incl horse, cattle, sheep), fragments of saddle querns, iron slag.	
Tourner Bury	Pottery – Hand made of local materials - flint tempered wares, possibly 'saucepan' pottery and jars.	(Bradley and Fulford 1976, 66–7)
	Other finds – None.	
Westhampnett Bypass Area 4	Pottery – Hand made of local materials - 'saucepan' pots. Forms included long necked bowls and jars.	(Fitzpatrick *et al.* 2008, 159–174)
	Other finds - La Tene Brooches, iron objects (misc), Iron working slag, fired clay, worked stone and burnt flint.	
Westhampnett Bypass Area 5, Oving	Pottery – Hand made of local materials, long necked bowls.	(Fitzpatrick *et al.* 2008, 180–3)
	Other finds – Charcoal	
Westhampnett roundabout	Pottery – Hand made of local materials - 'saucepan' pots, some with thickened rims. Forms include bead rim jars and bowls.	(Higgins 2001)
	Other finds - Animal bones (incl cattle and pig), charred grain and burnt flint.	

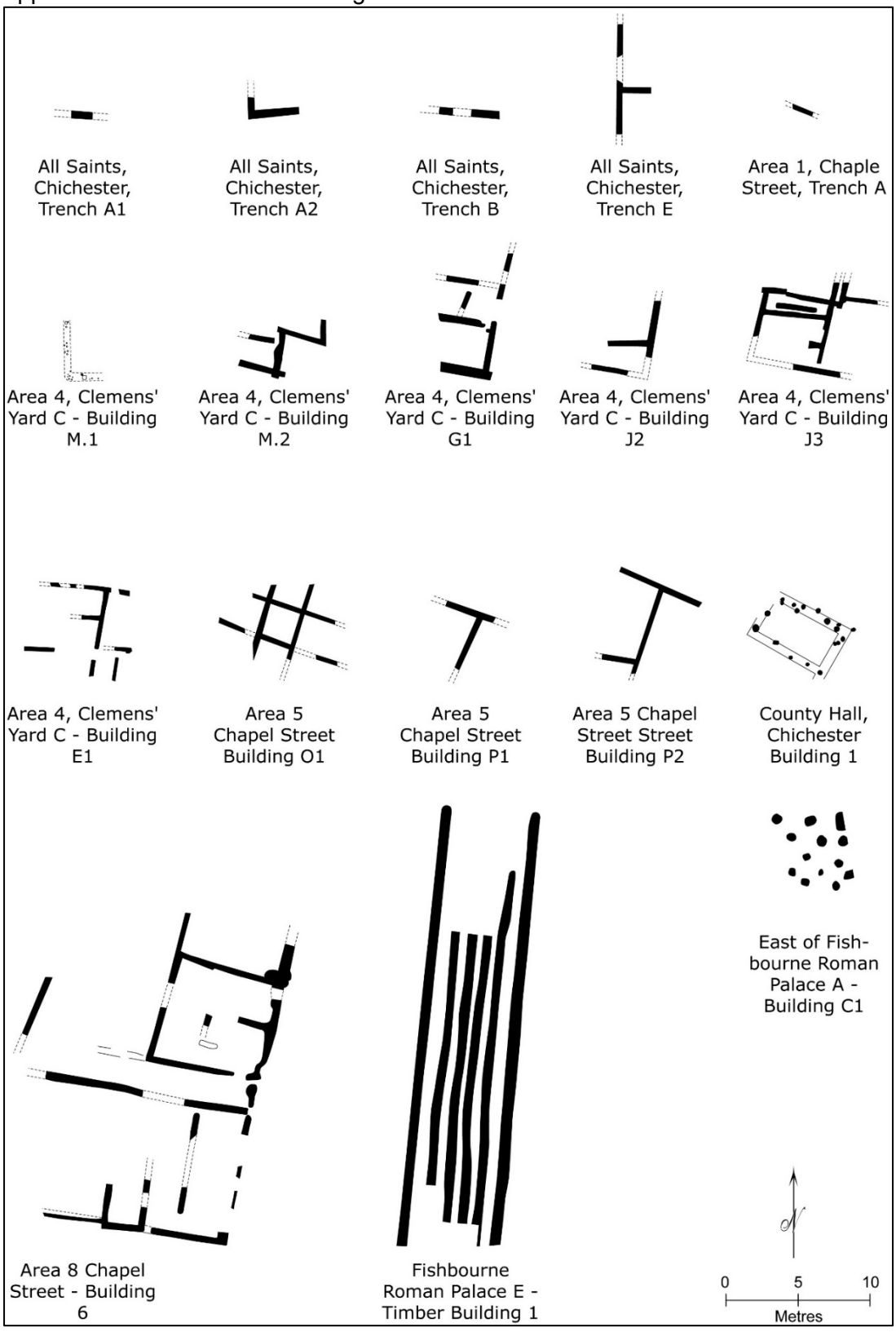
Appendix 6.5: Plan of Late Iron Age structures



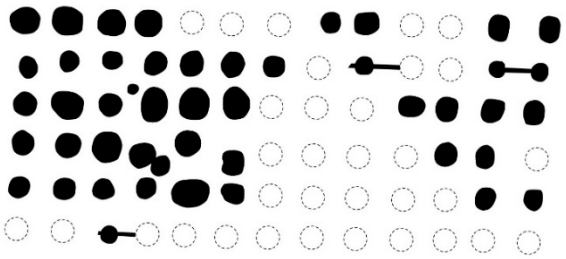
Appendix 6.6: Late Iron Age structures in the WSTOZ

Structure identifier	Shape	Diameter	Construction	Entrance facing	Reference
36 Fishbourne Road East	circular	8.8	drip gully	S?	(Kenny and Magilton 1995, 14)
Cattlemarket, structure 1	circular?	3.3	post built	?	(Down 1989, 56–60)
Cattlemarket, structure 2	circular?	3.5	post built	SW?	(Down 1989, 56–60)
Cattlemarket, structure 3	circular	5.6	post built	NE	(Down 1989, 56–60)
Chilgrove 1, West Dean	circular	7	post built	?	(Down 1979, 53–6)
Chilgrove 1, West Dean	rectangular	11.3 x 5.2	post trenches	?	(Down 1979, 53–6)
Copse Farm, Oving	circular	7.6	drip gully	W	(Bedwin and Holgate 1985, 219)
Copse Farm, Oving	rectangular	2.3 x 2.3	post built	?	(Bedwin and Holgate 1985, 220)
Wick 2?	rectangular	13 x 13	drip gully	?	(Gilkes and Lyne 1993)

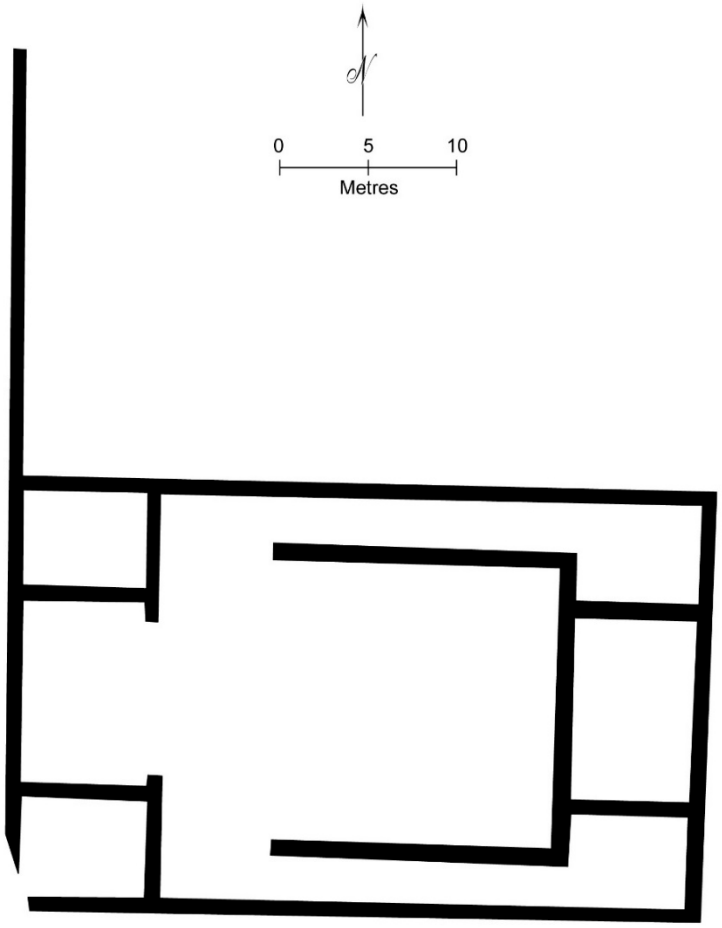
Appendix 6.7: Plan of Late Iron Age rectilinear structures - 1



Appendix 6.8: Plan of Late Iron Age rectilinear structures - 2



Fishbourne Roman Palace E - Timber Building 2



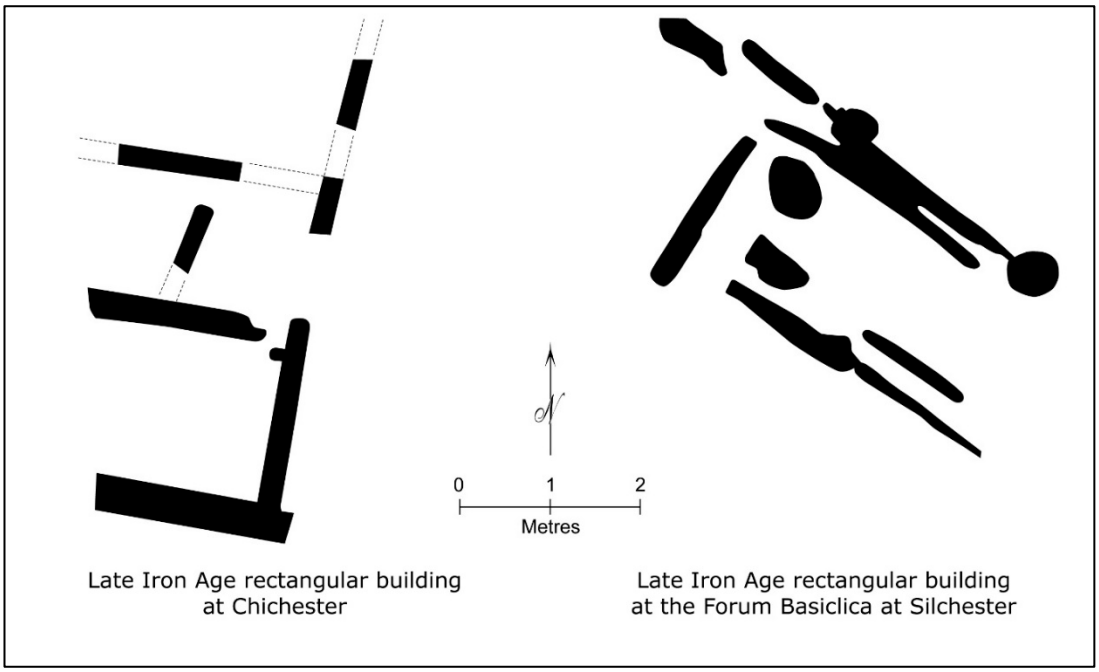
Fishbourne Roman Palace – Building 3

Appendix 6.9: Table of possible Late Iron Age rectangular structures in the WSTOZ

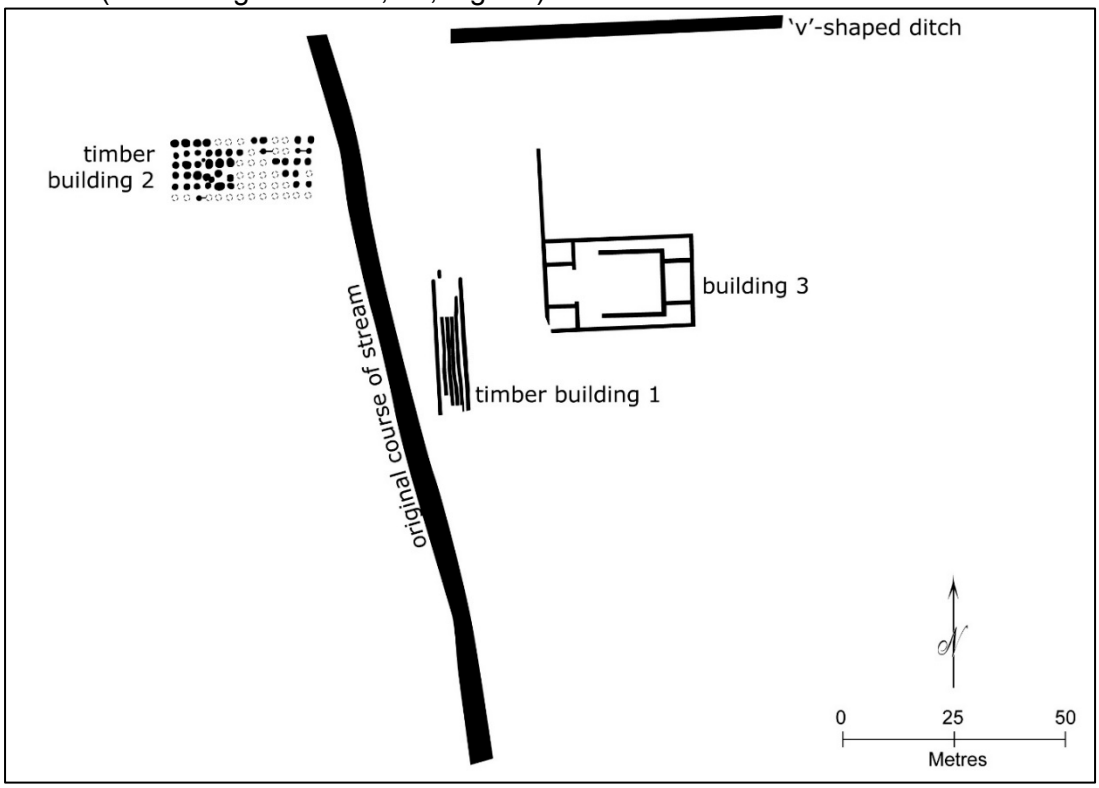
Structure Identifier	Dimensions	Construction	Dating Evidence	Military evidence	Reference
All Saints, Chichester Trench A1	3.4 x 1.5	post trenches	Pottery - Terra Nigra and Gallo-Belgic ware	N	(Down 1974, 79)
All Saints, Chichester Trench A2	3.3	post trenches	Pottery - Terra Nigra and Gallo-Belgic ware	N	(Down 1974, 79)
All Saints, Chichester Trench B	5.5	post trenches	Pottery - Terra Nigra and Gallo-Belgic ware	N	(Down 1974, 79)
All Saints, Chichester Trench E	7.5 x 2.9	post trenches / masonry	Pottery - Terra Nigra and Gallo-Belgic ware	N	(Down 1974, 79)
Area 1, Chapel Street Trench A	2.2	post trenches	Unknown	?	(Down 1978, 47–9)
Area 10 Chapel Street, Chichester	5.6 x 3.3	post trenches	Dated to Flavian period by association	N	(Down and Magilton 1993, 3)
Area 4, Clemens' Yard C - Building M.1	4.2 x 2.8	post trenches	Pre-flavian pottery (30-45 AD) in adjacent features	N	(Down 1978, 54)
Area 4, Clemens' Yard C - Building M.2	5.8 x 4.7	post trenches	As above	N	(Down 1978, 54)
Area 4, Clemens' Yard C - Building G1	8.8 x 4.9	post trenches	None	N	(Down 1978, 54)
Area 4, Clemens' Yard C - Building J2	5.5 x 3.8	post trenches	No pottery later than Claudian in date	N	(Down 1978, 54)
Area 4, Clemens' Yard C - Building J3	8.7 x 5.4	post trenches	No pottery later than Claudian in date	N	(Down 1978, 54)
Area 4, Clemens' Yard C - Building E1	6.5 x 5.8	post trenches	No pottery later than Claudian in date	N	(Down 1978, 54)
Area 5, Gospel Hall Site - Building O1	9.2 x 7	post trenches	Pottery - butt beaker and pre-flavian samian	N	(Down 1978, 114)
Area 5, Gospel Hall Site - Building P1	5.9 x 5.4	post trenches	One sherd of claudian pottery found	N	(Down 1978, 114)
Area 5, Gospel Hall Site - Building P2	7.3 x 6.3	post trenches	Stratigraphically later than Building P1 and Claudian samian	N	(Down 1978, 114)
Area 8 Chapel Street - Building 6	23.2 x 19	post trenches	Stratigraphic relationship to Building O1	N	(Down 1981, 126)
County Hall, Chichester Building 1	5.6 x 3.9	post built	Flavian pottery latest	N	(Down 1989, 2)
East of Fishbourne Roman Palace A - Building C1	5.7 x 5.5	post built	Structure cut into layer C27 which contained pre-Flavian pottery. One posthole (C.9) had pre-Flavian pottery	N	(Cunliffe et al. 1996, 17–18)

Structure Identifier	Dimensions	Construction	Dating Evidence	Military evidence	Reference
Fishbourne Roman Palace E - Timber Building 1		post trenches	Claudian pottery postdates construction of building. Some Arrentine ware AD 30-40		(Cunliffe 1971, 39–41)
Fishbourne Roman Palace E - Timber Building 2		post built	Claudian – Neroian pottery postdates construction of building Some Arrentine ware AD 40-55.		(Cunliffe 1971, 41–2)
Fishbourne Roman Palace – Building 3	35 x 21	Masonry foundations	Limited evidence – likely AD 50-70 but some	N	(Manley and Rudkin 2003, 16–29)
East of Fishbourne Roman Palace A - Building C1	5.7 x 5.5	post built	Structure cut into layer C27 which contained pre-Flavian pottery. One posthole (C.9) had pre-Flavian pottery	N	(Cunliffe *et al.* 1996, 17–18)

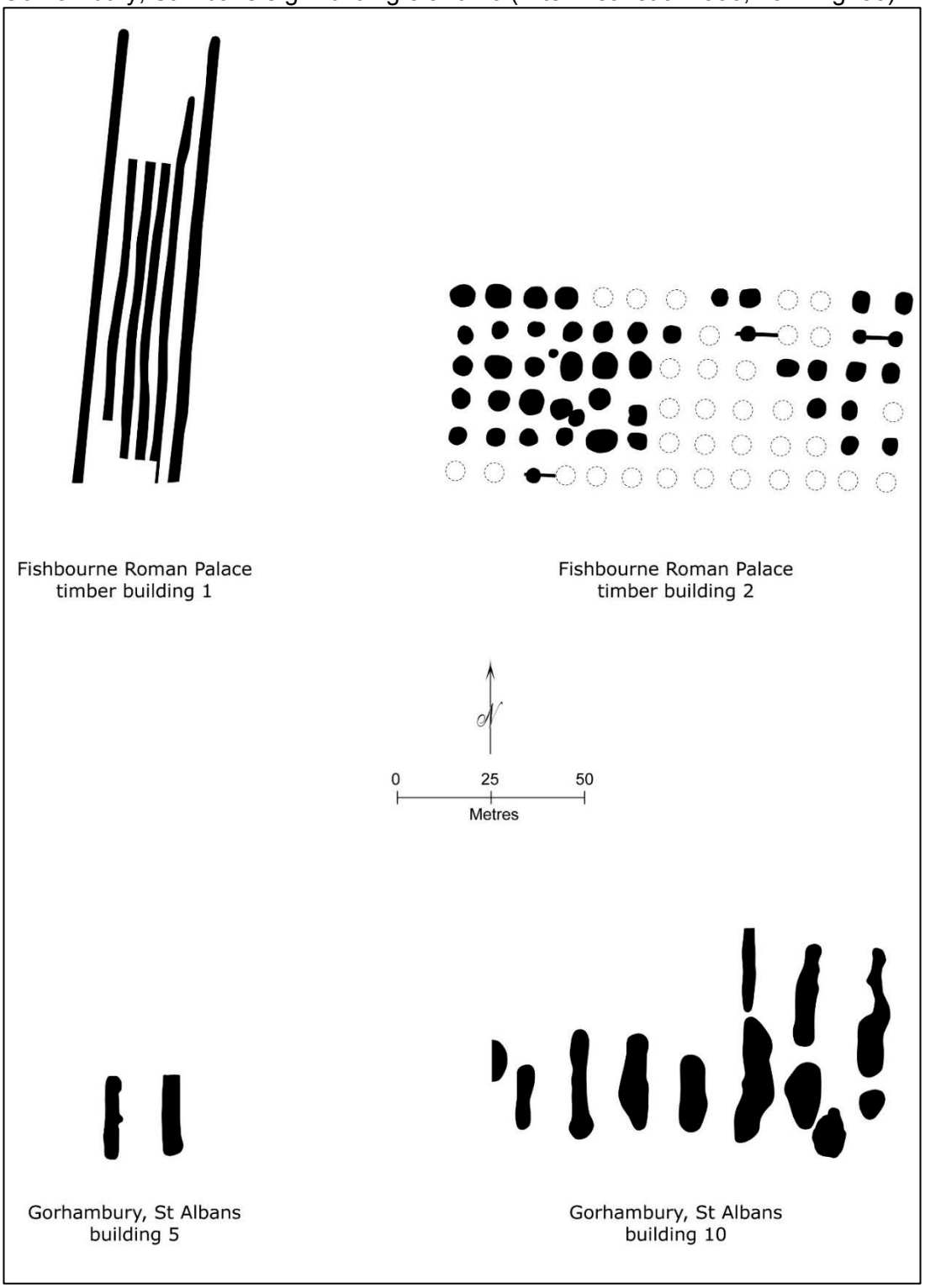
Appendix 6.10: Comparison plan of Possible Late Iron Age rectangular building at Chichester and Late Iron Age rectangular building at the Forum Basilica at Silchester



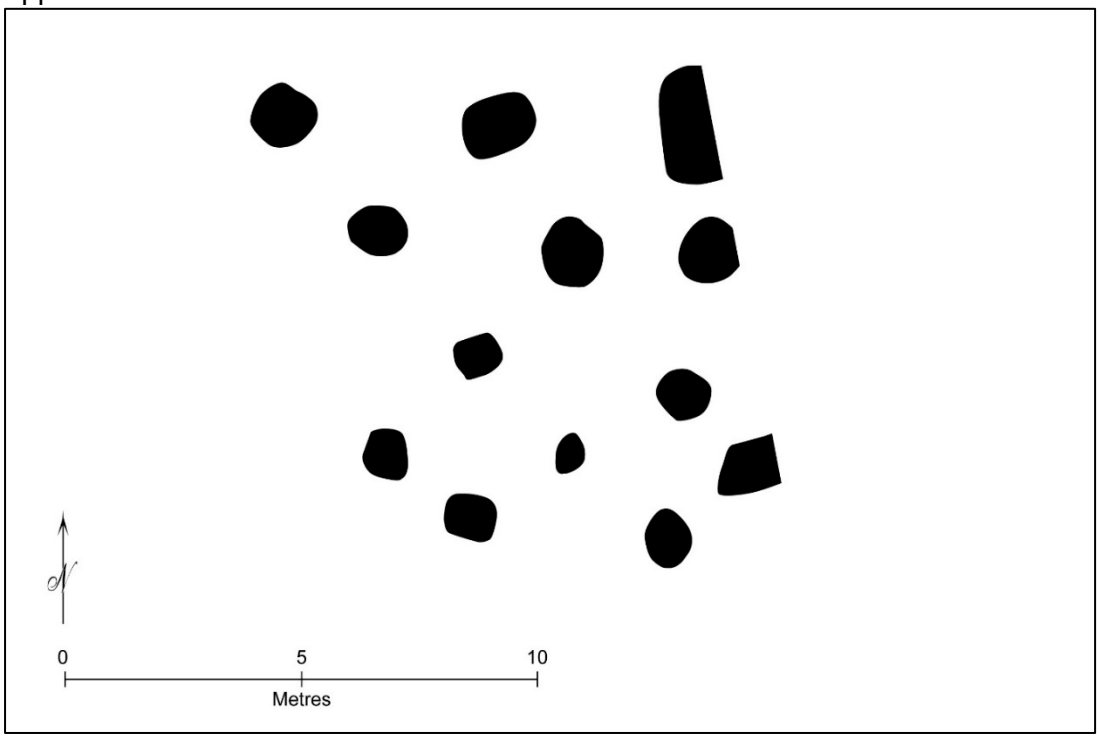
Appendix 6.11: Plan of possible Late Iron Age features at Fishbourne Roman Palace (After Creighton 2006, 60, Fig 3.2)



Appendix 6.12: Comparison Plan of Timber Buildings 1 and 2 at Fishbourne Roman Palace (After Cunliffe 1971,38 – Fig. 8, 42 – Fig. 9) and timber buildings at Gorhambury, St Albans e.g. Building 5 and 10 (After Neal et al 1990, 29 – Fig. 35)



Appendix 6.13: Plan of Structure C1 - Fishbourne Roman Palace



Appendix 6.14: Table of Late Iron Age finds from sites within the WSTOZ

Site name	Details of Pottery	Reference
36 Fishbourne Road East	Pottery – Locally made, undecorated Other Finds – None	(Kenny and Magilton 1995)
Broyle Road, Lavant	Pottery - Locally made, one almost complete vessel Other finds – None	Heron-Allen 1911, p83
Carne's Seat, Westhampnett	Pottery – Locally made, quartz and sand tempered, wheel thrown, necked and cordoned jar/ bowls. Imports - Dressel 1B amphorae from Italy Other finds – Worked flint and fire cracked flint	(Holgate 1986a, 43–45)
Cattlemarket, Chichester	Pottery – Local handmade pottery (black ware) and wheelmade beakers (sand grey ware) Imports - Dressel 1B amphorae sherds Other finds - Animal bone, burnt daub, 3 republican coins (mid 2nd C BC)	(Down 1989, 59–60)
Chalkpit Lane, Lavant	Pottery – Locally made Other finds – None	(Kenny 1993)
Charlton Down	Pottery - Locally made Other finds – None	(HER)
Chilgrove 1, West Dean	Pottery – Locally made handmade saucepan jars Other finds – None	(Down 1979, 184–185)
Clanfield A	Pottery – Locally made pottery Other finds – None	(HER)
Clanfield B	Pottery - Locally made pottery Other finds – Flint and Burnt flint	(HER)
Clanfield C	Pottery - Locally made pottery Other finds – None	(HER)

Site name	Details of Pottery	Reference
Copse Farm, Oving	Pottery – Wheel made (Aylesford Swarling type), bowls and jars, some decorated sherds. Imports - Amphorae, Other finds - Flint, charcoal, animal bone and fired clay	(Bedwin and Holgate 1985, 220–234)
E. of council depot, Westhampnett	Pottery - Imports - Dressel 1B amphorae Other finds - None	(Priestley-Bell 2004)
East of Fishbourne Roman Palace	Pottery - Local handmade with quartz and flint inclusions. Imports – pottery from NE Gaul, Central Gaulish ware, Italian Arrentine, Terra Rubra, Amphorae. Forms include jars, beakers, dishes, cups. Other finds - 1 piece of glass, 1 piece of copper alloy, animal bones, metal working residue.	(Manley and Rudkin 2003)
Fishbourne Palace - IA phase?	Pottery – Samian ware (Arrentine) from Italy, some of a pre AD43 date, Other finds – Roof tile	(Cunliffe 1971, 39)
Hayes Down, Lavant	Pottery – Locally made including rims Other finds - Fire cracked flints, animal bones	(HER)
Horndean A	Pottery – None Other finds – Horse skeleton	(HER)
Littlehampton By-pass	Pottery - Sand tempered locally made pottery Other finds – None	(HER)
Lordington, Stoughton	Pottery – Locally made sand and grog tempered wares. Other finds - Animal bone, charcoal, worked flint,	(Holgate 1986b)
Lyne Place	Pottery – Locally made Other finds - Part of a quern, clay loom weight,	(HER)
Madehurst	Pottery - Wheel thrown pedestal ware. Also copies of imported wares. Forms include bowls, butt-beakers, flagons, dishes and jars. Other finds - Disc Brooch, animal bones, worked flint, quern fragments, charcoal, daub.	(Frazer Hearne 1936, 223–232)
N. of St Mary's Hospital, Chichester	Pottery – Locally made imitations of pottery from Gaul, Gallo-Belgic wares (both coarse wares and fine burnished wares), two sherds of samian pottery. Other finds – None	(Down and Rule 1971, 19)
North Bersted	Pottery – Wheel thrown locally made pottery, incl coarse wares and some decorated (cordoned wares). Forms incl jars. Other finds – Metal objects, disarticulated human remains, glass bead, animal bones (more cattle than sheep)	(Bedwin and Pitts 1978, 336–243)
North Bersted, desk based assessment. evaluation and excavation	Pottery - Handmade local wares (flint temper). Imports - Gaulish wares (grog tempered). Forms include necked cordoned bowls. Other finds – Animal bone and burnt flint	(Taylor and Weale 2009)
Ounces Barn, Boxgrove A	Pottery – Local wheel turned wares including jars (flint and sand tempered - grey black colour). Imports - Samian ware, Terra- Rubra, Terra Nigra, Gallo-Belgic white wares, North Gaulish white wares, Dressel 1 amphorae. Other finds - Flint and charcoal.	(Bedwin and Place 1995, 65–99)
Robin Wood, Compton	Pottery – Local wheel turned pottery (grog tempered). Other finds – Coins and brooches.	(Down and Welch 1990, 23–27)
Shopwhyke,	Pottery – Local wheel turned Bead rimmed high	(Wessex

Site name	Details of Pottery	Reference
Oving	shouldered necked jars, copies of Gallo-Belgic wares. Imports - Gallo-Belgic wares	Archaeology 2004)
	Other finds – Animal bone	
Sidlesham Villa site	Pottery - Local wheel thrown pottery and some imports	
	Other finds – None	(Wilson 1955, 76)
Spitalfield, Chichester	Pottery - 'Romanised wares'.	
	Other finds – None	(HER)
Swanfield Drive, Chichester	Pottery - Single sherd (base)	
	Other finds – Pot boilers	(Wilson 1955)
Tarmac quarry – Shopwyke	Pottery – Local made wheel turned.	
	Other finds – None	(Kenny 1992)
West Dean	Pottery – Locally made coarse and fine ware pottery (no decorated sherds). Pedestal forms.	
	Other finds - Single bead, flint axe, bronze brooch (1st century AD date).	(Boyden 1956, 85–93)
Westhampnett Bypass Area 4, Westhampnett	Pottery – Locally made (flint tempered and grog tempered) long necked bowls.	
	Other finds – Worked flint	(Fitzpatrick *et al.* 2008, 180–182)
Wolver Brow	Pottery – Wheel turned red brown pottery (incl coarse flint temper). Massive storage jars.	(Boyden 1956, 85–93)
	Other finds – None	

Appendix 6.15: Late Iron Age cremation burials in the WSTOZ

Name	Details	Sex	Adult	Urned?	Animal bones?	Finds	Reference
Graylingwell, Chichester A - cremation 1	Earthenware pots dated to AD40-50	?	?	Y	N	Dated to AD 40	(Williams-Freeman 1934)
Graylingwell, Chichester A - cremation 2	Earthenware pots dated to AD40-50	?	?	Y	N	Dated to AD 40	(Williams-Freeman 1934)
Hardham - Burial 2	Buff urn	F	Y	Y	N	None	(Winbolt 1927, 95–6)
Hardham - Burial 3	Grey material pot with black burnish	?	?	Y	N	Small grey beaker in urn	(Winbolt 1927, 96)
Hardham - Burial 4	Grey material pot with black burnish	?	?	Y	N	Red brown saucer	(Winbolt 1927, 96)
Westhampnett - 20001	Unurned cremation burial with grave goods	F?	Y	N	Y	Wooden vessel with iron staples	(Fitzpatrick *et al.* 1997)
Westhampnett - 20005	Unurned cremation burial	?	Y	N	N	None	As above
Westhampnett - 20008	Unurned cremation burial	?	Y	N	Y	None	As above
Westhampnett - 20010	Unurned cremation burial	?	N	N	N	None	As above
Westhampnett - 20018	Unurned cremation burial	?	Y	N	Y	None	As above
Westhampnett - 20021	Unurned cremation	M?	Y	N	Y	Brooch (iron)	As above

Name	Details	Sex	Adult	Urned?	Animal bones?	Finds	Reference
	burial with grave goods						
Westhampnett - 20023	Unurned cremation burial	?	Y	N	Y	None	As above
Westhampnett - 20025	Unurned cremation burial	F?	Y	N	Y	None	As above
Westhampnett - 20031	Unurned cremation burial	F?	Y	N	N	None	As above
Westhampnett - 20035	Unurned cremation burial	?	Y	N	Y	None	As above
Westhampnett - 20039	Unurned cremation burial with grave goods	?	Y	N	Y	Bracelet? (iron)	As above
Westhampnett - 20043	Unurned cremation burial with grave goods	F?	Y	N	N	Brooch (iron)	As above
Westhampnett - 20045	Unurned cremation burial	?	Y	N	Y	None	As above
Westhampnett - 20051	Unurned cremation burial	?	Y	N	Y	None	As above
Westhampnett - 20053	Urned cremation burial	F?	Y	Y	Y	None	As above
Westhampnett - 20055	Unurned cremation burial with grave goods	?	Y	N	N	Knife (iron), Wooden and horn object with iron collar	As above
Westhampnett - 20057	Unurned cremation burial	F?	Y	N	Y	None	As above
Westhampnett - 20060	Unurned cremation burial	?	Y	N	N	None	As above
Westhampnett - 20061	Unurned cremation burial	?	N	N	N	None	As above
Westhampnett - 20064	Unurned cremation burial	?	N	N	N	None	As above
Westhampnett - 20071	Unurned cremation burial	F?	N	N	N	None	As above
Westhampnett - 20073	Unurned cremation burial	?	N	N	Y	None	As above
Westhampnett - 20080	Unurned cremation burial	?	Y	N	N	None	As above
Westhampnett - 20083	Unurned cremation burial	?	N	N	N	None	As above
Westhampnett - 20087	Unurned cremation burial with grave goods	?	Y	N	N	Brooch (iron)	As above

Name	Details	Sex	Adult	Urned?	Animal bones?	Finds	Reference
Westhampnett - 20089	Unurned cremation burial with grave goods	F?	Y	N	Y	Brooch (iron)	As above
Westhampnett - 20091	Unurned cremation burial	?	Y	N	Y	None	As above
Westhampnett - 20092a	Unurned cremation burial	?	Y	?	Y	None	As above
Westhampnett - 20092b	Unurned cremation burial	F?	Y	N	Y	None	As above
Westhampnett - 20095	Unurned cremation burial with grave goods	?	N	N	N	Gold fragment	As above
Westhampnett - 20097	Unurned cremation burial	?	Y	N	N	None	As above
Westhampnett - 20098	Unurned cremation burial	?	Y	N	N	None	As above
Westhampnett - 20101	Unurned cremation burial	?	Y	N	N	None	As above
Westhampnett - 20116	Unurned cremation burial	?	Y	N	N	None	As above
Westhampnett - 20132	Unurned cremation burial with grave goods	?	Y	N	Y	Brooch (iron)	As above
Westhampnett - 20134	Unurned cremation burial with grave goods	?	Y	N	N	Brooch (iron)	As above
Westhampnett - 20142	Unurned cremation burial	?	Y	N	Y	None	As above
Westhampnett - 20144	Unurned cremation burial	?	Y	?	N	None	As above
Westhampnett - 20146	Unurned cremation burial	?	Y	N	N	None	As above
Westhampnett - 20148	Unurned cremation burial	?	Y	N	N	None	As above
Westhampnett - 20149	Unurned cremation burial with grave goods	?	Y	N	N	Brooch (copper alloy)	As above
Westhampnett - 20169	Unurned cremation burial with grave goods	?	Y	N	N	Brooch (iron)	As above
Westhampnett - 20170	Unurned cremation burial with grave goods	?	Y	N	N	Brooch (iron)	As above
Westhampnett - 20174	Unurned cremation burial	?	Y	N	N	None	As above

Name	Details	Sex	Adult	Urned?	Animal bones?	Finds	Reference
Westhampnett - 20179	Unurned cremation burial with grave goods	?	Y	N	N	Brooch (iron), ring (copper alloy)	As above
Westhampnett - 20182	Unurned cremation burial	F?	Y	N	N	None	As above
Westhampnett - 20183	Unurned cremation burial	?	Y	N	N	None	As above
Westhampnett - 20185	Unurned cremation burial with grave goods	?	Y	N	N	Wooden box with iron strip binding	As above
Westhampnett - 20191	Unurned cremation burial with grave goods	?	Y	N	N	Brooch (iron)	As above
Westhampnett - 20196	Unurned cremation burial	?	Y	N	N	None	As above
Westhampnett - 20199	Unurned cremation burial	?	Y	N	N	None	As above
Westhampnett - 20201	Unurned cremation burial	?	N	N	N	None	As above
Westhampnett - 20207	Unurned cremation burial	?	N	N	N	None	As above
Westhampnett - 20208	Unurned cremation burial	F?	Y	N	N	None	As above
Westhampnett - 20235	Unurned cremation burial with grave goods	?	Y	N	Y	Brooch (iron)	As above
Westhampnett - 20237	Unurned cremation burial with grave goods	?	N	N	N	Iron nail fragment	As above
Westhampnett - 20239	Unurned cremation burial	?	Y	N	N	None	As above
Westhampnett - 20242	Unurned cremation burial	?	N	N	N	None	As above
Westhampnett - 20245	Unurned cremation burial	?	Y	N	N	None	As above
Westhampnett - 20248	Unurned cremation burial	?	N	N	N	None	As above
Westhampnett - 20252	Unurned cremation burial with grave goods	F?	Y	N	Y	Brooch (iron), winged belt hook, ring (iron)	As above
Westhampnett - 20253	Unurned cremation burial with grave goods	M?	N	N	Y	Brooch (iron), Wooden vessel with iron staples, Iron nail	As above

Name	Details	Sex	Adult	Urned?	Animal bones?	Finds	Reference
						fragment	
Westhampnett - 20255	Unurned cremation burial	?	Y	N	N	None	As above
Westhampnett - 20268	Unurned cremation burial	?	Y	N	N	None	As above
Westhampnett - 20274	Unurned cremation burial	?	Y	N	Y	None	As above
Westhampnett - 20280	Unurned cremation burial	?	Y	N	Y	None	As above
Westhampnett - 20297	Unurned cremation burial	?	Y	N	N	None	As above
Westhampnett - 20312	Unurned cremation burial	?	Y	N	Y	None	As above
Westhampnett - 20314	Unurned cremation burial	F?	Y	N	N	None	As above
Westhampnett - 20320	Unurned cremation burial	?	Y	N	N	None	As above
Westhampnett - 20335	Unurned cremation burial	?	Y	N	N	None	As above
Westhampnett - 20337	Unurned cremation burial	?	Y	N	Y	None	As above
Westhampnett - 20338	Unurned cremation burial with grave goods	?	Y	N	N	Brooch (iron)	As above
Westhampnett - 20346	Unurned cremation burial	?	N	N	N	None	As above
Westhampnett - 20353	Unurned cremation burial	?	Y	?	N	None	As above
Westhampnett - 20364	Unurned cremation burial	?	Y	N	Y	None	As above
Westhampnett - 20367	Unurned cremation burial	?	Y	N	N	None	As above
Westhampnett - 20368a	Unurned cremation burial with grave goods	?	Y	N	N	Brooch (iron)	As above
Westhampnett - 20368b	Unurned cremation burial with grave goods	?	Y	N	N	Brooch (iron)	As above
Westhampnett - 20384	Unurned cremation burial	?	Y	N	N	None	As above
Westhampnett - 20408	Unurned cremation burial with grave goods	?	Y	N	N	Brooch (iron)	As above
Westhampnett	Unurned	?	N	N	N	None	As above

Name	Details	Sex	Adult	Urned?	Animal bones?	Finds	Reference
- 20420	cremation burial						
Westhampnett - 20451	Unurned cremation burial	?	Y	N	N	None	As above
Westhampnett - 20453	Unurned cremation burial with grave goods	F?	Y	N	N	Brooch (iron)	As above
Westhampnett - 20457	Unurned cremation burial	?	Y	N	N	None	As above
Westhampnett - 20459	Unurned cremation burial	F?	Y	N	Y	None	As above
Westhampnett - 20463	Unurned cremation burial	?	Y	?	N	None	As above
Westhampnett - 20467	Unurned cremation burial	?	N	N	N	None	As above
Westhampnett - 20469a	Unurned cremation burial	?	Y	N	Y	None	As above
Westhampnett - 20469b	Unurned cremation burial	?	Y	N	Y	None	As above
Westhampnett - 20471	Unurned cremation burial with grave goods	?	Y	N	Y	Wooden and horn object with iron collar	As above
Westhampnett - 20479	Unurned cremation burial with grave goods	?	Y	N	Y	Brooch (copper alloy)	As above
Westhampnett - 20483	Unurned cremation burial	?	Y	N	N	None	As above
Westhampnett - 20484	Unurned cremation burial with grave goods	?	Y	N	Y	Brooch (copper alloy)	As above
Westhampnett - 20493	Unurned cremation burial with grave goods	F?	Y	N	Y	Gold stater (British)	As above
Westhampnett - 20495	Unurned cremation burial	?	Y	N	N	None	As above
Westhampnett - 20497	Unurned cremation burial	?	Y	N	N	None	As above
Westhampnett - 20535	Unurned cremation burial	?	Y	N	N	None	As above
Westhampnett - 20541	Unurned cremation burial with grave goods	?	Y	N	N	Brooch (iron)	As above
Westhampnett - 20543	Unurned cremation burial with grave goods	?	Y	N	N	Brooch (iron)	As above

Name	Details	Sex	Adult	Urned?	Animal bones?	Finds	Reference
Westhampnett - 20544	Unurned cremation burial	?	Y	N	N	None	As above
Westhampnett - 20549	Unurned cremation burial	F?	Y	N	N	None	As above
Westhampnett - 20564	Unurned cremation burial	?	Y	N	N	None	As above
Westhampnett - 20566	Urned cremation burial	F?	Y	Y	N	None	As above
Westhampnett - 20571	Unurned cremation burial with grave goods	?	Y	N	N	Brooch (iron), Knife (iron), Broken iron object	As above
Westhampnett - 20573	Unurned cremation burial with grave goods	?	N	N	N	Brooch (iron)	As above
Westhampnett - 20583	Unurned cremation burial	?	N	N	N	None	As above
Westhampnett - 20585	Unurned cremation burial	?	Y	N	N	None	As above
Westhampnett - 20589	Unurned cremation burial	?	Y	N	N	None	As above
Westhampnett - 20593	Unurned cremation burial	?	Y	N	N	None	As above
Westhampnett - 20601	Unurned cremation burial with grave goods	F?	Y	N	Y	Brooch (iron), ring (copper alloy x1, iron x2)	As above
Westhampnett - 20605	Unurned cremation burial with grave goods	F?	Y	N	N	Brooch (iron)	As above
Westhampnett - 20610	Unurned cremation burial with grave goods	?	Y	N	N	Brooch (iron)	As above
Westhampnett - 20614	Unurned cremation burial	?	Y	N	N	None	As above
Westhampnett - 20619	Unurned cremation burial	?	Y	N	N	None	As above
Westhampnett - 20620	Unurned cremation burial	?	Y	N	N	None	As above
Westhampnett - 20622	Unurned cremation burial with grave goods	?	Y	N	N	Brooch (iron), Wooden tub with iron binding	As above
Westhampnett - 20626	Unurned cremation burial	?	Y	N	N	None	As above

Name	Details	Sex	Adult	Urned?	Animal bones?	Finds	Reference
Westhampnett - 20629	Unurned cremation burial with grave goods	M?	Y	N	N	Brooch (copper alloy), ring (copper alloy x2)	As above
Westhampnett - 20635	Unurned cremation burial	?	Y	N	N	None	As above
Westhampnett - 20637a	Urned cremation burial with grave goods	?	N	Y	N	Iron nail fragment	As above
Westhampnett - 20637b	Unurned cremation burial with grave goods	M?	Y	N	N	Iron nail fragment	As above
Westhampnett - 20650	Unurned cremation burial	F?	Y	N	N	None	As above
Westhampnett - 20654	Unurned cremation burial	?	Y	N	N	None	As above
Westhampnett - 20668	Unurned cremation burial	?	Y	N	N	None	As above
Westhampnett - 20670	Unurned cremation burial	?	Y	N	N	None	As above
Westhampnett - 20675	Unurned cremation burial with grave goods	?	Y	N	N	Brooch (copper alloy)	As above
Westhampnett - 20680	Unurned cremation burial with grave goods	F?	Y	N	N	Rectangular iron staples	As above
Westhampnett - 20729/20758	Unurned cremation burial with grave goods	?	Y	N	N	Iron nail fragment	As above
Westhampnett - 20750	Urned cremation burial	F?	Y	Y	N	None	As above
Westhampnett - 20752	Unurned cremation burial	M?	Y	N	N	None	As above
Westhampnett - 20757	Unurned cremation burial	?	Y	N	N	None	As above
Westhampnett - 20772	Unurned cremation burial	?	Y	N	N	None	As above
Westhampnett - 20774	Unurned cremation burial	F?	Y	N	N	None	As above
Westhampnett - 20802b	Unurned cremation burial	?	Y	N	N	None	As above
Westhampnett - 20836	Unurned cremation burial	?	Y	N	N	None	As above

Appendix 6.16: Potential blurring/mixing of Middle and Late Iron Age mortuary practices: (Carr 2007, 451 – Table 1)

Excarnation	Cremation
Period of waiting before secondary burial	Potential period of waiting before cremation
Minority of excarnated population deposited	Minority of population cremated
Small portion of body placed in pits/ditches	Small portion of body placed in grave pit
The dead as individuals	The dead as individuals
Deposited in the same contexts as animals	Deposited in the same contexts as animals
Concern with patterning of bones in pit	Concern with patterning of cremation in grave

Appendix 6.17: Westhampnett cemetery – Pyre-related sites containing cremated remains. After (Fitzpatrick *et al.* 1997)

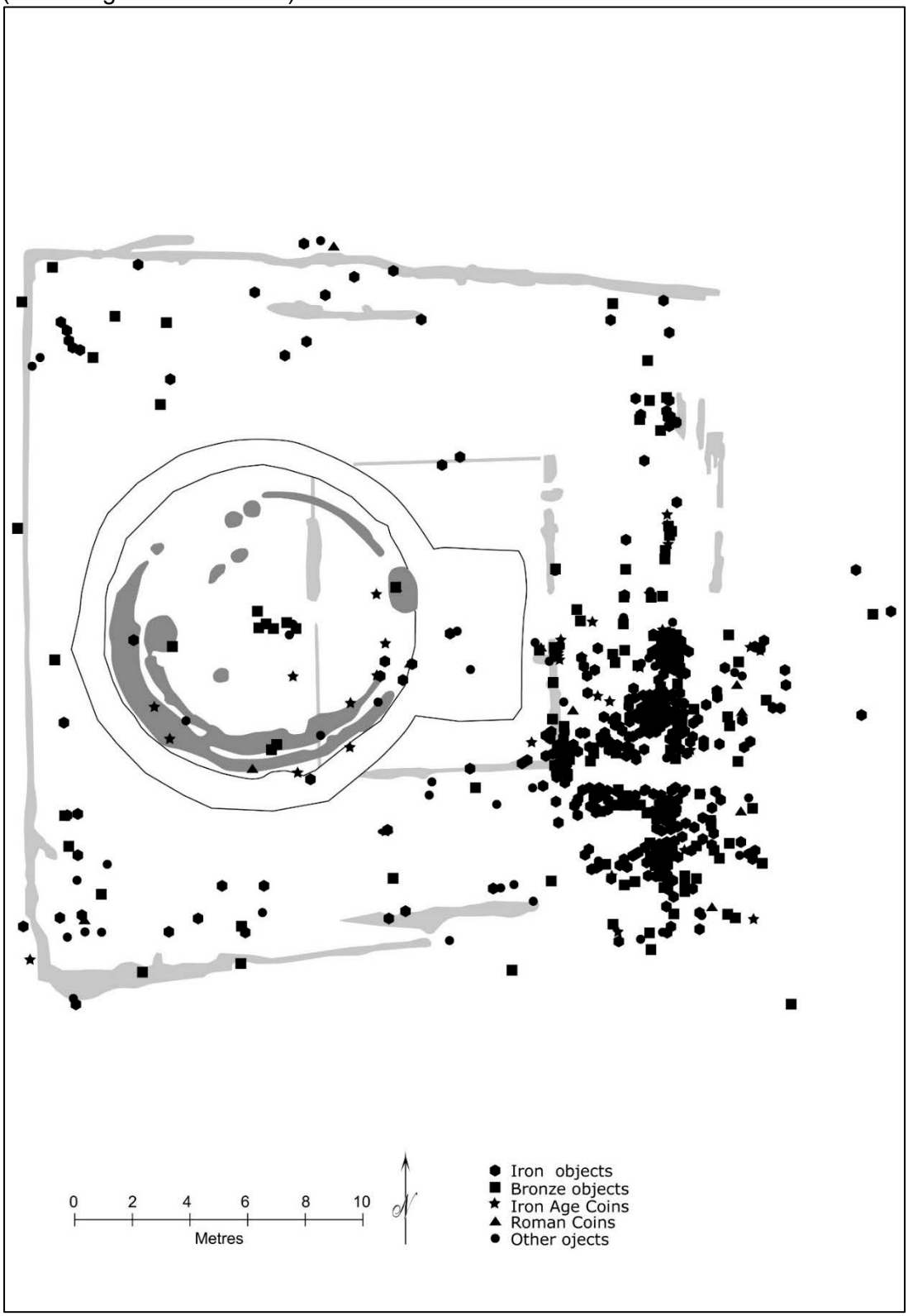
Name	Details	Sex	Adult	Animal bones?	Finds
Westhampnett - 20052	Pyre related feature	?	Y	Y (unidentified)	Iron nail fragment
Westhampnett - 20068	Pyre related feature	?	Y		Brooch (Iron), Iron nail fragment
Westhampnett - 20121	Pyre site	?	Y		Penannular object (copper alloy), melted object (copper alloy), Iron nail fragment
Westhampnett - 20125	Pyre related feature	?	?		
Westhampnett - 20128	Pyre related feature	?	Y	Y (Pig)	
Westhampnett - 20130	Pyre related feature	?	?		
Westhampnett - 20186	Redeposited cremated remains	?	?		
Westhampnett - 20212	Pyre related feature	?	Y		Iron nail fragment
Westhampnett - 20234	Pyre related feature	?	Y		Curving bar (iron), Iron nail fragment
Westhampnett - 20244	Cremated remains within posthole	?	N		
Westhampnett - 20250	Pyre site	?	N		
Westhampnett - 20258	Pyre related feature	F?	Y	Y (unidentified)	Iron nail fragment
Westhampnett - 20260	Pyre site	?	N		
Westhampnett - 20264	Pyre related feature	?	Y		Needle (iron), Iron nail fragment
Westhampnett - 20295	Pyre site	?	Y		
Westhampnett - 20300	Pyre related feature	?	Y		Brooch (Iron), Iron nail fragment
Westhampnett - 20318	Pyre site	?	Y	Y (pig, sheep)	Melted object (copper alloy), Ring (iron), Iron nail fragment
Westhampnett - 20348	Pyre related feature	?	?	Y (unidentified)	
Westhampnett - 20414	Pyre site	?	Y		Iron nail fragment
Westhampnett - 20546	Pyre related feature	?	Y	Y (unidentified)	Melted object (copper alloy), Ring (iron), Iron nail fragment
Westhampnett	Pyre related	?	Y		Iron nail fragment

Name	Details	Sex	Adult	Animal bones?	Finds
- 20643	feature				
Westhampnett - 20673	Pyre related feature	?	Y		Iron nail fragment
Westhampnett - 20693	Pyre related feature	?	Y		
Westhampnett - 20717	Pyre site	F?	Y		
Westhampnett - 20770	Pyre site	F?	Y		Iron nail fragment
Westhampnett - 20776	Pyre site	?	Y		Melted object (copper alloy), Structural ironwork, Iron nail fragment
Westhampnett - 20802	Pyre related feature	?	N		

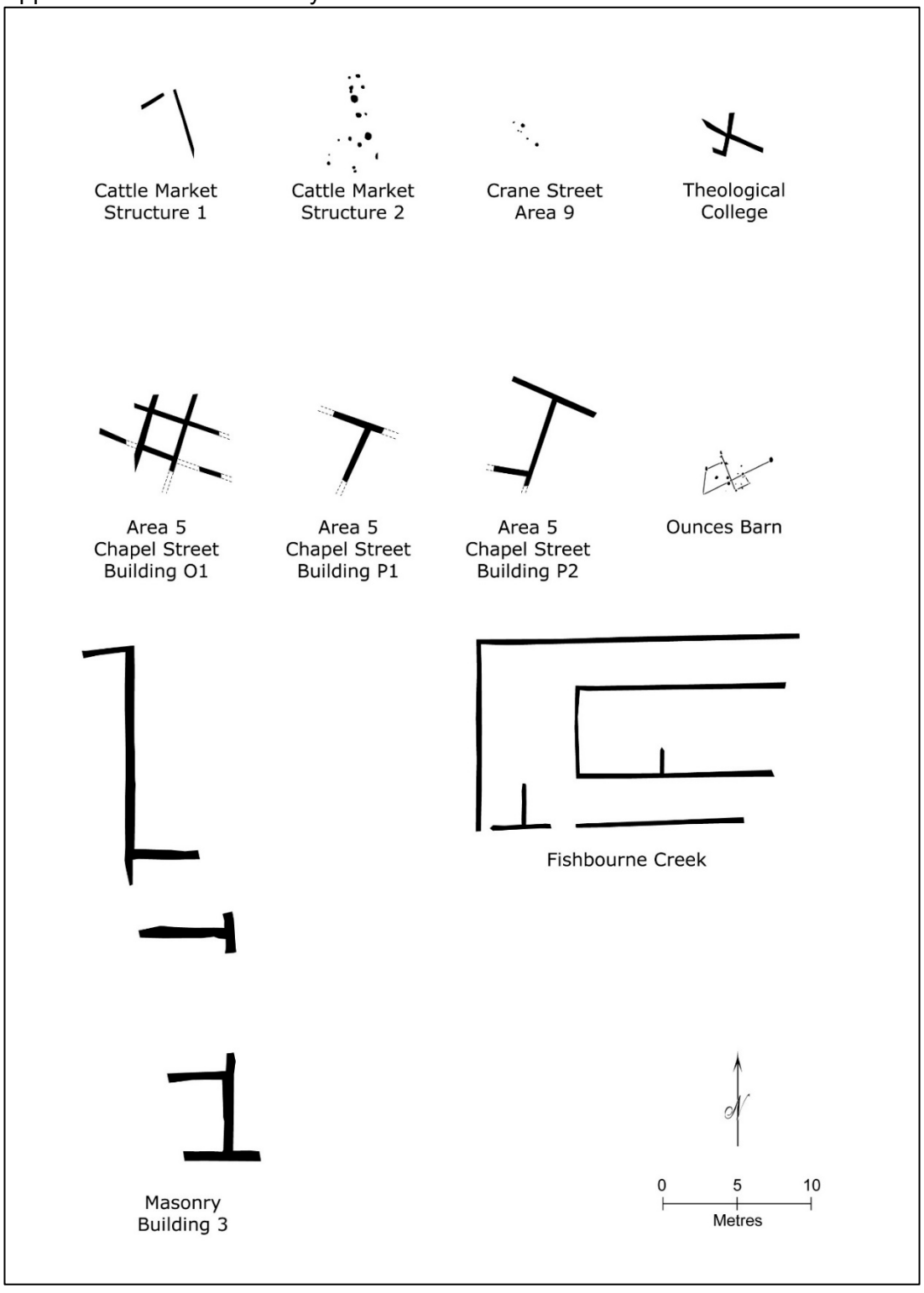
Appendix 6.18: Details of 'Warrior' Burial at North Bersted

Name	Skeletal remains	Grave goods	Reference
North Bersted 'Warrior' Burial Note: Rectangular grave cut - orientation NW-SE	• Skull and mandible suggest male aged over 30 years. • Skull and jaw displaced from spine - head possibly resting on a pillow at time of burial. • Bone growth more pronounced on right arm (possibly right handed?). • Preservation poor.	• Copper alloy shield boss (parallels to Owlesbury). • Copper alloy helmet with incised corded decoration around the rim (probable continental origins). • Two semi-circular copper alloy sheets with cut-out lattice decoration. • Deliberately bent and deposited sword • Iron work of possible bed/chair placed over body. • Possible organic deposits within grave. • Three pottery vessels at skull end. • Two shattered pottery vessels at feet end. • Locally made pottery and imports from Normandy. • Thirty-six flints (20 worked).	(Taylor & Weale 2009, 4–5) Note: Not fully published only preliminary analysis available

Appendix 6.19: Plan of distribution of Iron Age Artefacts in Hayling Island Temple (After King and Soffe 2001)



Appendix 6.20: Plan of Early Roman Structures - WSTOZ

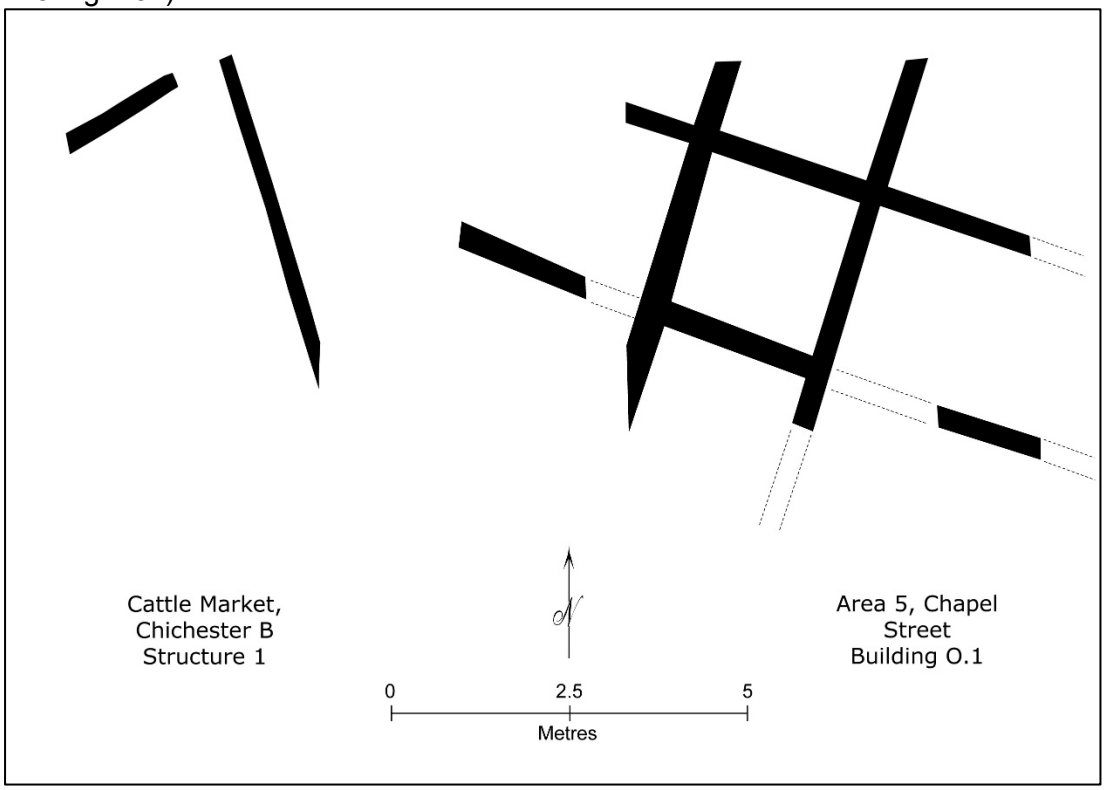


Appendix 6.21: Early Roman Structures in the WSTOZ

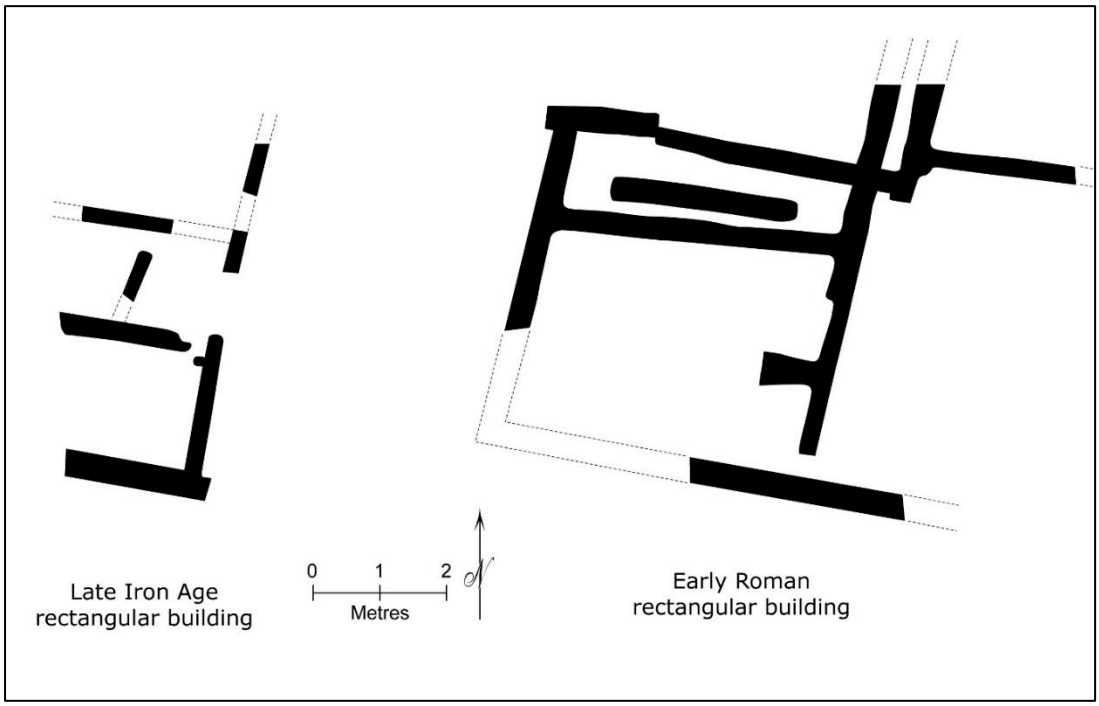
Structure name	Shape	Dimensions	Construction	Dating evidence	Finds	Reference
Area 10 Chapel Street, Chichester	rectangular	5.6 x 3.3	post trenches	Dated to Flavian period by association	None	(Down and Magilton 1993, 3)
Area 5, Chapel Street (Building 0.1)	rectangular	13.5 x 9.8	postholes and beam slots	Pottery evidence	Butt beaker and pre-Flavian Samian ware	(Down 1978, 114–115)
Area 5, Chapel Street (Building P.1)	rectangular	5.8 x 5.2	postholes and beam slots	Pottery evidence	Claudian Samian ware	(Down 1978, 114–115)
Area 5, Chapel Street (Building P.2)	rectangular	7 x 6.5	postholes and beam slots	Pottery evidence and stratigraphically later than structure P.1	Tiberian Arrentine ware and Claudian samian	(Down 1978, 114–115)
Area 9 Crane Street, Chichester B (early building evidence)	rectangular	2.2	postholes	Flavian pottery overlying structure	None	(Down 1981, 148–9)
Avenue de Chartres A	rectangular ?	?	masonry (red brick and small white tesserae, possibly plastered walls and tiled roof)	Hadrianic Samian ware	occupation layers and domestic debris	(Wright 1960, 233–4, Wright and Wilson 1963, 151)
Cattlemarket, Chichester B Structure 1	rectangular	15.5 x 2.7	post trenches	Stratigraphically later than conquest to 60AD	Iron pan, charcoal flecks	(Down 1989, 66)
Cattlemarket, Chichester B Structure 2	rectangular	6.6	post built	Stratigraphically later than conquest to 60AD	Iron pan, charcoal flecks	(Down 1989, 66)
Cawley's Almshouses, Chichester B	rectangular ?	?	postholes and timber sills (robbed)	Pottery evidence (slim)	Associated refuse	(Hunter and Pine 2004)
Chapel Street Health Clinic	rectangular	?	Masonry foundations, timber construction	Pottery evidence	Pottery, shell, bone, A piece of legionary strap fitting (likely to have been a	(Bashford and James 1997)

Structure name	Shape	Dimensions	Construction	Dating evidence	Finds	Reference
					casual loss)	
Chapel Street, Chichester A	rectangular ?	?	Masonry foundations?	Tessellated pavement	Pottery (incl South Gaulish Samian) snails, shells.	(Murray and Pilmer 1952)
East of Fishbourne Roman Palace D - Masonry Building 3	rectangular	36 x 7.9	Masonry	Neronian date from pottery - part of the proto-palace complex?	Pottery	(Cunliffe *et al.* 1996, 17–18)
Fishbourne Creek	rectangular	22 x 12.7	post trenches	Pottery evidence (1st century date), Coins of Vespasian and Galba,	Pottery, coins, burnt daub, charred timber,	(Rudkin 1986, 53–55)
Havant C	rectangular ?	?	Masonry foundations	Pottery evidence	Pottery and roof tiles	(HER)
Ounces Barn, Boxgrove	rectangular ?	17.2 x 9.1	foundation trenches / postholes	Flavian pottery	Pottery, roof tiles	(Bedwin and Place 1995, 53–60)
Red Hill Farm - Building 1	rectangular	5.5 x 4.3	masonry?	Pottery evidence	Red mosaic floor and decorated wall plaster	(HER)
Red Hill Farm - Building 2	rectangular	6.1 x 6.1	masonry?	Pottery evidence	Building materials and pottery	(HER)
Rowlands Castle C	rectangular	4.57 x 7.62	Flint footing, single room building	Pottery evidence	Pottery and painted plaster	(Wilson and Wright 1969, 231)
South Street, Chichester	?	?	Posthole	Pottery evidence	Amphorae, Samian ware, coarse wares	(Down 1974, 3)
Stocklund House, East Street	rectangular	?	Sill beam slot and postholes (timber building)	Stratigraphic evidence	General occupation debris incl imported pottery	(HER)
Theological College, Chichester B	rectangular	5 x 1.9	potholes and beam slots	Stratigraphic evidence	None	(Down and Magilton 1993, 57)

Appendix 6.22: Comparison plan of Structure 1 at Cattlemarket, Chichester B (After Down 1989, 66 Fig 12) and Building O.1, Area 5, Chapel Street (After Down 1978, 115 Fig 7.37)



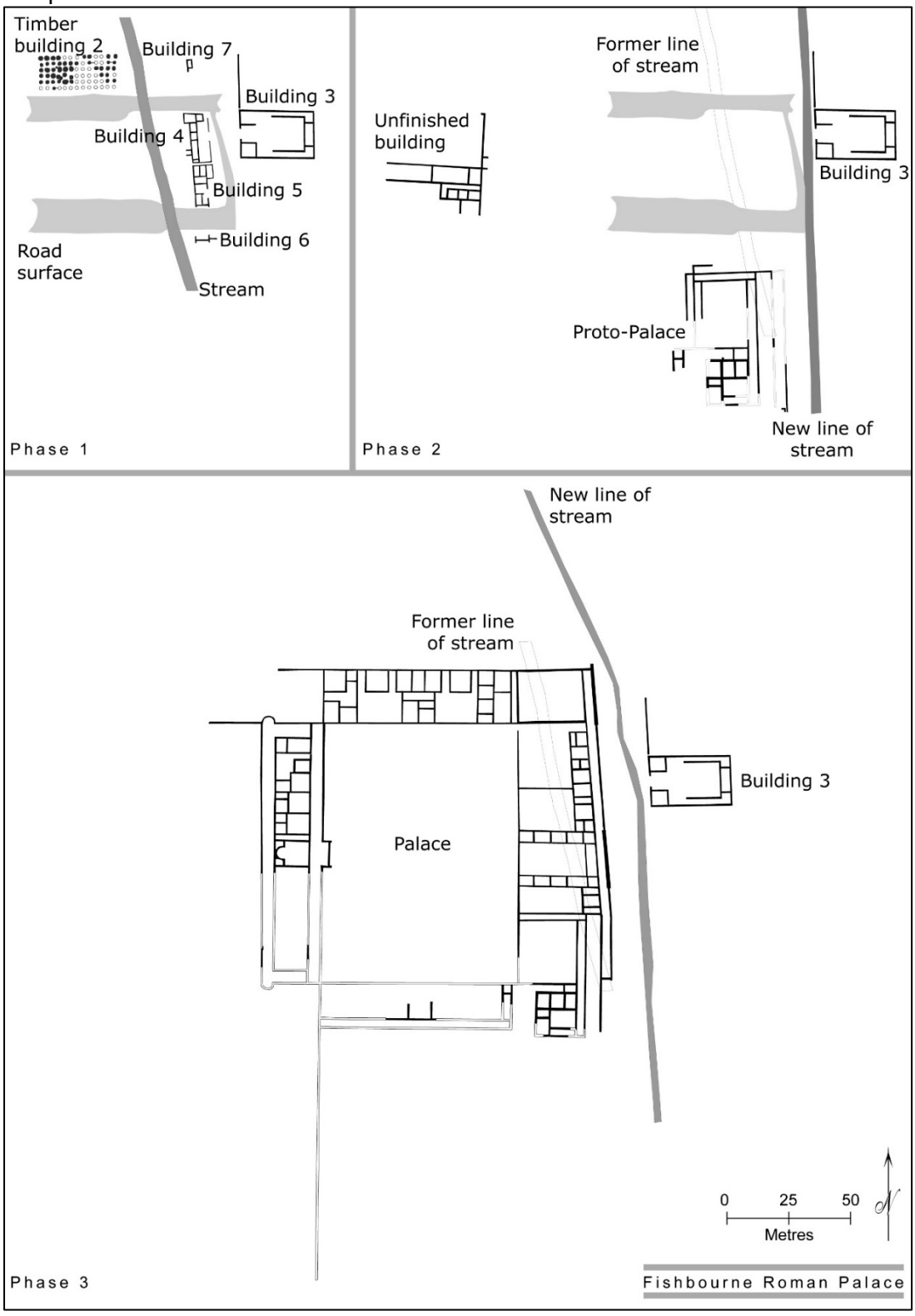
Appendix 6.23: Comparison plan between Late Iron Age and Early Roman rectangular structures



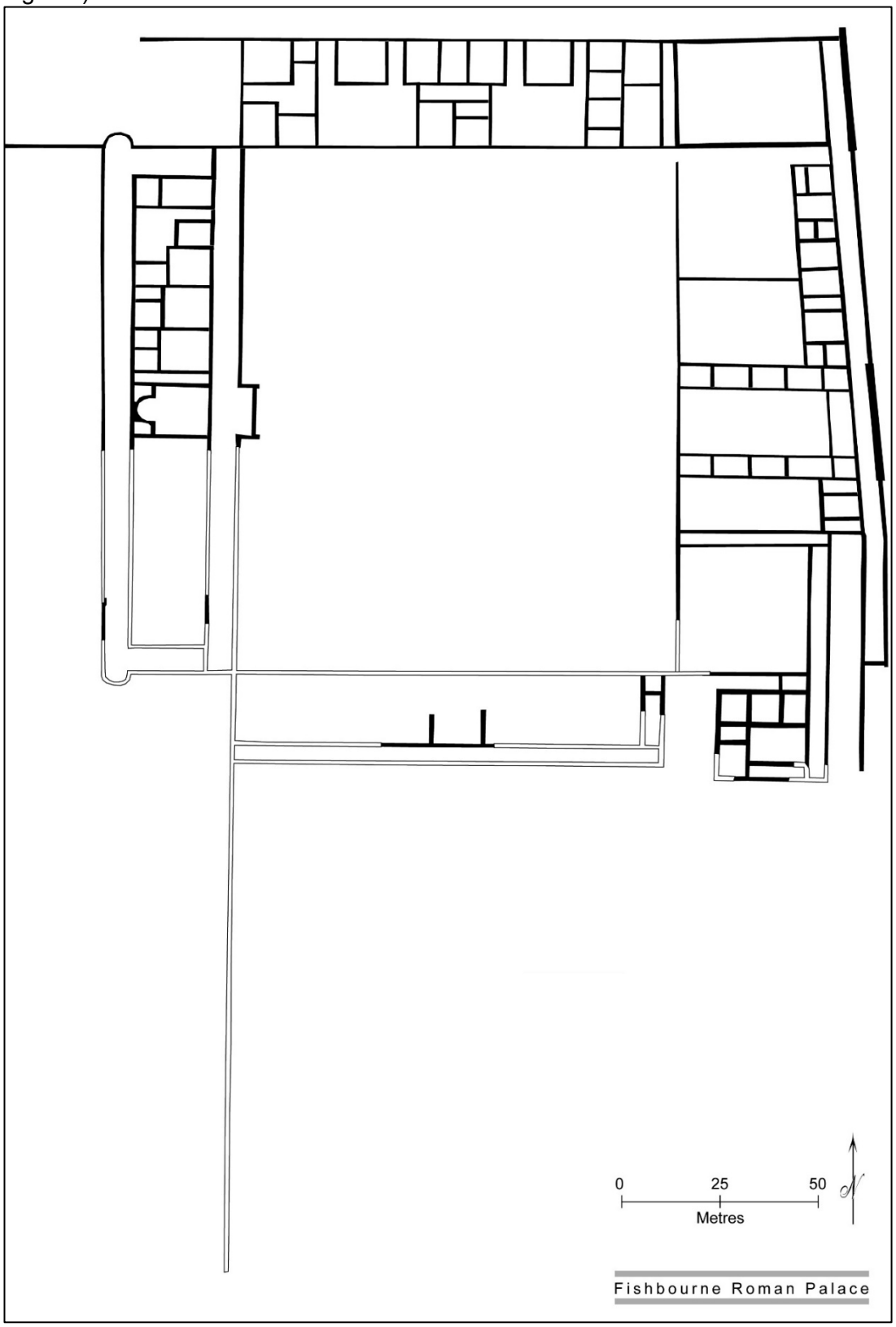
Appendix 6.24: Early Roman Villas in the WSTOZ

Structure name	Shape	Dimensions	Construction (1st century)	Finds	Date of earliest villa buildings	Reference
Angmering Roman villa	rectangular	?	Masonry built building and elaborate bathhouse	Claudian-Neroian samian ware	Late 1st century	(Wilson 1947, Gilkes 1999)
Bignor Roman Villa	rectangular	N/A	Several gullies, pits, postholes and layers of occupation debris	Pottery (Claudian-Neroian samian, Late 1st C British buff wares), copper alloy object.	2nd century (Strip villa of 5 rooms with adjacent walled farmyard containing an aisled farmhouse.)	(Aldsworth and Rudling 1995)
Chilgrove 1, West Dean	rectangular ?	8 x 6?	Post built timber building and number of pits	Late 1st C - 2nd C Samian ware	Late 2nd century (5 room strip building)	(Down 1979, 42–43)
Sidelsham	N/A	N/A	Enclosure ditch	pottery, coins	2nd century (bath house)	(Collins *et al.* 1973)
Spes Bona, Havant	rectangular	?	Walls, foundations and floor levels	pottery, coins and a variety of Romano-British building material	1st century onwards	(HER)
Watergate Hanger, Compton	Circular	7.5 diameter	?Circular masonry structure	Pottery, flint, roof tiles, tesserae,	Mid-2nd century (Three room cottage villa -rooms 1 to 3)	(Frere *et al.* 1986, Rudling 1997)
Wolver Brow?	rectangular?	?	Masonry foundations?	Pottery and other Roman finds	2nd century (main villa building)	(HER)

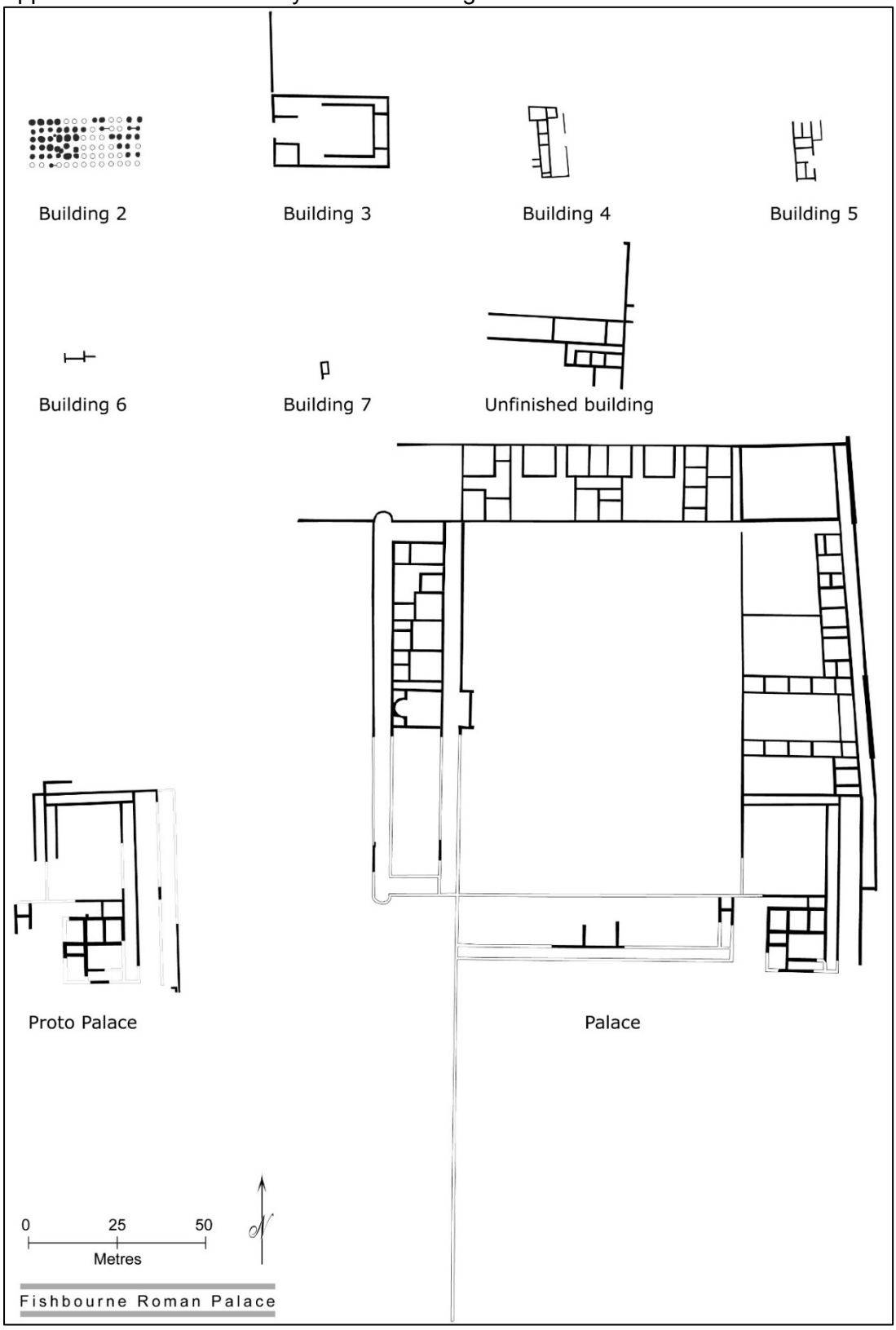
Appendix 6.25: Plan of the Early Roman phases of Fishbourne Roman Palace complex



Appendix 6.26: Plan of Fishbourne Roman Palace (Manley and Rudkin 2003, 137, Fig 269)



Appendix 6.27: Plan of Early Roman buildings at Fishbourne



Appendix 6.28: Early Roman buildings at Fishbourne

Structure Identifier	Dimensions	Construction	Details	Dating Evidence	Reference
East of Fishbourne Roman Palace D - Masonry Building 3	36 x 7.9	Masonry	Rectangular structure with internal courtyard, ambulatories on N and S, larger rooms on E and W	Neronian date from pottery	(Cunliffe *et al.* 1996, 17–18)
Fishbourne Roman Palace E - Timber Building 4	20.2 x 8.05	beam slot	Single range of five rooms, two added rooms, possible lean to structure	Later Phase than building 1, 2 & 3, within 1st C	(Cunliffe 1971, 47–8)
Fishbourne Roman Palace E - Timber Building 5	18.5 x 5.7	beam slot	Double width range of four rooms (two sub-divided), veranda on N end	Later Phase than building 1, 2 & 3, within 1st C	(Cunliffe 1971, 48–9)
Fishbourne Roman Palace E - Timber Building 7	2.9 x 1.37	beam slot	Single room with projecting longer beam to south	Later Phase than building 1, 2 & 3, within 1st C	(Cunliffe 1971, 51)
Fishbourne Roman Palace – First Masonry Building 6 (Proto-Palace and bath suite)	50 x 60	Masonry	Masonry building (2300 sq m in area). Courtyard surrounded by veranda, two wings and bath house to south. Sophisticated design and decoration	AD 65-70 – Stratigraphically post-dates Claudian timber buildings and pre-dates Flavian Palace	(Cunliffe 1971, 61–69)
Fishbourne Roman Palace – Second Masonry Building (Unfinished structure)	40 x 50	Masonry	Masonry building - two ranges of rooms at right angles – likely unfinished prior to construction of Flavian palace	AD 65-70 - Stratigraphically pre-dates Flavian Palace	(Cunliffe 1971, 69–72)
Flavian Palace	150 x 160	Masonry	Complex of structures (40,500 sq m) consisting of four wings, central garden and second garden to south. Lavish design including multiple mosaic floors	AD 75 + Pottery and coins dating to Vespasian within original construction levels	(Cunliffe 1971, 77–131)

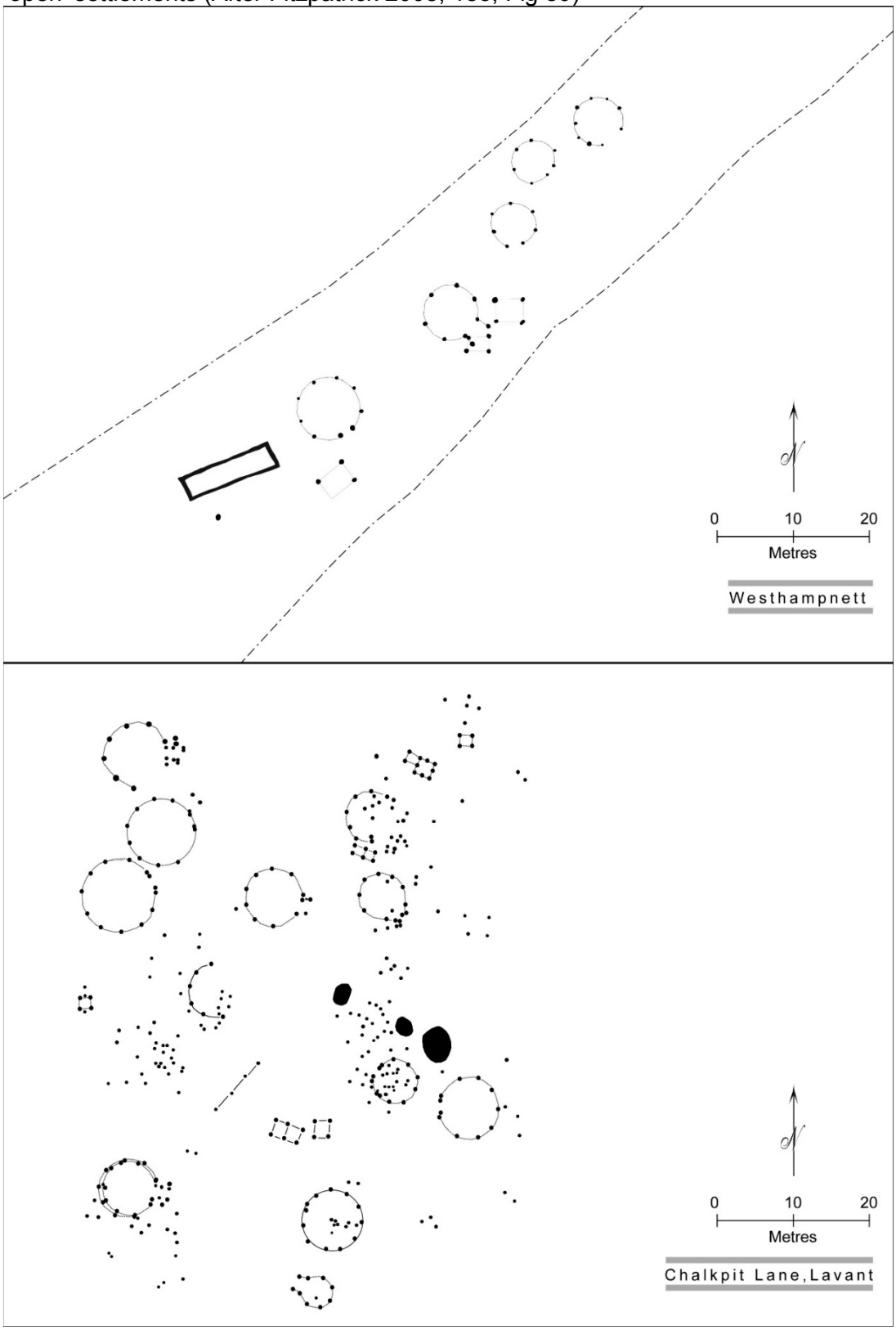
Appendix 6.29: Early Roman cremation burials in the WSTOZ

Name	Details	Sex	Adult	Urned	Animal bones	Finds	Reference
Goodwood Estate, East Dean	Urned cremation burial	?	?	Y	?	Iron lamp holder, Samian vessels, coarse wares	(Bone 1989, 22–23)
Northney Road	Unurned cremation burial	?	Y	N		Sherds of coarseware pottery from a bowl, small iron fragment, worked flint	(Wessex Archaeology 2006, 4–6)
Selhurstpark Farm, Boxgrove B	Urned cremation burial	?	?	Y	?	None	(Anelay 2006)
St Pancras, Chichester A - Burial 12	Urned cremation burial	?	?	Y		Belgic vessel and Flavian samian dish	(Down and Rule 1971, 91)
St Pancras, Chichester A - Burial 23	Urned cremation burial	?	?	Y		Three beakers and Samian cup (Trajan-Hadrianic date)	(Down and Rule 1971, 92)
St Pancras, Chichester A - Burial 37	Urned cremation burial	?	?	Y		Decorated urn	(Down and Rule 1971, 93)
St Pancras, Chichester A - Burial 39	Urned cremation burial	?	?	Y		Decorated urn	(Down and Rule 1971, 95)
St Pancras, Chichester A - Burial 45	Urned cremation burial	?	?	Y		Samian plate (Domitian - Trajan), urn, beaker and flagon	(Down and Rule 1971, 95)
St Pancras, Chichester A - Burial 57	Urned cremation burial	?	?	Y		Small decorated beaker, Flavian decorated samian cup and dish	(Down and Rule 1971, 95)
St Pancras, Chichester A - Burial 58	Urned cremation burial	?	?	Y		Urn, flagon, samian plate, cup and beaker (Trajan), coin of Domitian	(Down and Rule 1971, 97)
St Pancras, Chichester A - Burial 60	Urned cremation burial	?	?	Y		Carniated urn, flagon, samian dish, cup, bowl, coin of Titus, Bronze brooch, rectangular bronze mirror	(Down and Rule 1971, 97)
St Pancras,	Urned	?	?	Y		Urn, flagon,	(Down and

Name	Details	Sex	Adult	Urned	Animal bones	Finds	Reference
Chichester A - Burial 61	cremation burial					cup, Decorated samian dish, glass bead	Rule 1971, 97)
St Pancras, Chichester A - Burial 81	Urned cremation burial	?	?	Y		Flask, beaker, carninated dish, samian dishes	(Down and Rule 1971, 99)
Trojan Brickfield - Burial 1	Ununed cremation burial	?	?	N	?	Charcoal	(HER)
Trojan Brickfield - Burial 2	Urned cremation burial	?	?	Y	?	Three greyware pots	(HER)
Walwyn Close, Birdham	Possible urned cremation burial	?	?	Y?	?	None	(Stevens 2003)
Westhampnett Bypass Area 2 – 20536	Urned cremation burial	M	N	Y		Pottery includes jar, poppy head beaker and cup, Hobnails	(Fitzpatrick *et al.* 1997, 249)
Westhampnett Bypass Area 2 – 20538	Urned cremation burial	M?	Y	Y	Y (Sheep, goat)	Pottery includes jar, poppy head beaker and bowl	As above
Westhampnett Bypass Area 2 – 20587	Urned cremation burial	?	Y	Y		Pottery includes jar, poppy head beaker and flagon, Hobnails showing position of two shoes	As above
Westhampnett Bypass Area 2 – 20611	Ununed cremation burial	F?	Y	N		Pottery greyware beaker	As above
Westhampnett Bypass Area 2 – 20705	Urned cremation burial	?	Y	Y	Y (Sheep, goat)	Pottery includes greyware jars, beaker, bowl and cup, Hobnails	As above
Westhampnett Bypass Area 2 – 20713	Urned cremation burial	F?	Y	Y		Pottery includes jar and flagon	As above
Westhampnett Bypass Area 2 – 20721	Urned cremation burial	?	Y	Y		Pottery includes jar and butt beaker	As above
Westhampnett Bypass Area 2 – 20725	Urned cremation burial	?	Y	Y		Pottery includes jar, beaker, bowl and platter	As above
Westhampnett Bypass Area 2 – 20737	Urned cremation burial	M?	Y	Y		Pottery includes jar, cup and carninated	As above

Name	Details	Sex	Adult	Urned	Animal bones	Finds	Reference
						bowl	
Westhampnett Bypass Area 2 - 20739	Unurned cremation burial	?	Y	N		Pottery includes jar and cup, Iron fittings and a lock fragment from a wooden casket, Conical glass jug	As above
Westhampnett Bypass Area 2 - 20818	Urned cremation burial	?	Y	Y		Pottery includes jar and platter	As above
Westhampnett Bypass Area 2 - 20820	Urned cremation burial	?	Y	Y		Pottery includes jar, platter, cup and flagon (whitewares)	As above

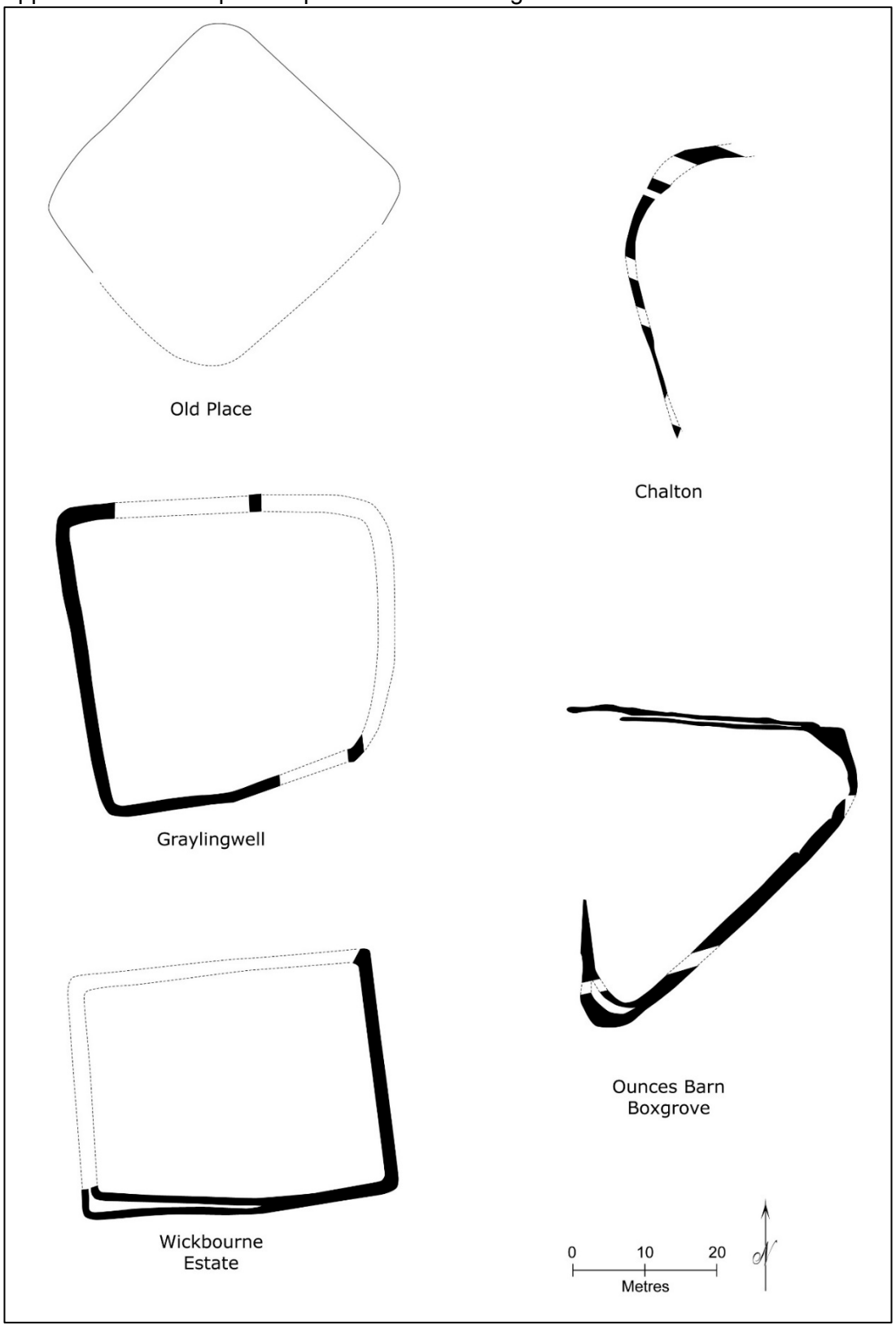
Appendix 6.30: Plan of Chalkpit Lane, Lavant and Westhampnett Middle Iron Age 'open' settlements (After Fitzpatrick 2008, 185, Fig 89)



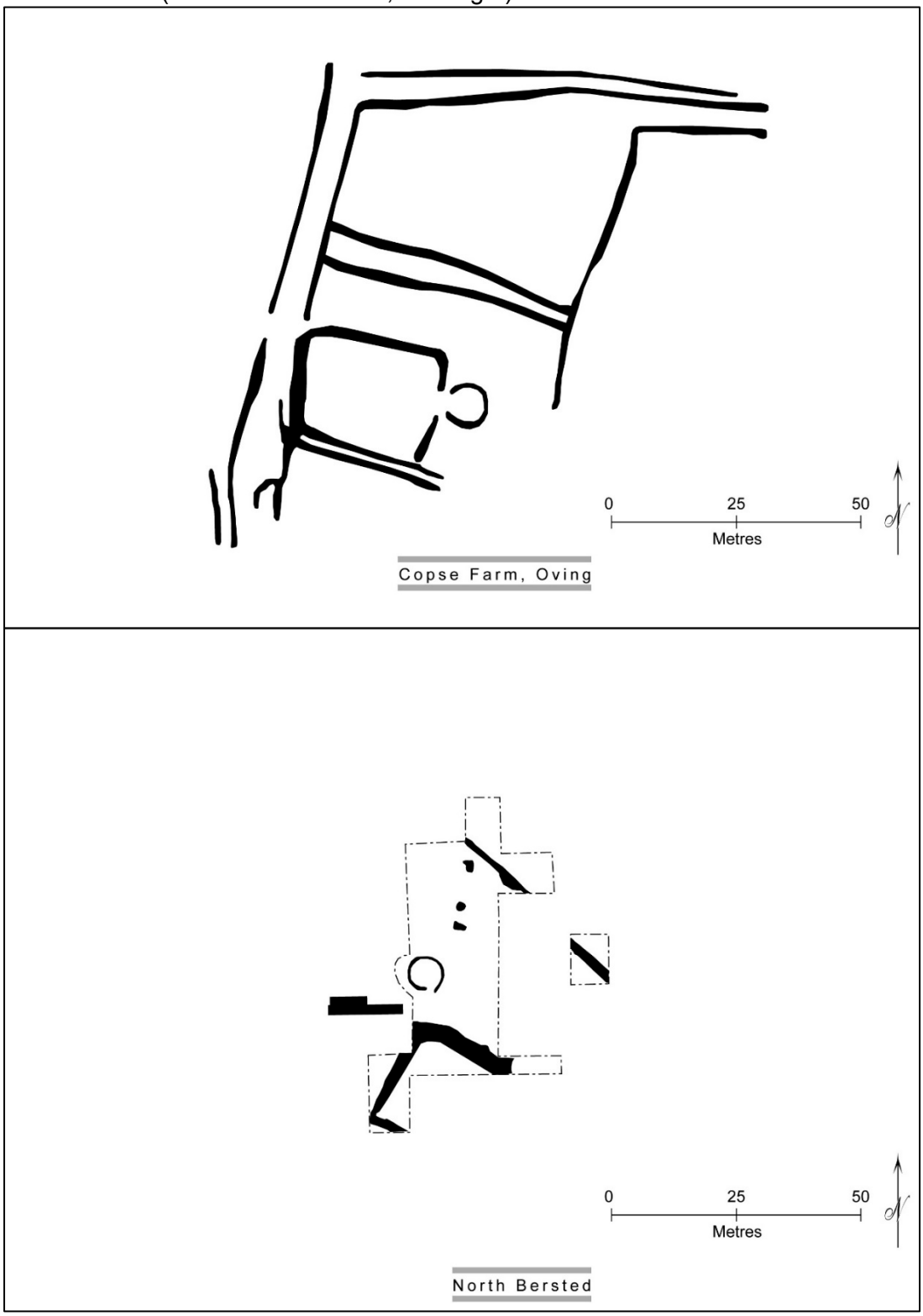
Appendix 6.31: Labour estimates for the construction of Middle Iron Age enclosures in the WSTOZ

Site Name	Ditch width (metres)	Ditch depth (metres)	Ditch length (metres	Person hours	Reference
Carne's Seat (Total)	-	-	-	81808	(Holgate 1986a)
Inner earthwork	7.5	3.5	289	40692	
Middle earthwork	4.5	1.7	411	26141	
Outer earthwork	3.75	1.6	207	14705	
Great Hidden Farm	2 (est)	1 (est)	964	13625	(King 1979)
Halnaker Hill, Boxgrove	2 (est)	1 (est)	526	7434	HER
Selhurstpark Farm, Boxgrove A (Total)	-	-	-	16395	(Anelay pers comm)
Central Southern enclosure	2 (est)	1 (est)	172	2431	
Eastern Southern enclosure	2 (est)	1 (est)	175	2473	
North enclosure	2 (est)	1 (est)	89	1258	
Western Southern enclosure	2 (est)	1 (est)	144	2035	
Southern enclosure combined	2 (est)	1 (est)	580	8198	
The Trundle	3.81	1.52	889	36384	(Curwen 1929)
Tourner Bury	2 (est)	1 (est)	666	9413	(Bradley and Fulford 1975)

Appendix 6.32: Comparison plans of Late Iron Age enclosures



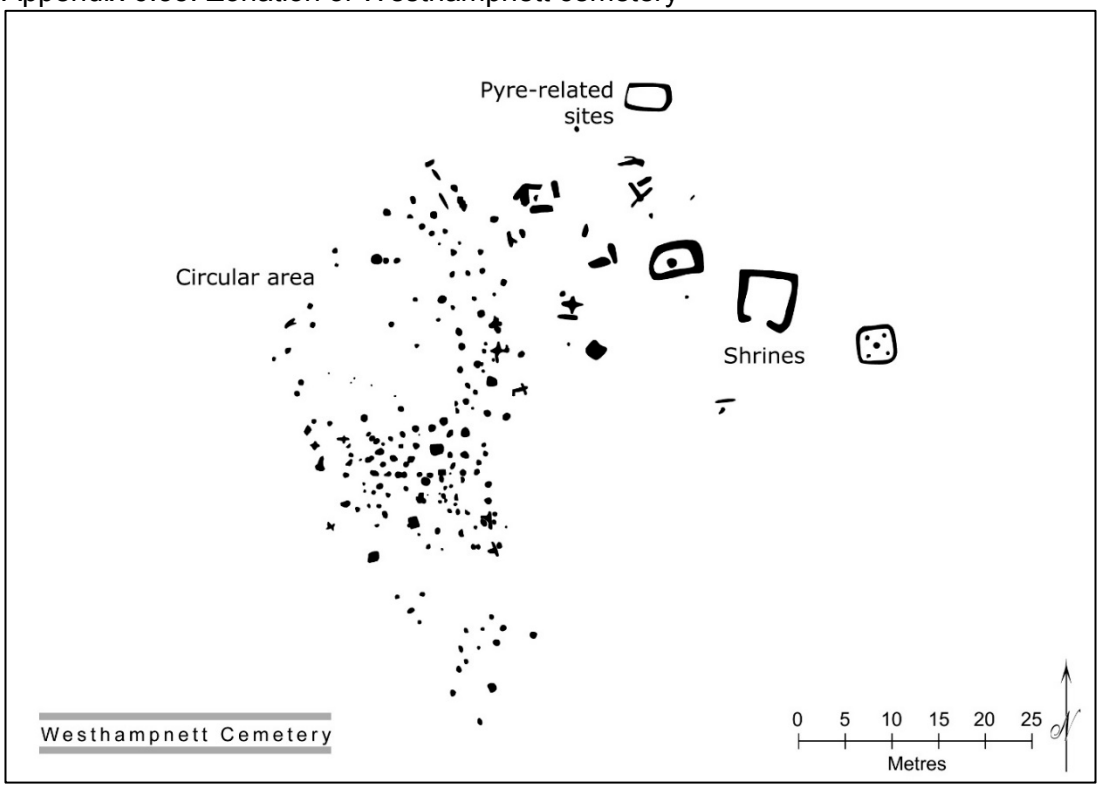
Appendix 6.33: Plan of enclosures and field systems at Copse Farm, Oving and North Bersted (After Hamilton 2007, 88 - Fig 5)



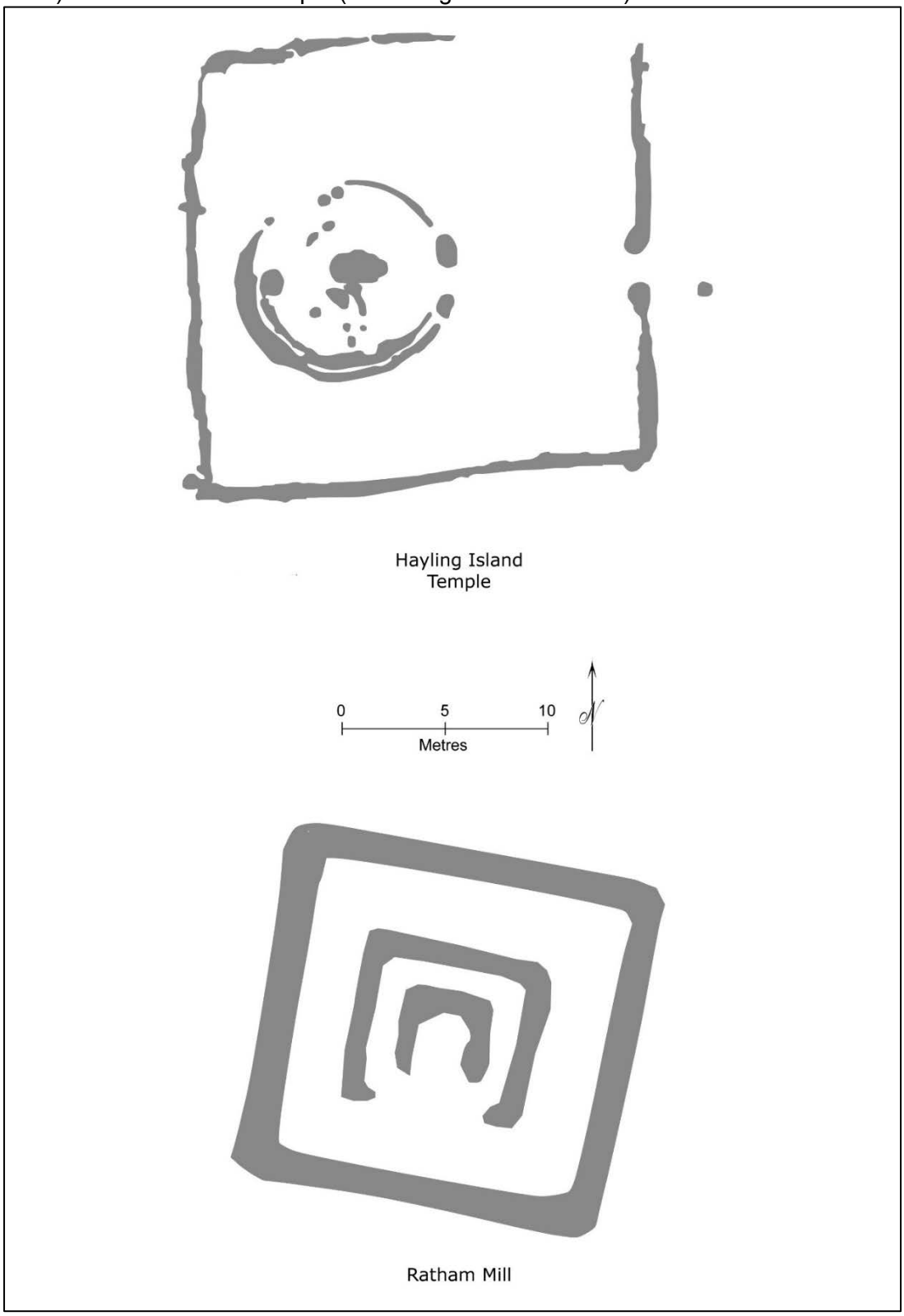
Appendix 6.34: Labour estimates for the construction of Late Iron Age enclosures in the WSTOZ

Site Name	Ditch width (metres)	Ditch depth (metres)	Ditch length (metres)	Person hours	Reference
Charlton A	2.4	1	165	2798	(Cunliffe 1977)
Copse Farm, Oving	2 (est)	1 (est)	87	1230	(Bedwin and Holgate 1985)
Copse Farm, Oving – field systems	2 (est)	1 (est)	800 approx	11307	(Bedwin and Holgate 1985)
Graylingwell, Chichester B	2.2	0.6	172	1765	(Kenny 2001)
North Bersted? – Field Systems	2 (est)	1 (est)	700 approx	9894	(Bedwin and Pitts 1978)
Oldplace Farm, Westhampnett - 1	2 (est)	1 (est)	142	2007	(Bedwin 1983)
Oldplace Farm, Westhampnett B - 2	2 (est)	1 (est)	55	777	(Bedwin 1983)
Oldplace Farm, Westhampnett – Field Systems	2 (est)	1 (est)	1490 approx	21060	(Bedwin 1983)
Ounces Barn, Boxgrove A	2	1.6	138	3121	(Bedwin and Place 1995)
West Dean - Goosehill Camp	2 (est)	1 (est)	506	7152	(Boyden 1956)
Wick	2.43	1.21	148	3075	(Gilkes and Lyne 1993)

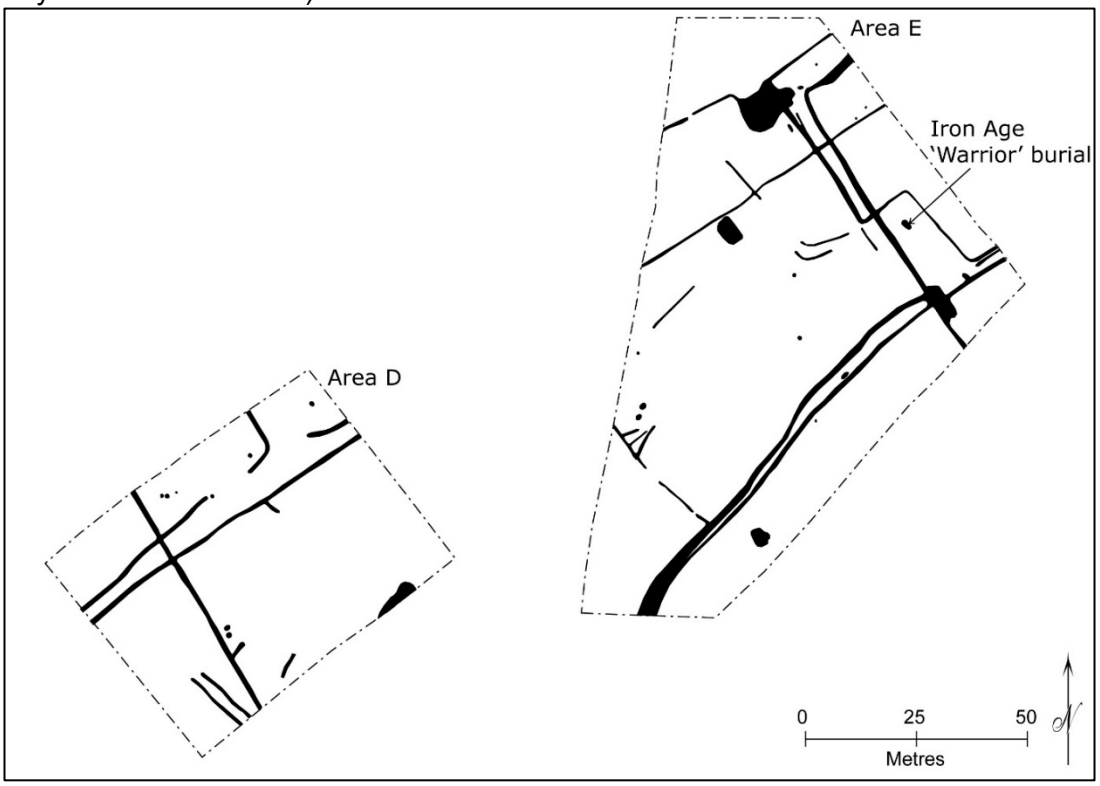
Appendix 6.35: Zonation of Westhampnett cemetery



Appendix 6.36: Comparative plans of Hayling Island Temple (After King and Soffe 2001) and Ratham Mill Temple (After King and Soffe 1983)



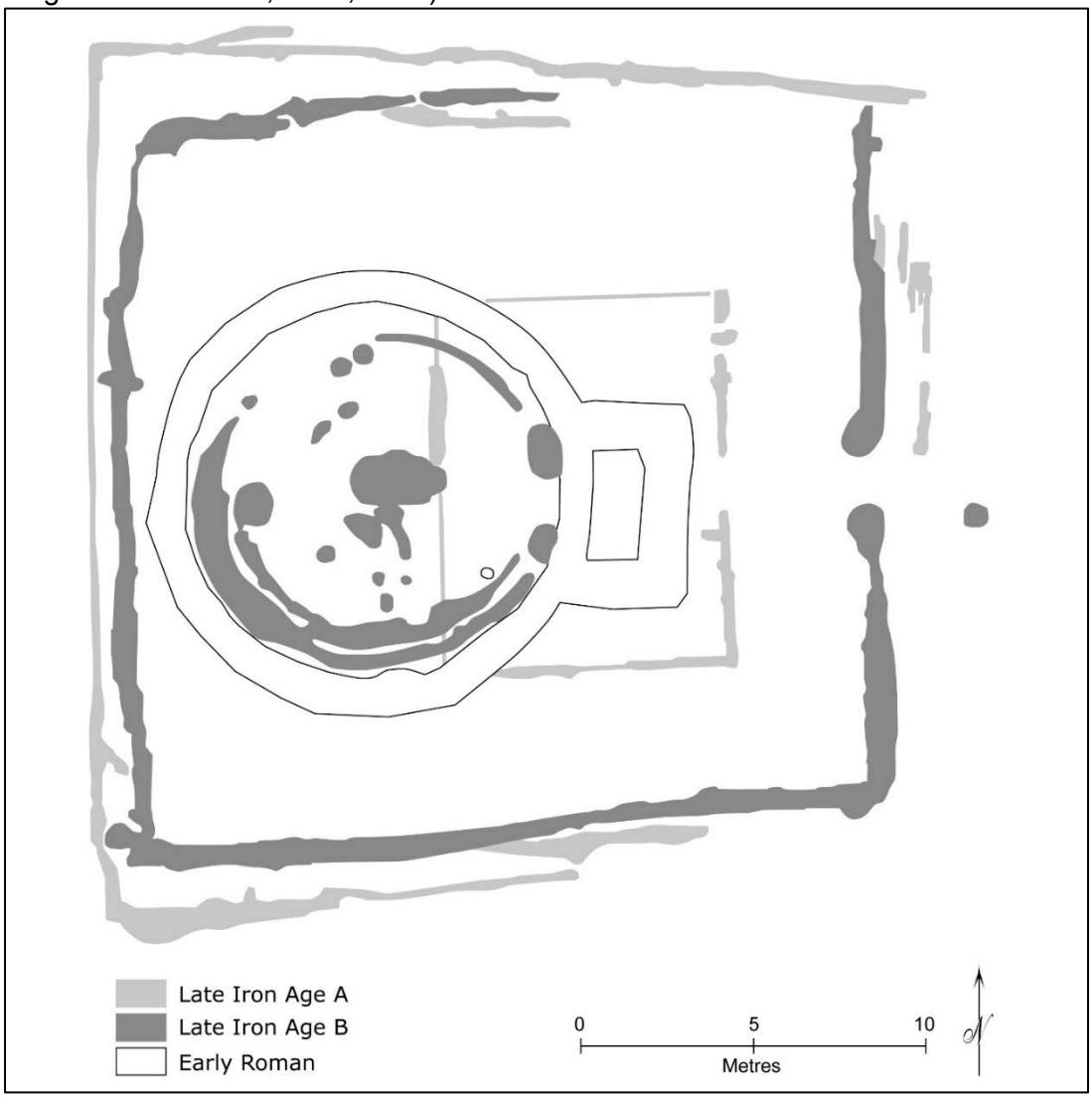
Appendix 6.37: Plan of North Bersted settlement containing 'Warrior' burial (After Taylor and Weale 2009)



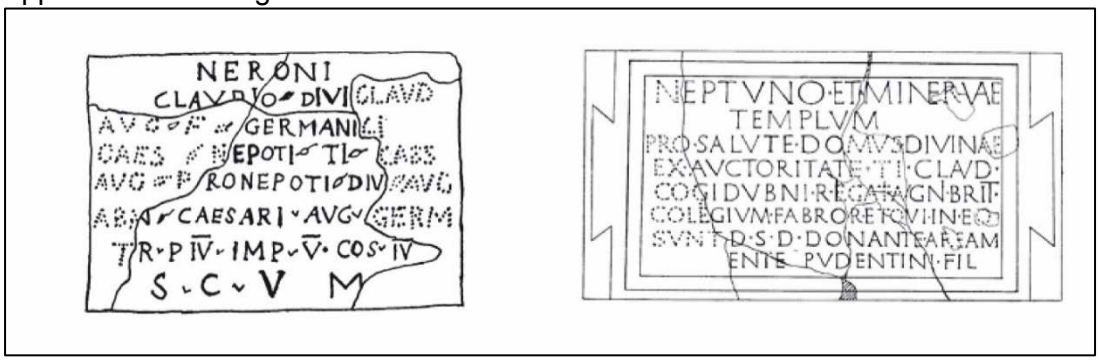
Appendix 6.38: Labour estimates for the construction of Early Roman enclosures in the WSTOZ

Site Name	Ditch width (metres)	Ditch depth (metres)	Ditch length (metres	Person hours	Reference
Copse Farm, Oving - Trench D & F	1.3	0.3	205	565	(Bedwin and Holgate 1985)
Copse Farm, Oving - Trench E	1.8	1	120	1527	(Bedwin and Holgate 1985)
Fishbourne Roman Palace D	5.18	1.75	171	10959	(Cunliffe 1971)
Graylingwell, Chichester C	2 (est)	1 (est)	40	565	(Kenny 2001)
Hardham	3.66	0.61	497	7842	(Winbolt 1927)
Oldplace Farm, Westhampnett	2 (est)	1 (est)	188	2657	(Bedwin 1983)
Ounces Barn, Boxgrove A	1.1	0.8	144	896	(Bedwin and Place 1995)

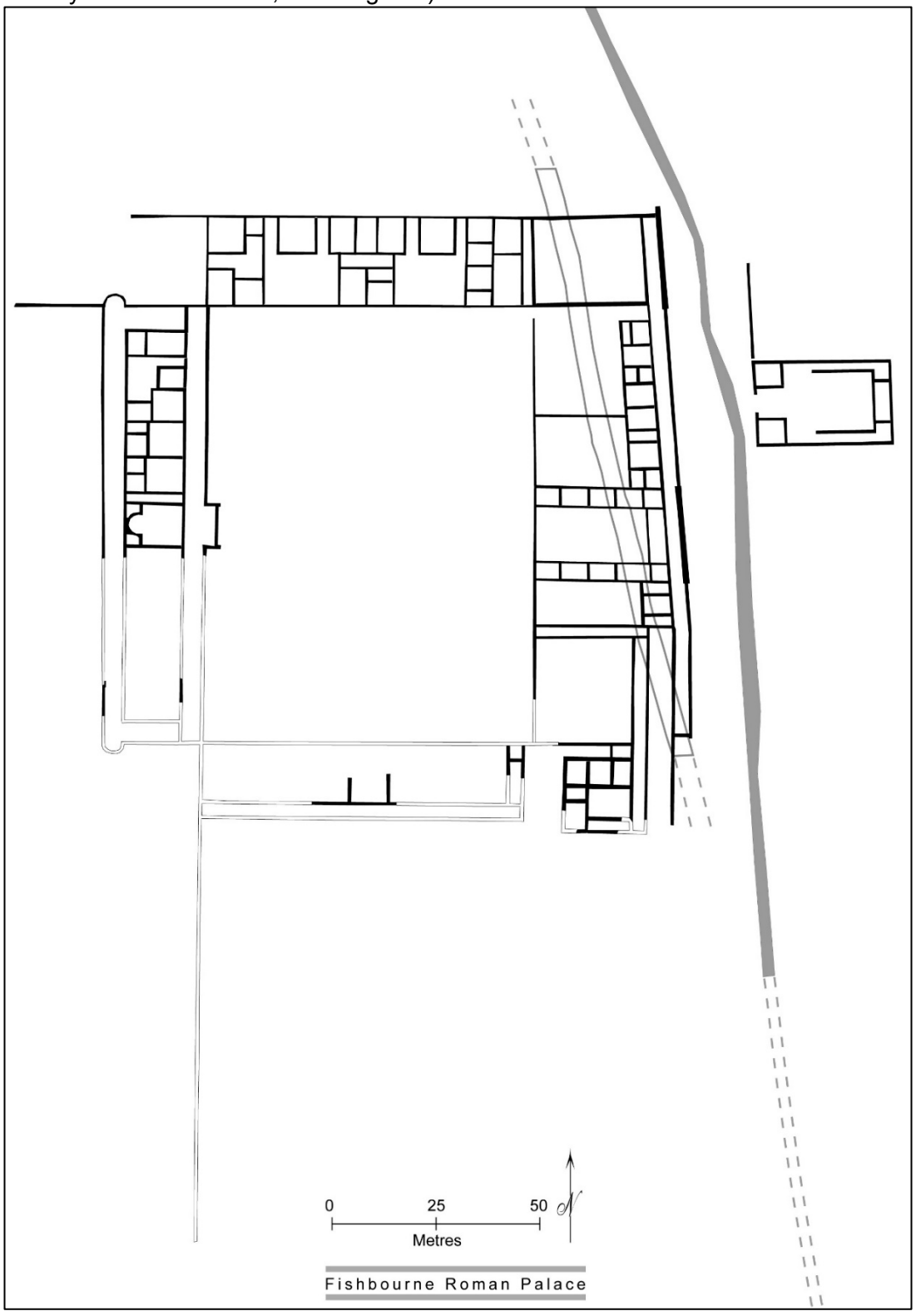
Appendix 6.39: Comparative plan of three phases of Hayling Island Temple (After King and Soffe 2001; 2008; 2013)



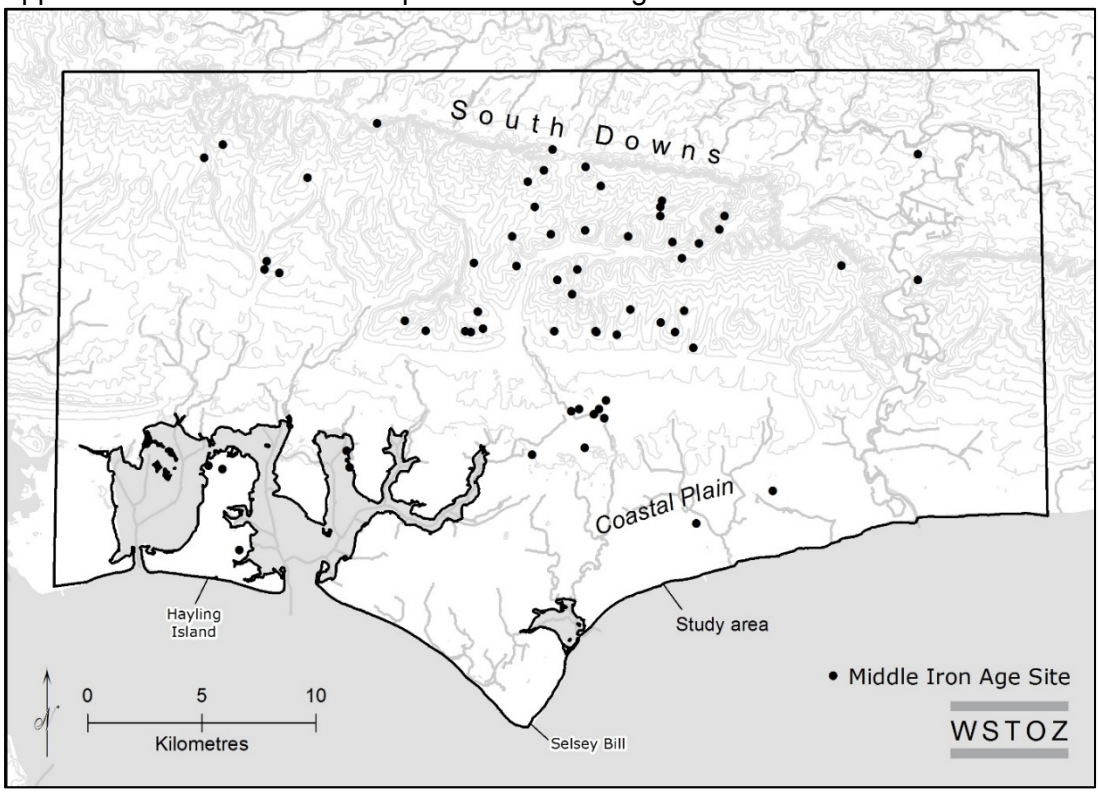
Appendix 6.40: Images of RIB 91 and RIB 92



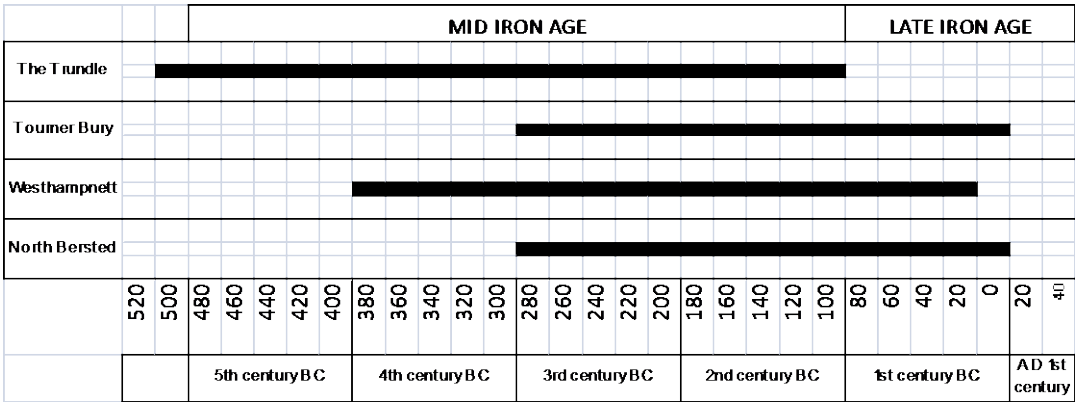
Appendix 6.41: Plan of Fishbourne Roman Palace in the 1st century AD (After Manley and Rudkin 2003, 136 – fig.268)



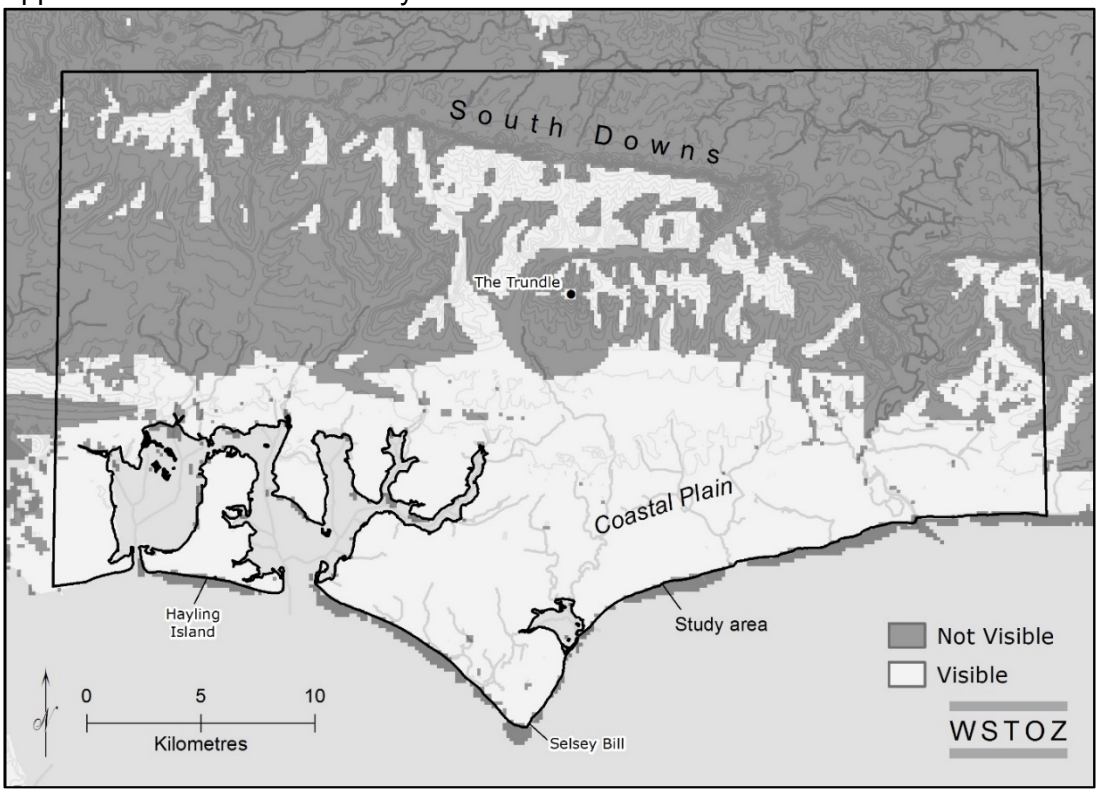
Appendix 6.42: Distribution map of Middle Iron Age sites in the WSTOZ



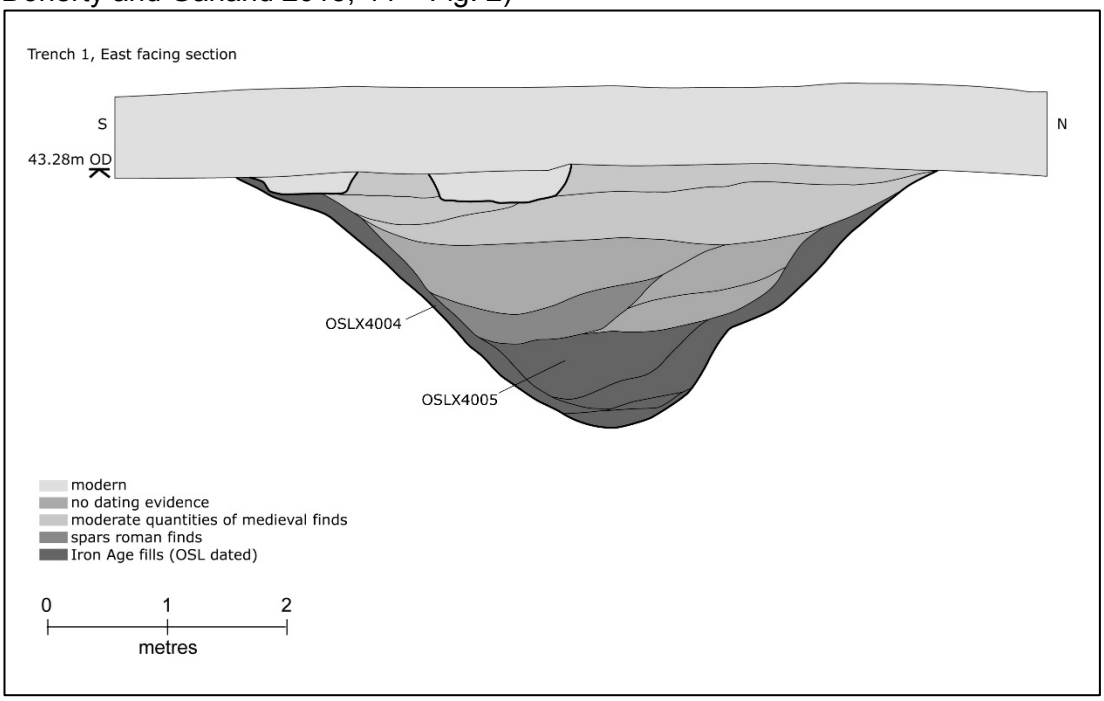
Appendix 6.43: Dates for Middle Iron Age enclosures



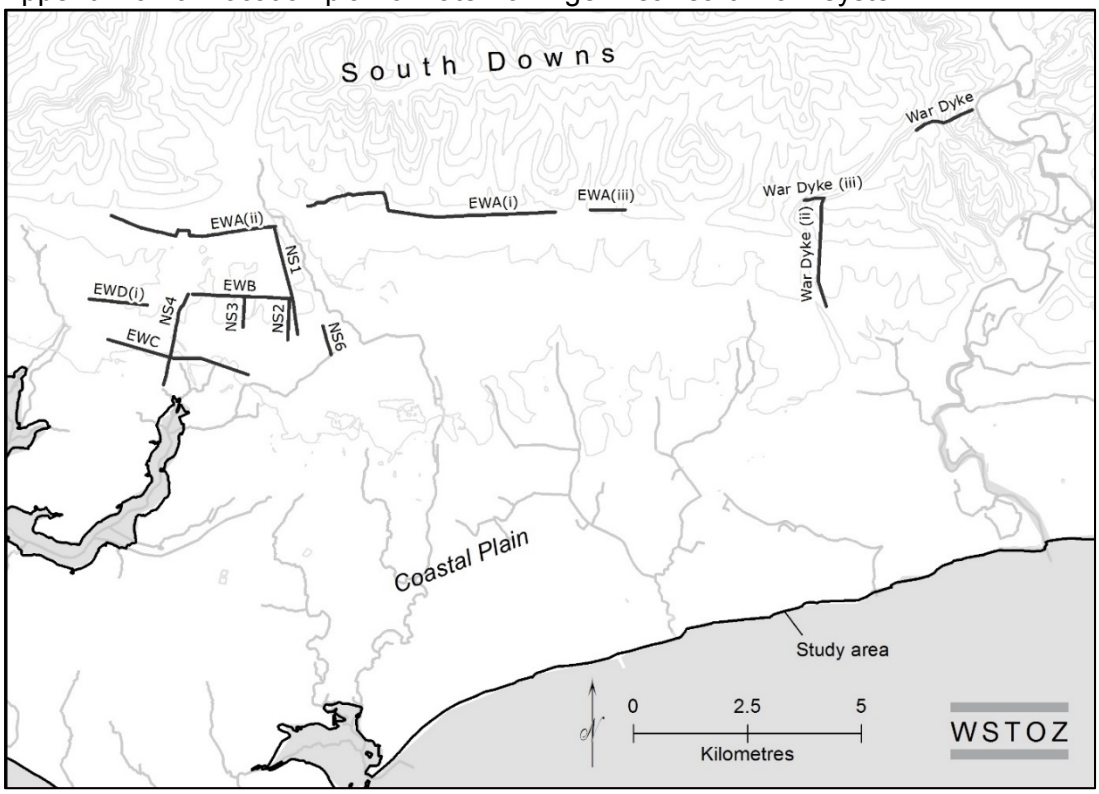
Appendix 6.44: Viewshed Analysis of the Trundle hillfort



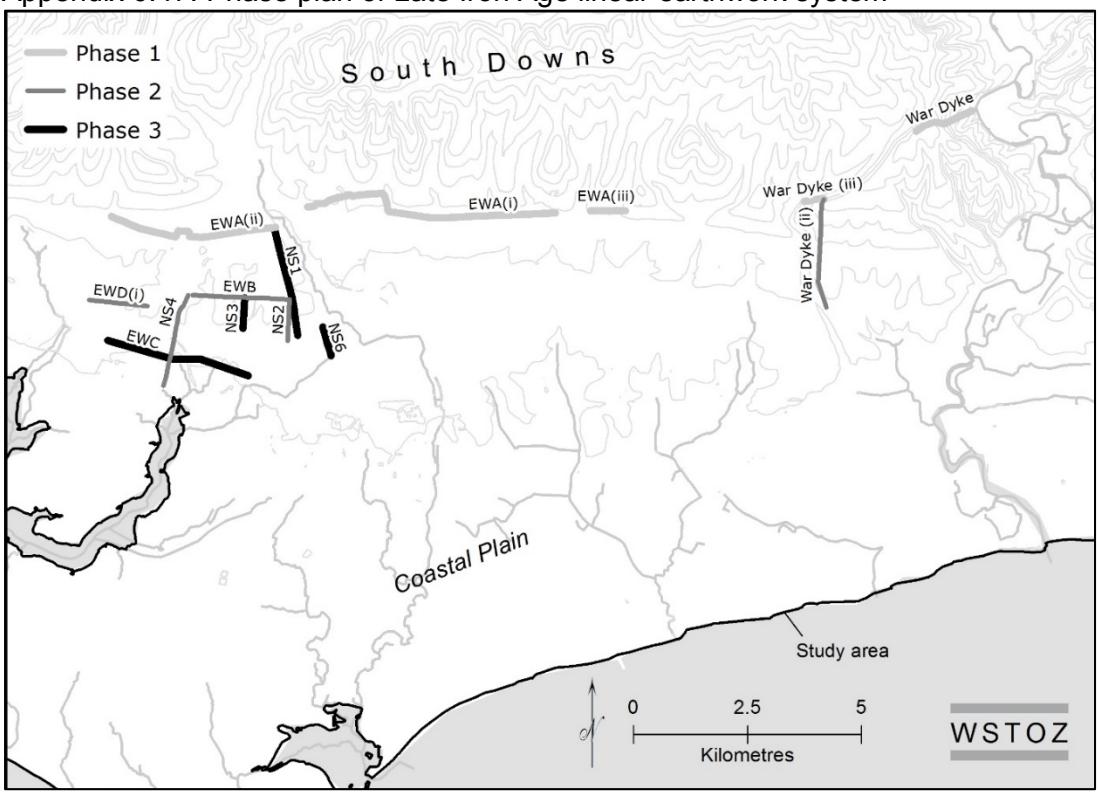
Appendix 6.45: Section through linear earthwork at Halnaker, West Sussex (after Doherty and Garland 2015, 44 – Fig. 2)



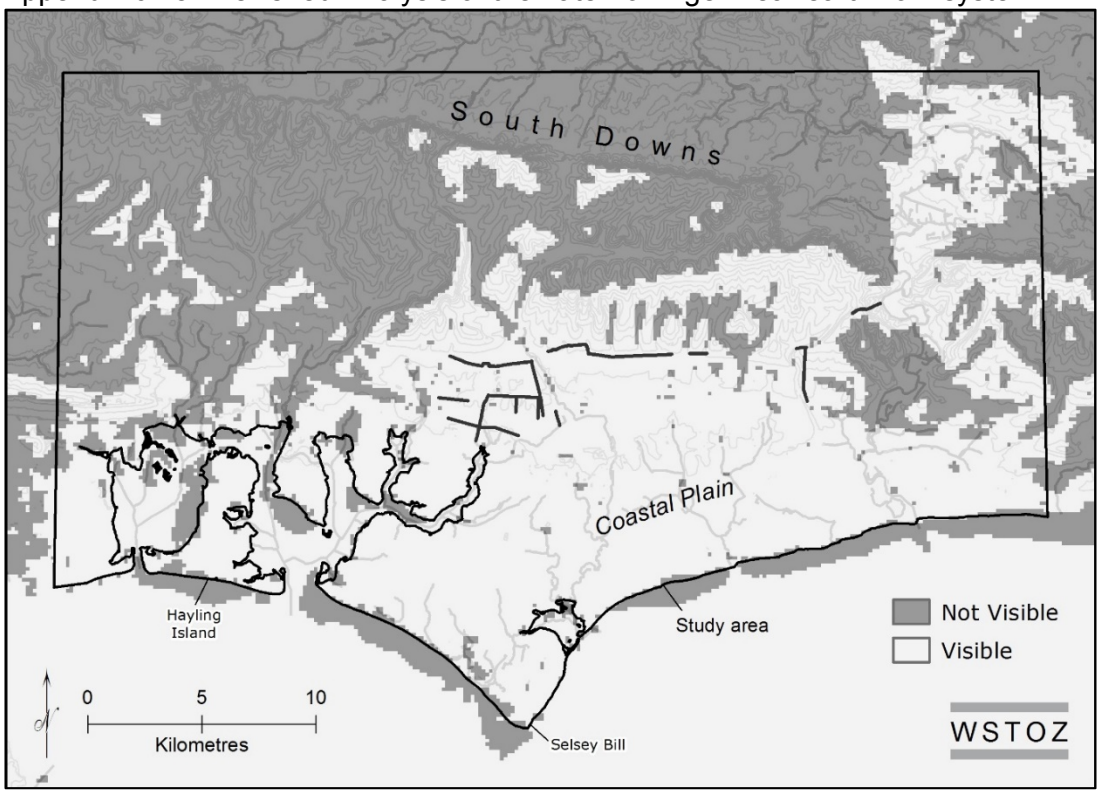
Appendix 6.46: Location plan of Late Iron Age linear earthwork system



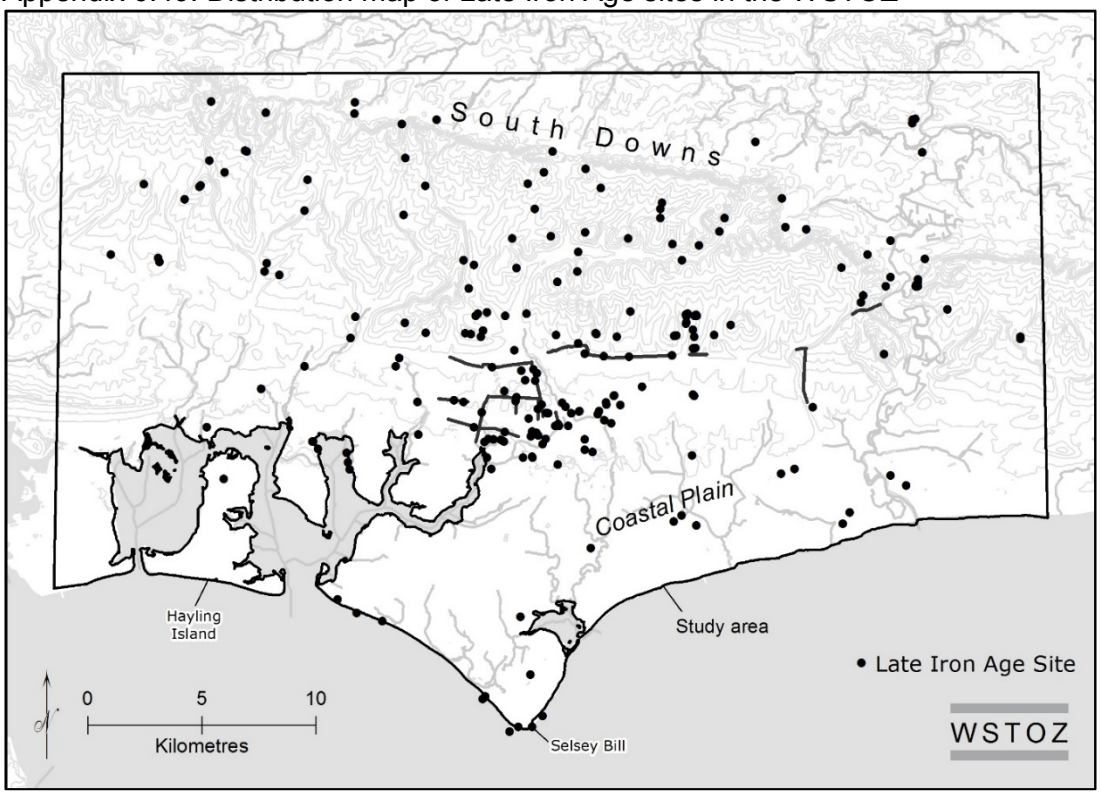
Appendix 6.47: Phase plan of Late Iron Age linear earthwork system



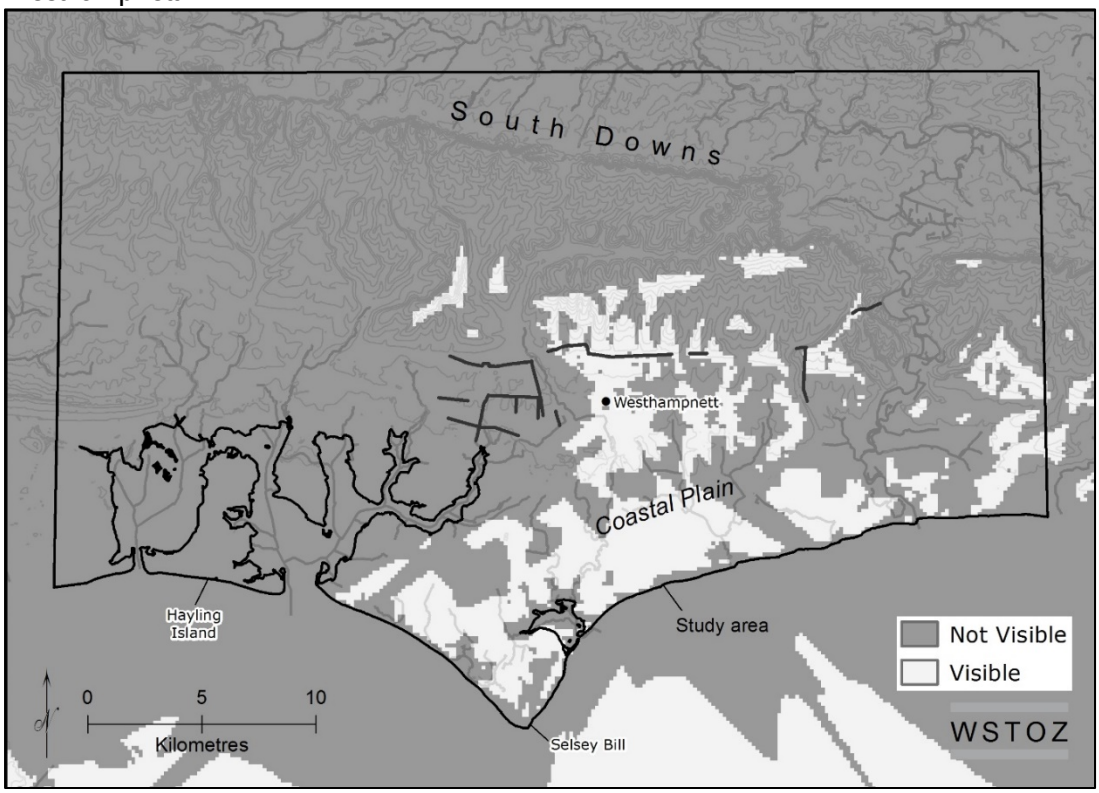
Appendix 6.48: Viewshed Analysis of the Late Iron Age linear earthwork system



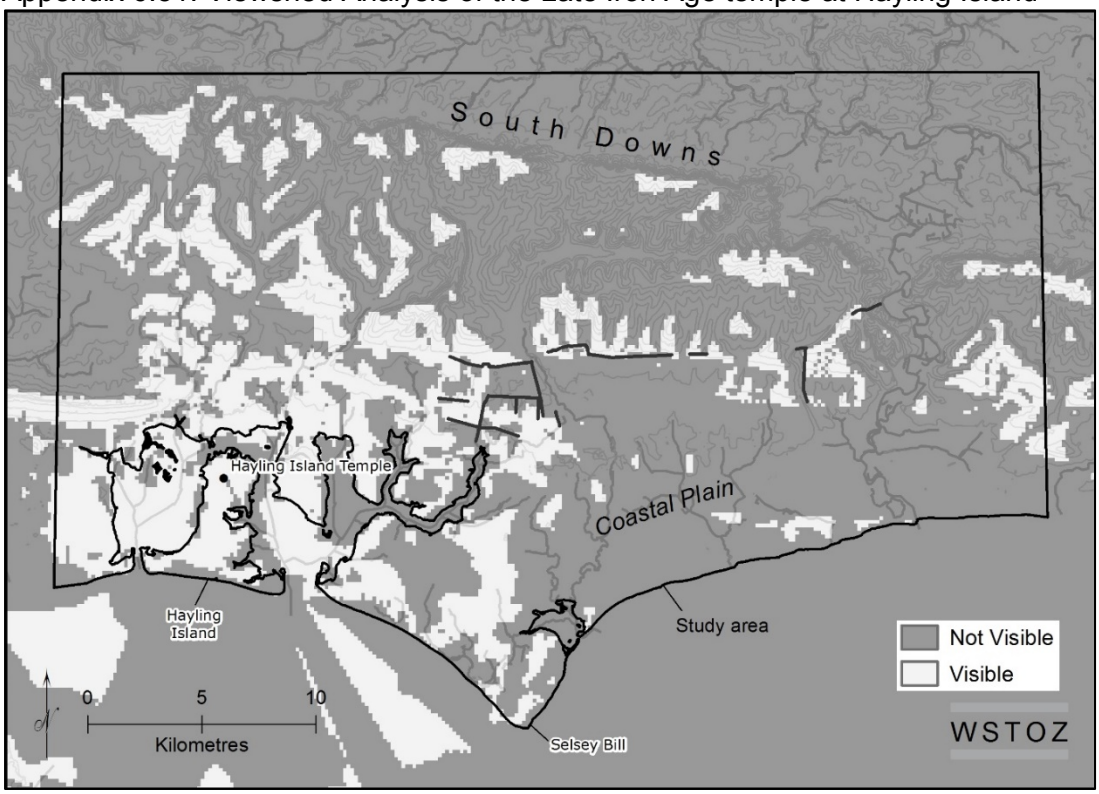
Appendix 6.49: Distribution map of Late Iron Age sites in the WSTOZ



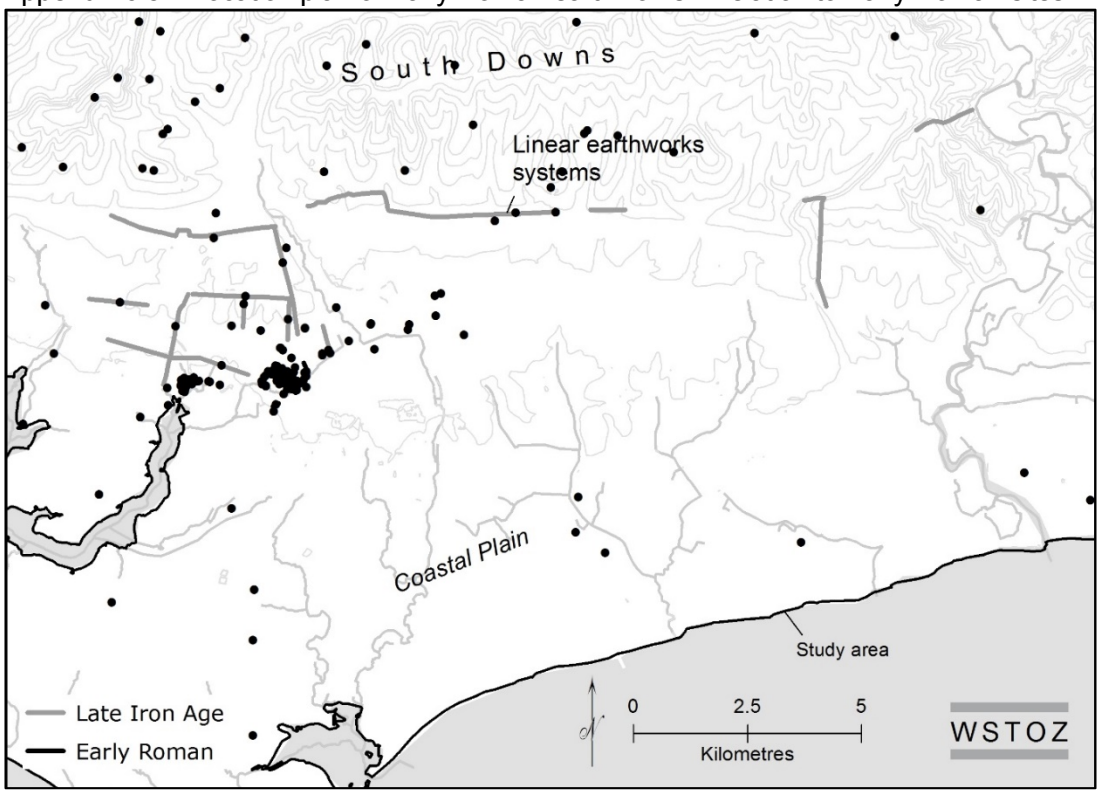
Appendix 6.50: Viewshed Analysis of the Late Iron Age cremation cemetery at Westhampnett



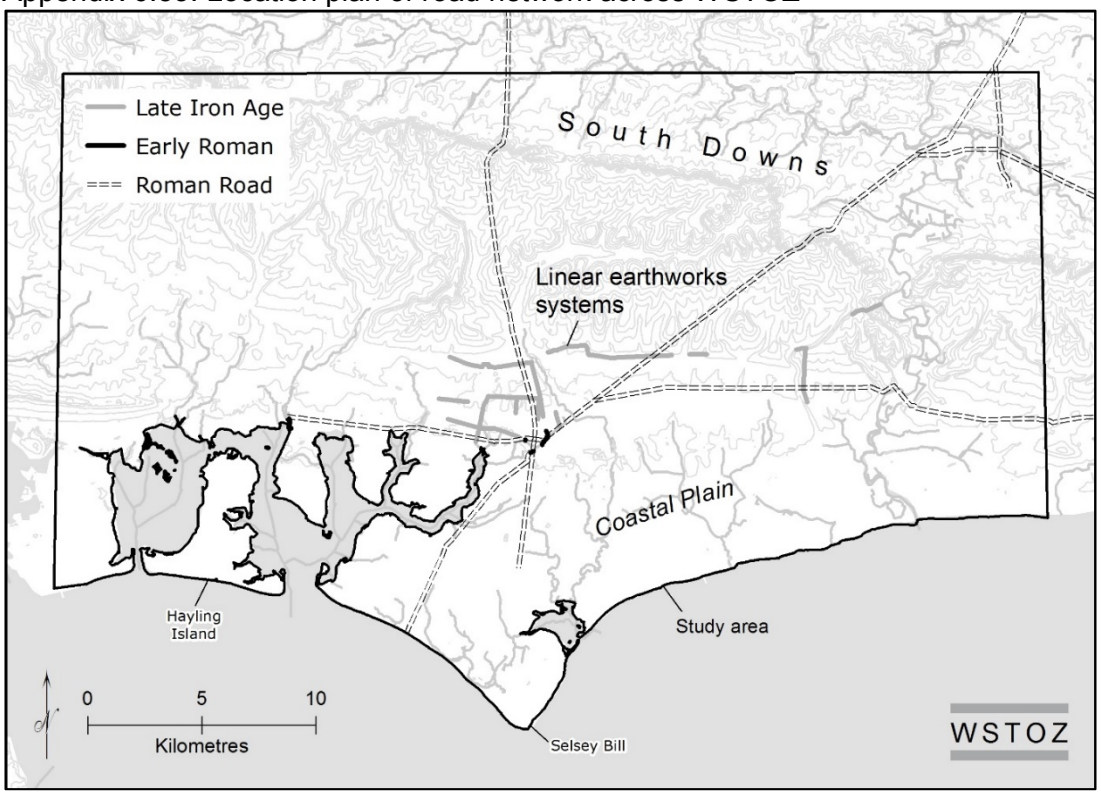
Appendix 6.51: Viewshed Analysis of the Late Iron Age temple at Hayling Island



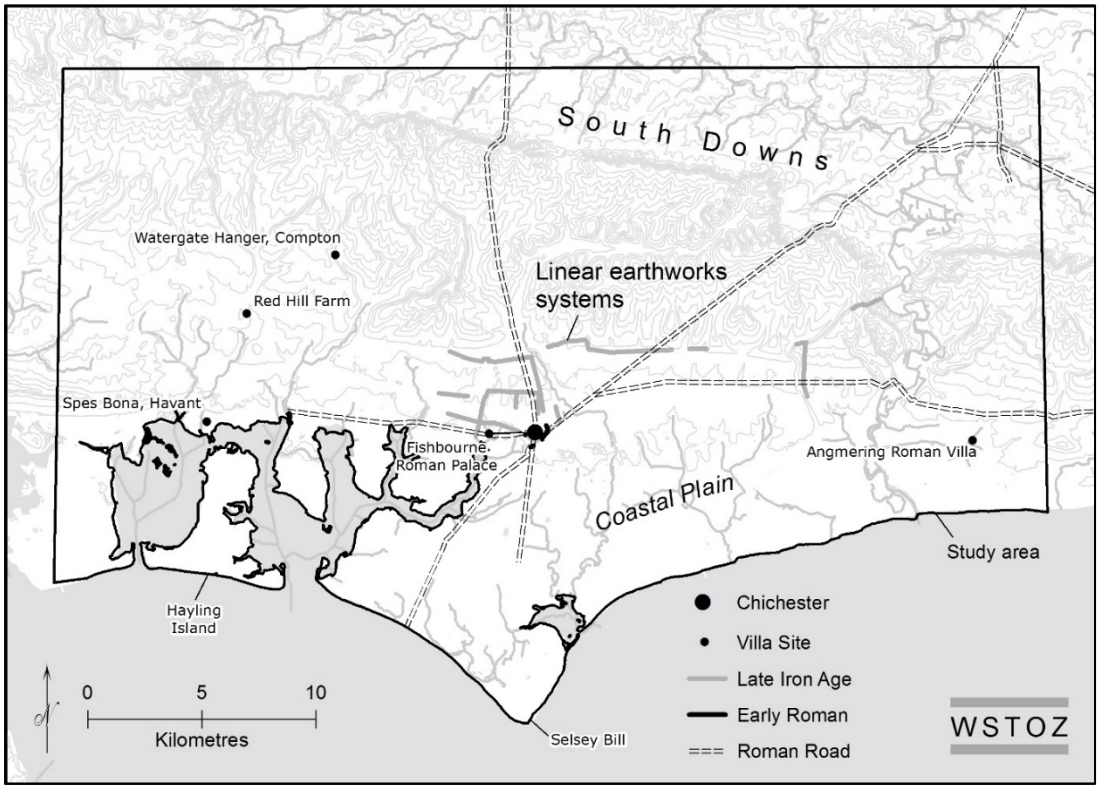
Appendix 6.52: Location plan of Early Roman earthworks in relation to Early Roman sites



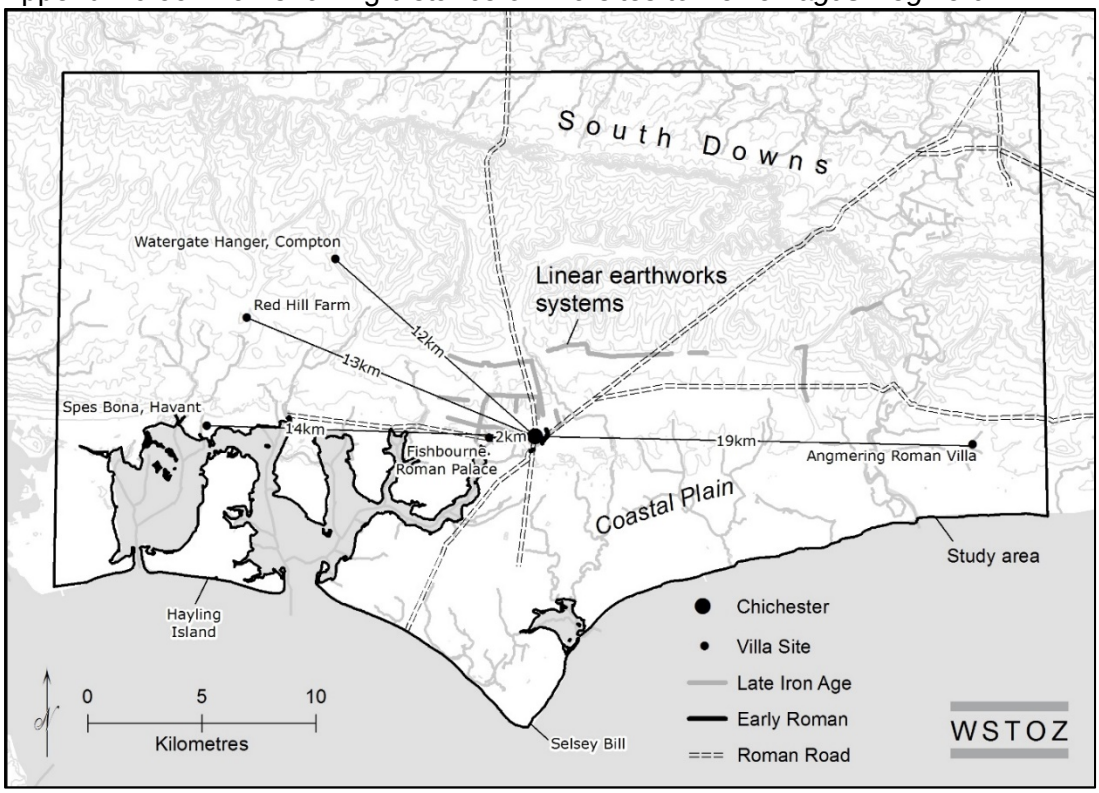
Appendix 6.53: Location plan of road network across WSTOZ



Appendix 6.54: Location plan of villa sites in relation to road network across WSTOZ



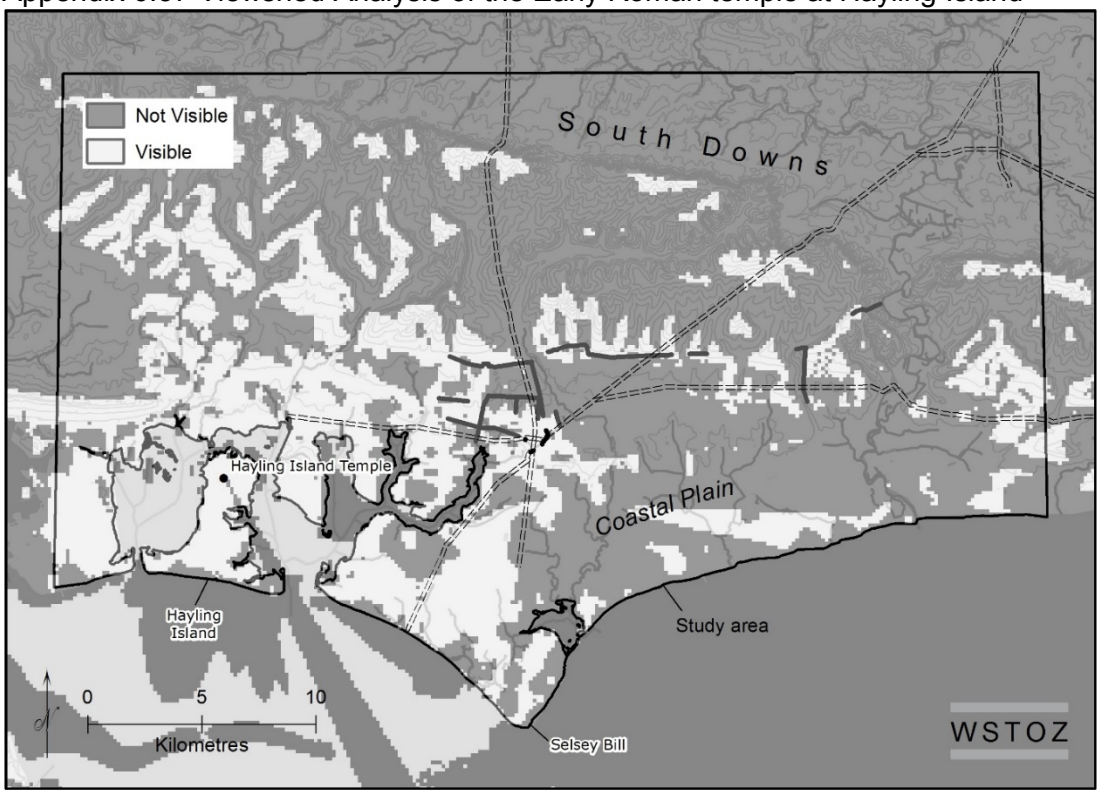
Appendix 6.55: Plan showing distance of villa sites to *Noviomagus Reginorum*



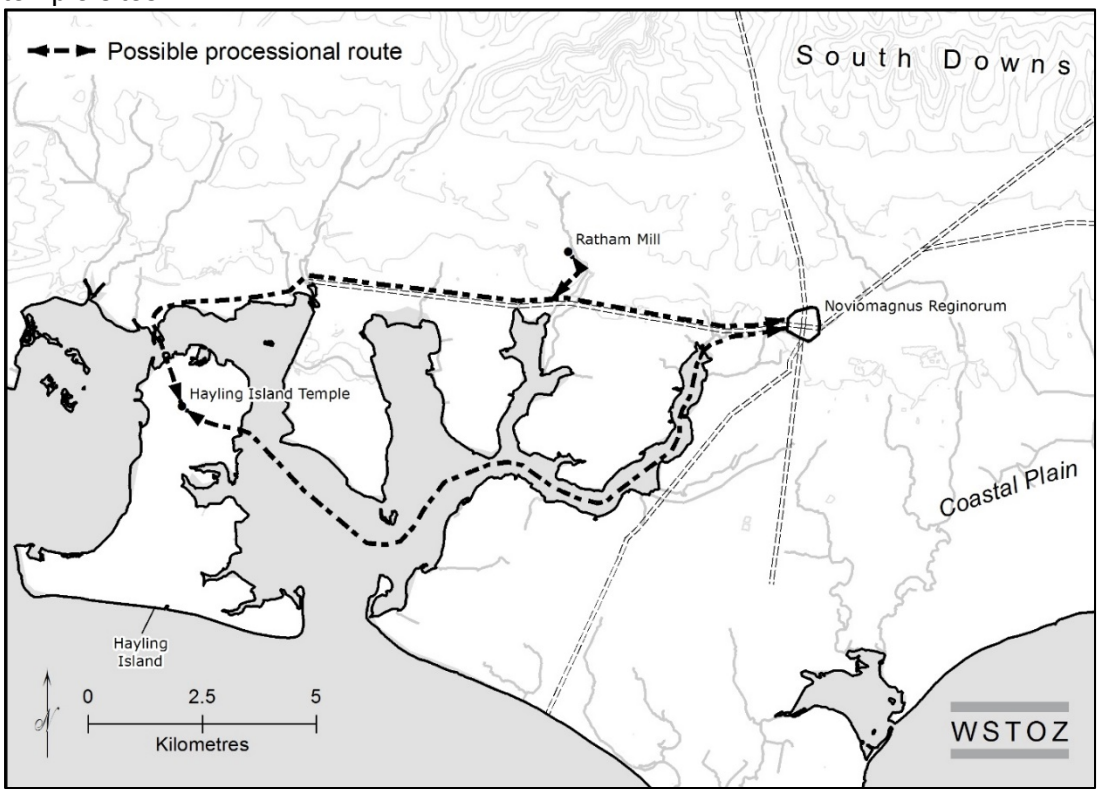
Appendix 6.56: The Room N7 Mosaic at Fishbourne Roman Palace (see Creighton 2006, p153, fig 7.8)

IMAGE REMOVED DUE TO COPYRIGHT RESTRICTIONS

Appendix 6.57 Viewshed Analysis of the Early Roman temple at Hayling Island

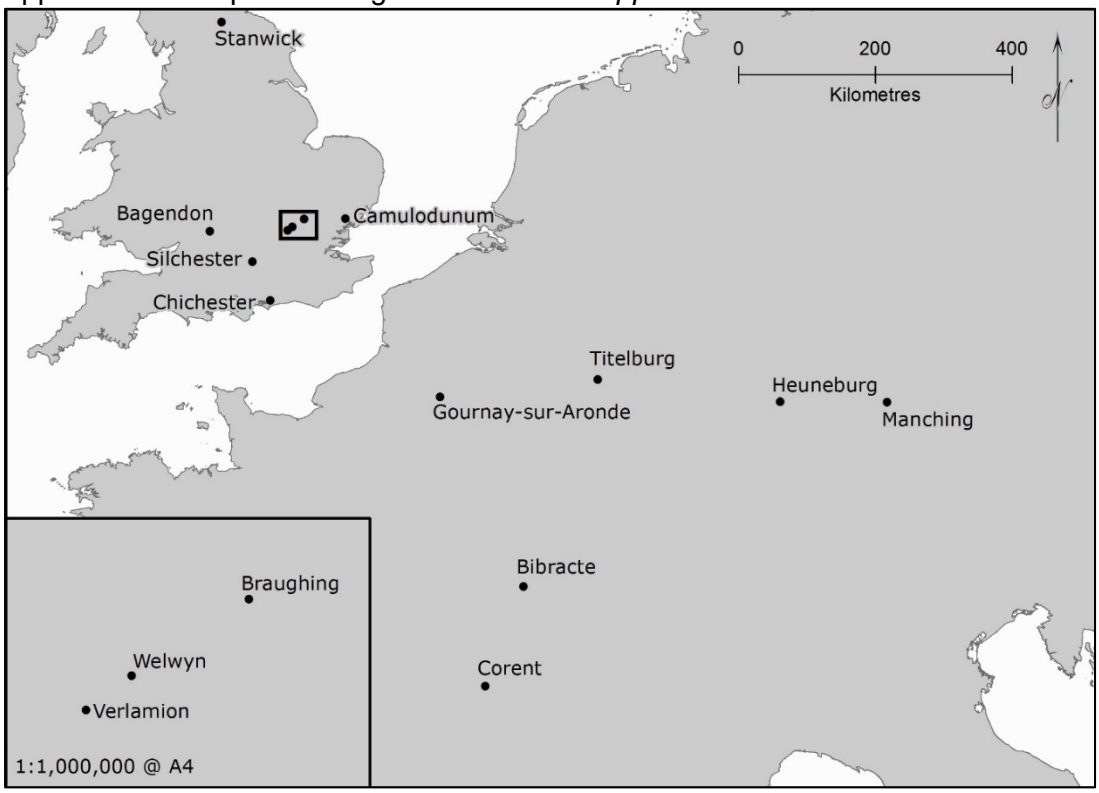


Appendix 6.58: Possible processional routes from *Noviomagus Reginorum* to temple sites

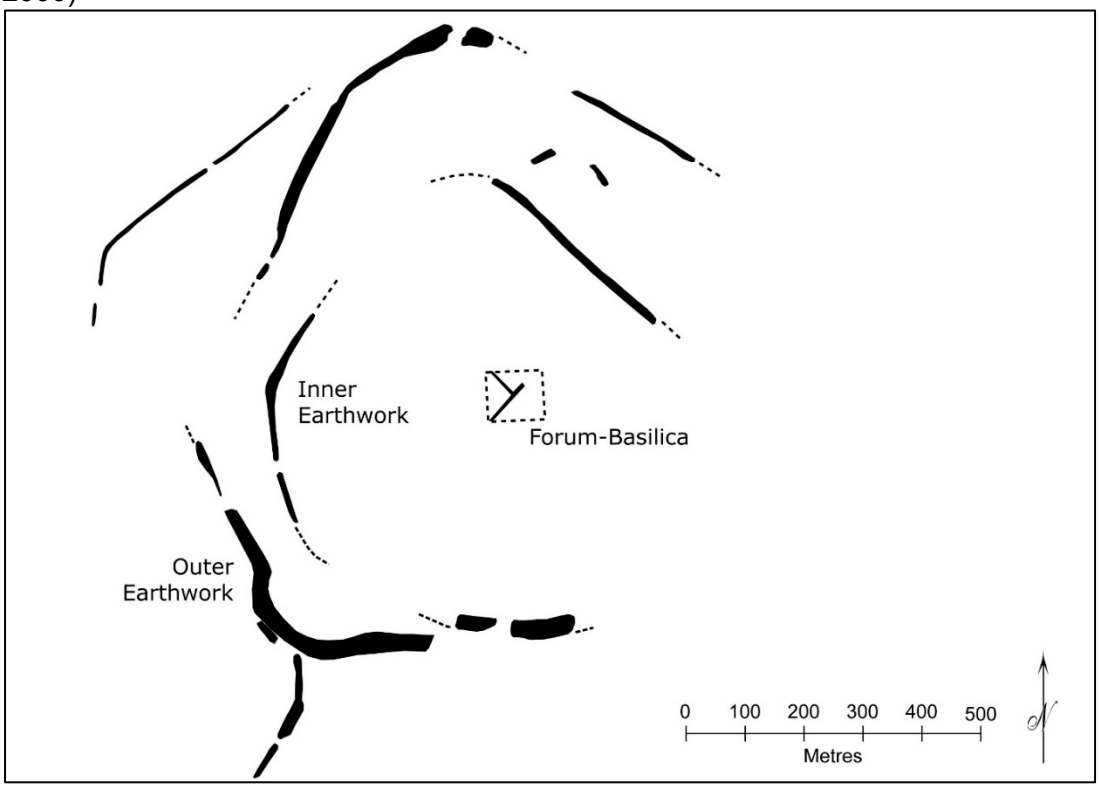


Appendix 7: Comparative Analysis

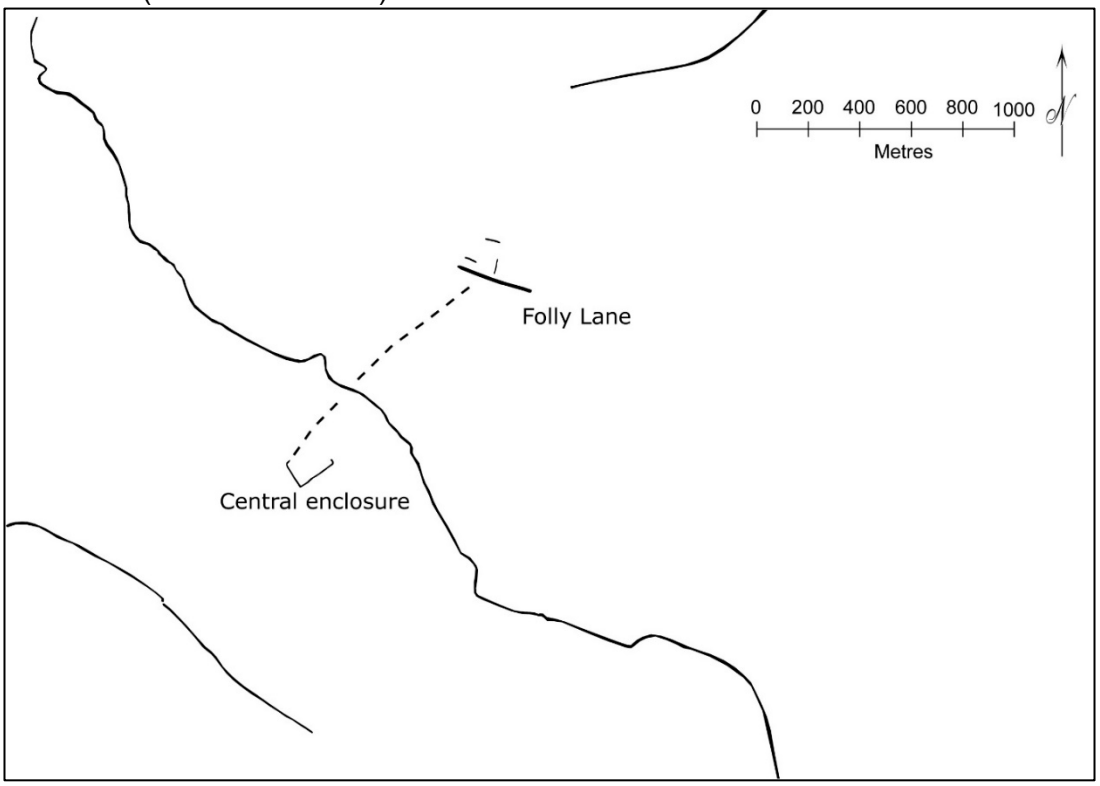
Appendix 7.1: Map illustrating the locations of *oppida* mentioned in the text



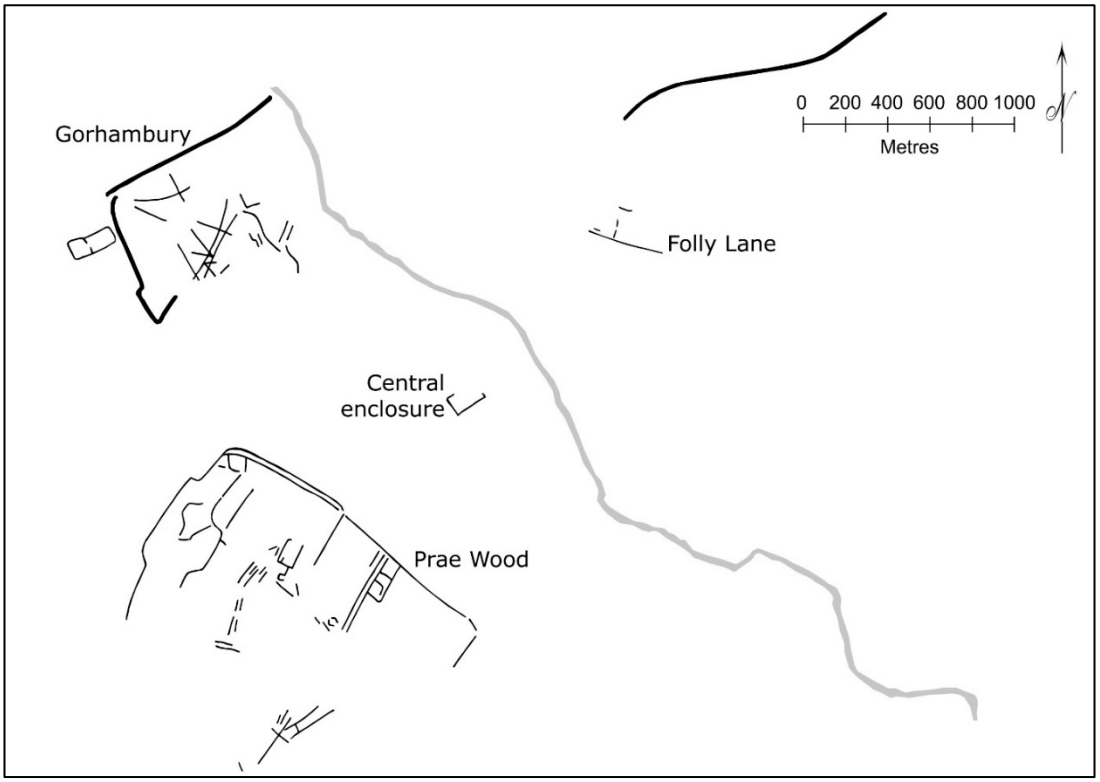
Appendix 7.2: Plan of Silchester Late Iron Age *oppida* (After Fulford and Timby 2000)



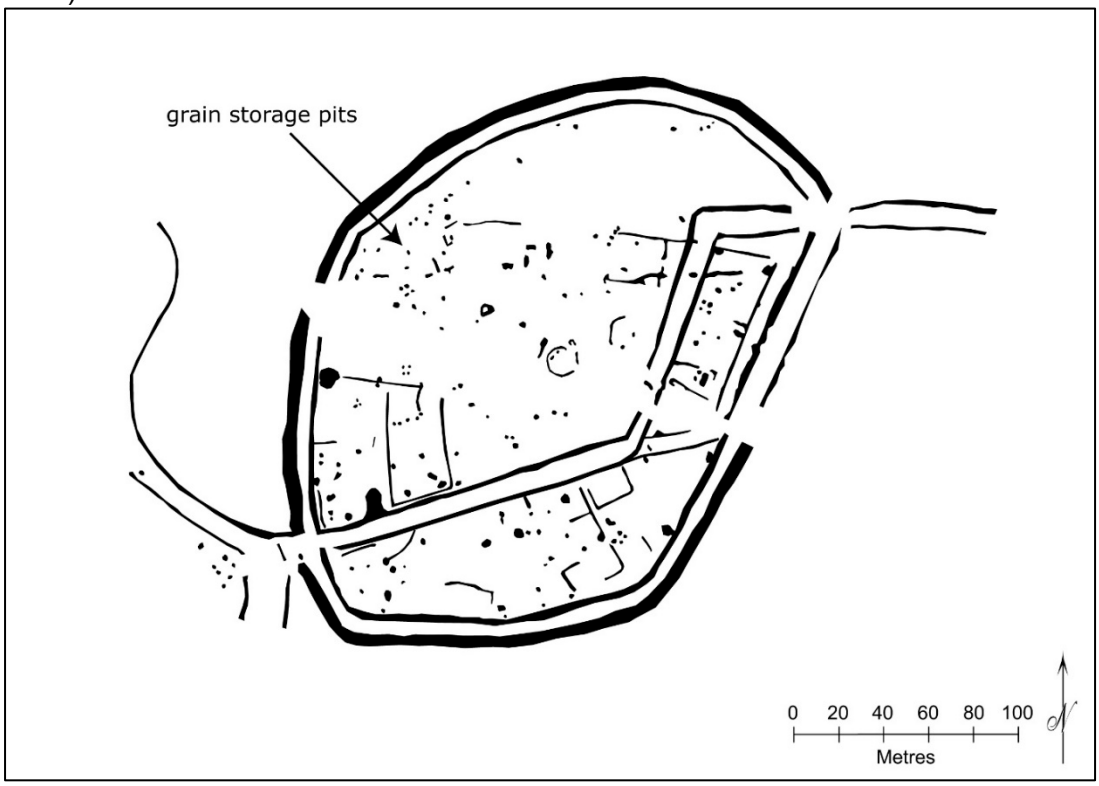
Appendix 7.3: Plan of the trackway between Folly Lane and St Michaels enclosure, Verlamion (After Niblett 1999)



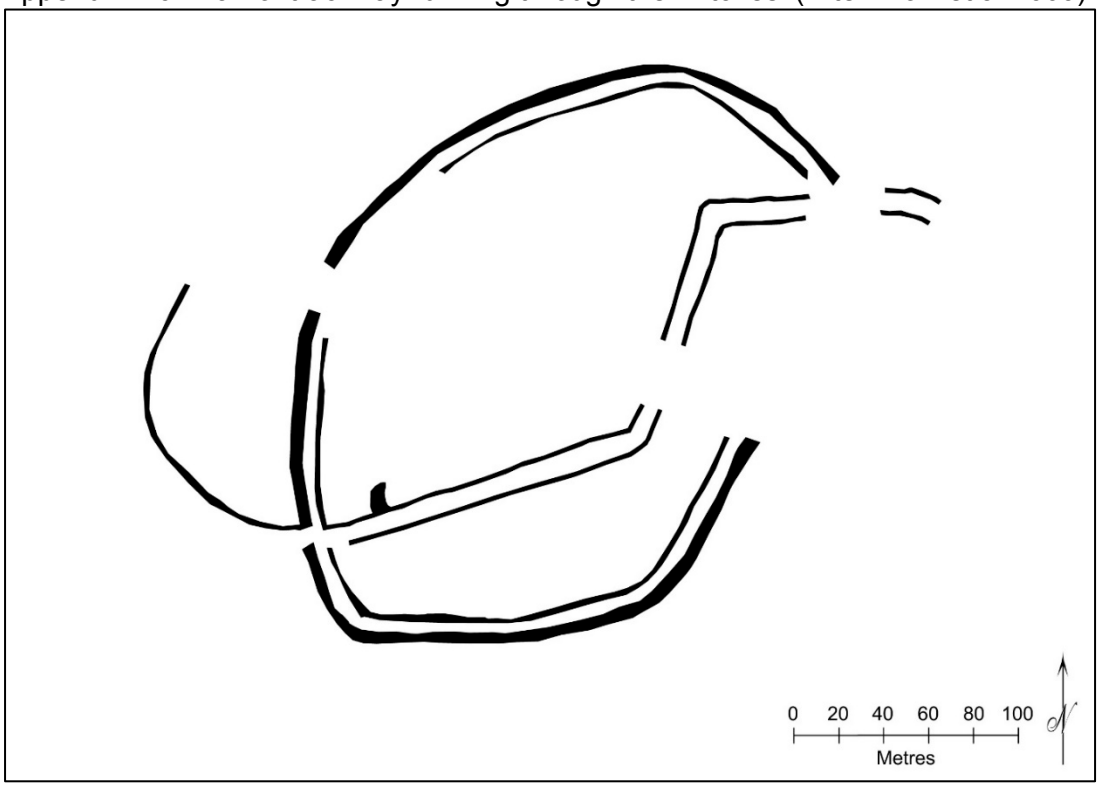
Appendix 7.4: Plan of Verlamion with flanking enclosures of Gorhambury and Prae Wood



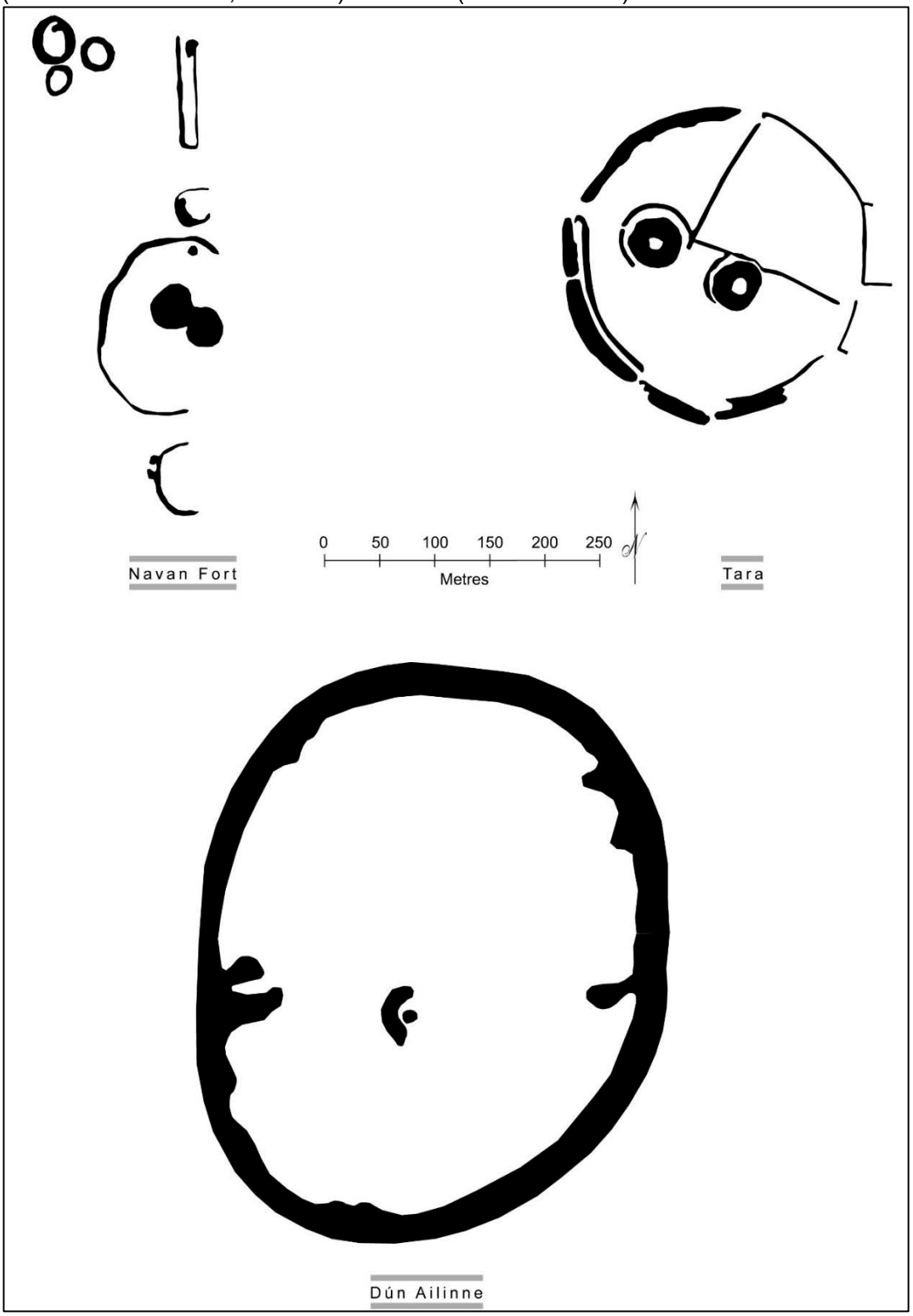
Appendix 7.5: Plan of the ‘Ditches’ including possible grain storage (After Trow et al 2009)



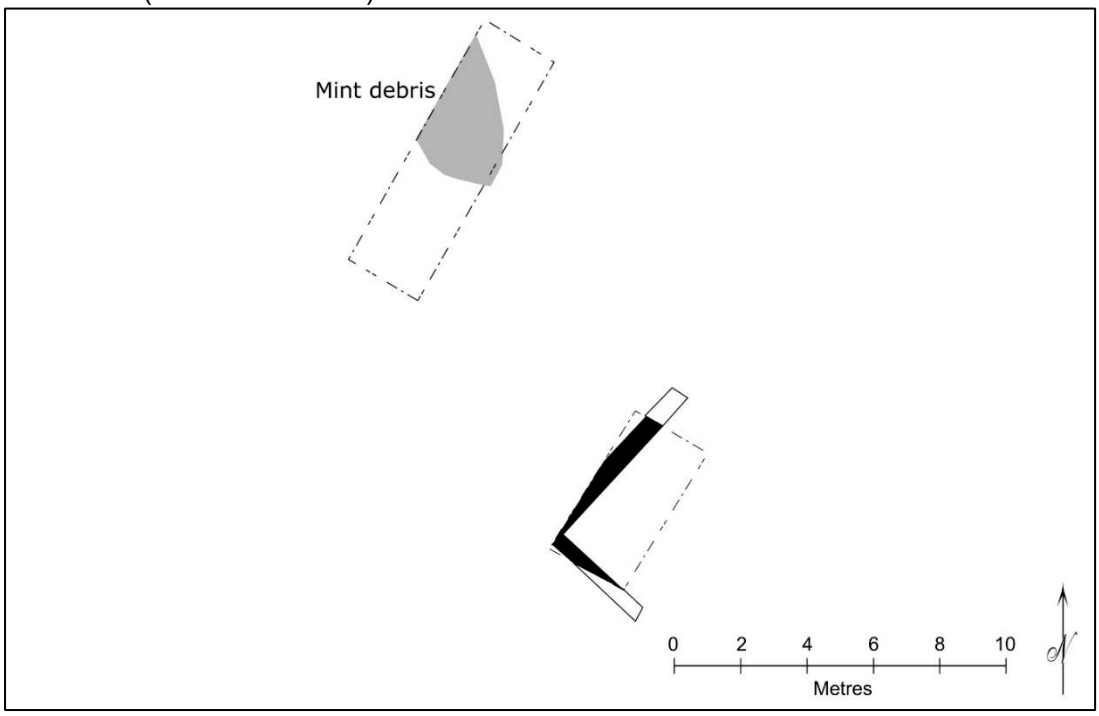
Appendix 7.6: Plan of trackway running through the ‘Ditches’ (After Trow et al 2009)



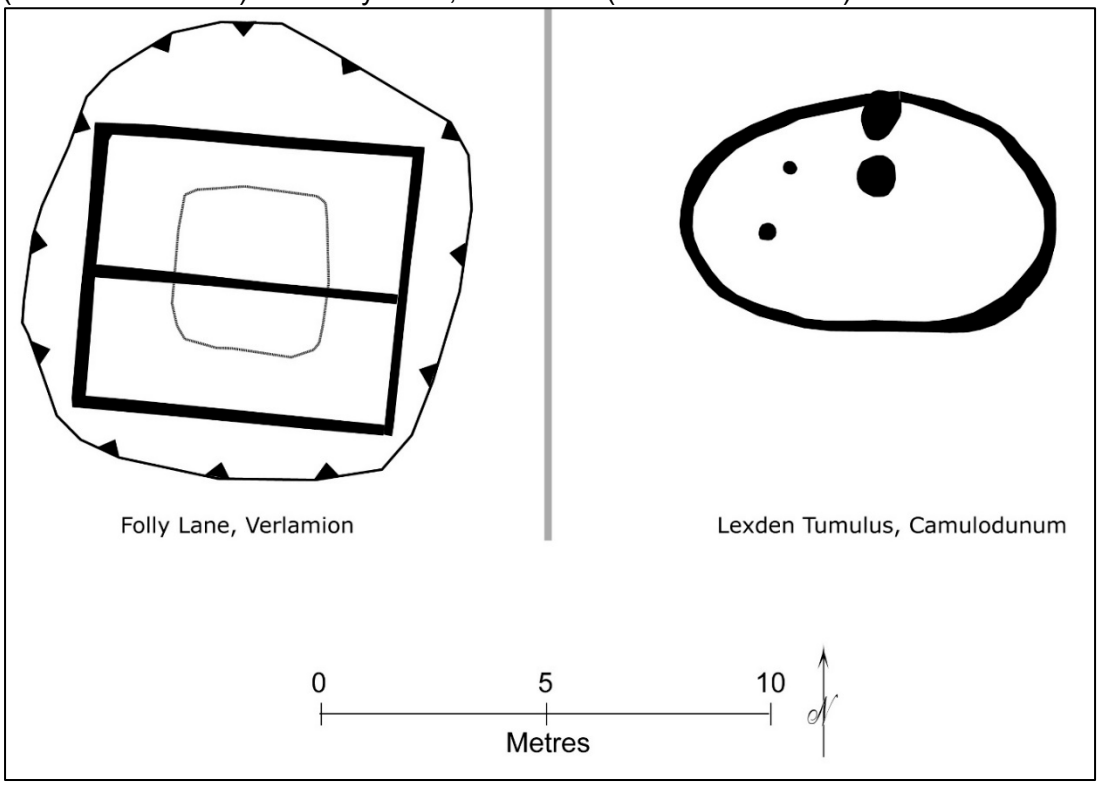
Appendix 7.7: Plan of Irish ‘Royal’ sites; Navan Fort (Waterman 1997), Dún Ailinne (Johnston et al. 2014, 214–215) and Tara (Newman 2007)



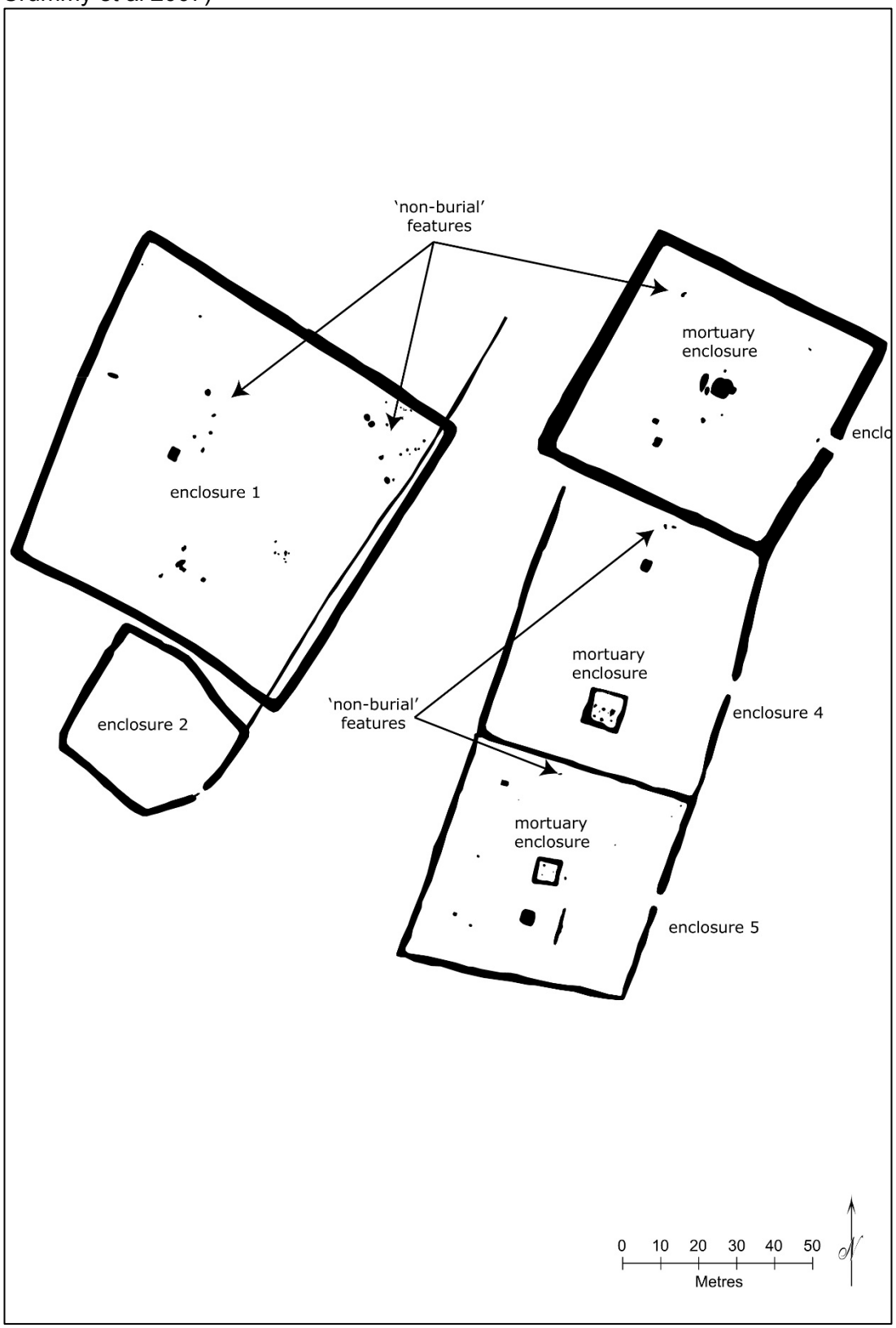
Appendix 7.8: Possible structures associated with coin production at Marsh Bank, Verlamion (After Frere 1983)



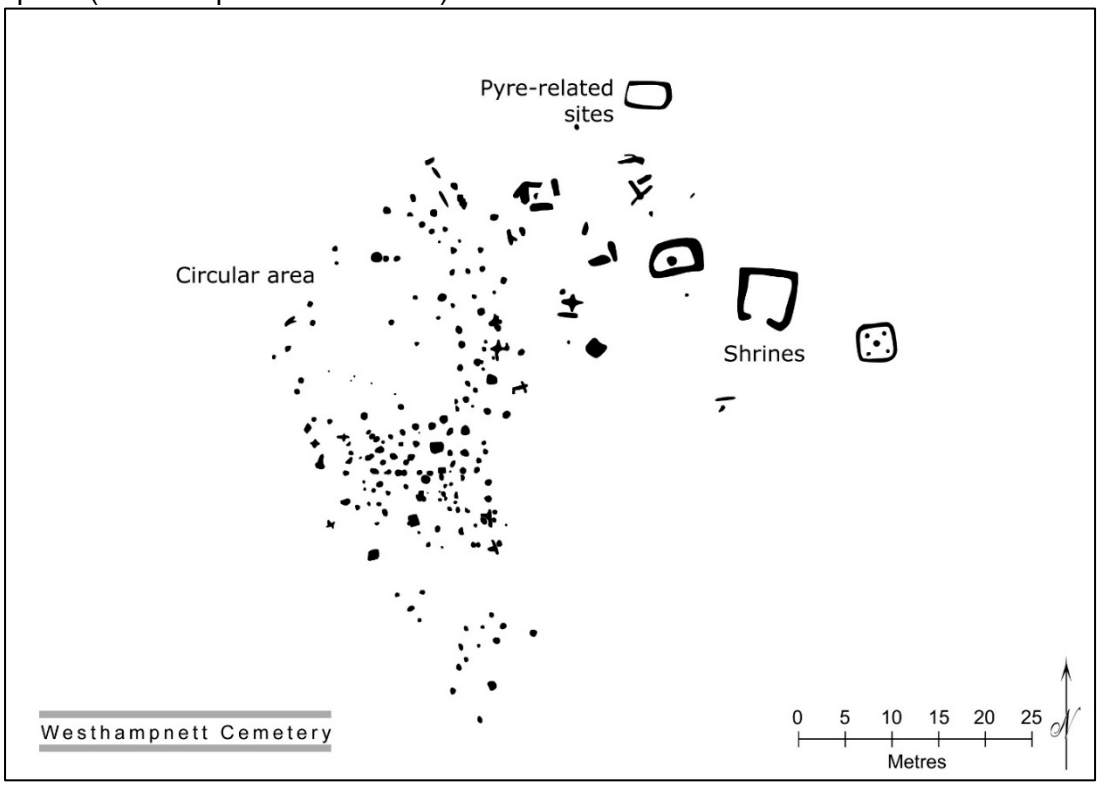
Appendix 7.9: Plans of 'Lexden' type burials – The Lexden Tumulus, Camulodunum (After Foster 1986) and Folly Lane, Verlamion (After Niblett 1999)



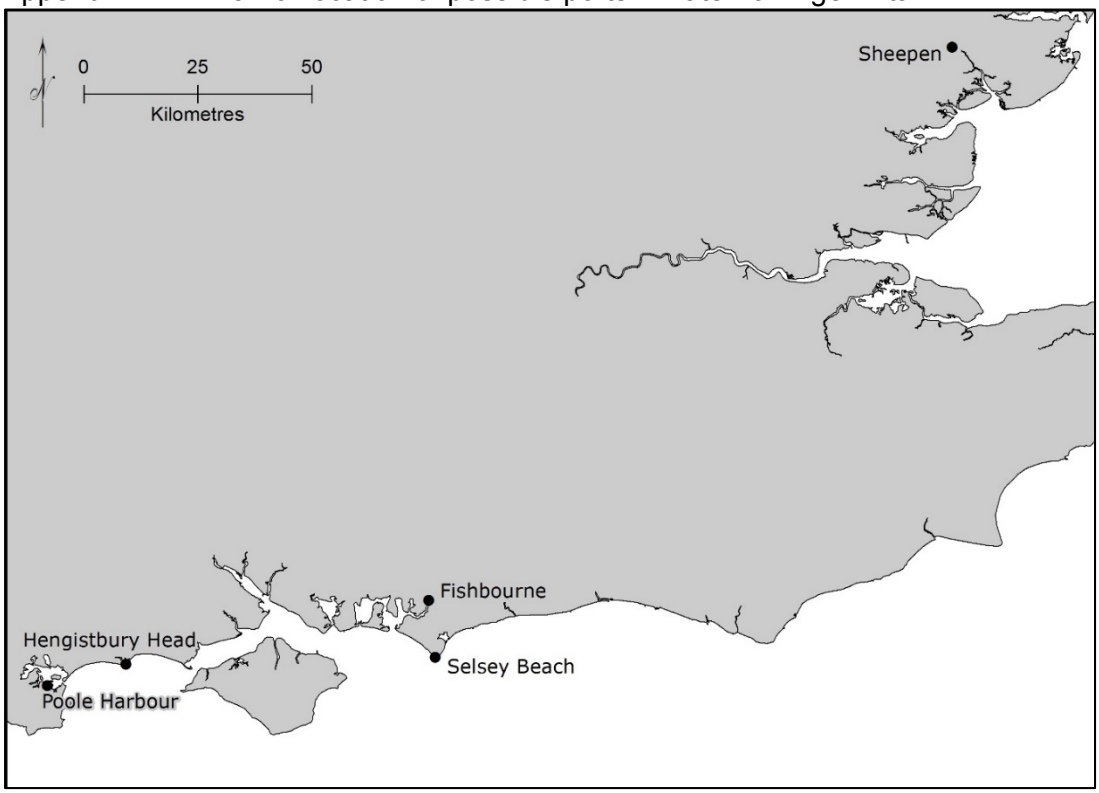
Appendix 7.10: Plan of Stanway enclosures including 'non-burial' features (After Crummy et al 2007)



Appendix 7.11: Plan of Westhampnett cemetery suggesting ‘zones’ of the cemetery space (After Fitzpatrick et al 1997)



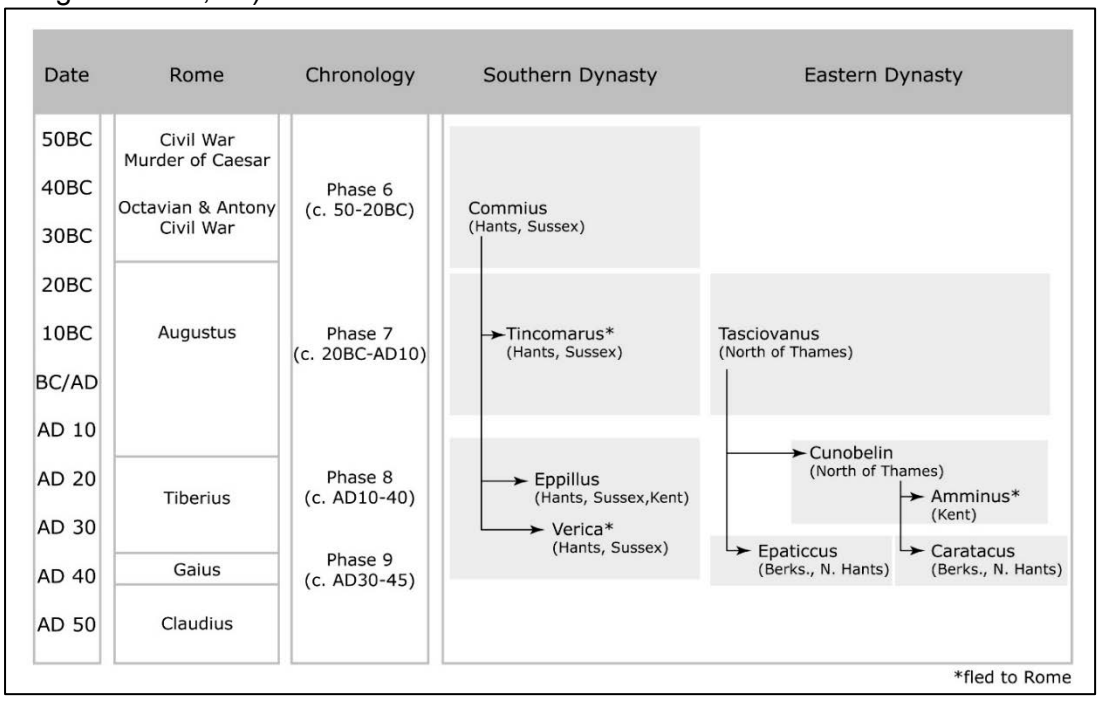
Appendix 7.12: Plan of location of possible ports in Late Iron Age Britain



Appendix 7.13: Comparative interpretations of the function of territorial *oppida*

'Function' as defined 7.2.1	**Traditional interpretation for territorial *oppida***	**Alternative interpretation proposed here**	**ETOZ evidence**	**WSTOZ evidence**
Agriculture	Limited investigation. Positioned on convergence multiple landscape zones to exploit arable and pastoral farming (Haselgrove 2000).	Agriculture important for all *oppida* as ritual metaphor (Williams 2003; Bradley 2005). Disparity in consumption vs production. Labour associated with agriculture a socially cohesive factor.	Lack of evidence for arable farming. May have acted as a centre of consumption, provided by production in the wider landscape (Perring & Pitts 2013). Labour estimates for earthworks (**5.4.3**).	Creation of 'ditched landscape'; field systems/drainage ditches and farmsteads (Bedwin 1983). Banjo-style enclosures at Carne's Seat (Holgate 1986) and Selhurstpark Farm (Anelay 2006). Labour estimates for earthworks (**6.4.3**).
Metalworking	Variation in scale of bronze and iron working. Metal objects predominantly coins and brooches, lack of classic 'Celtic' works of art (Garrow & Gosden 2012).	A "non-scientific process", akin to magic and spells (Budd & Taylor 1995). Formed part of seasonal work with agricultural activities. Intertwined with belief systems associated with agriculture.	Large-scale production site at Sheepen, located within a significant place in the landscape (Willis 2007).	Limited evidence; metalwork and slag material in significant locations; Copse Farm, Oving (Bedwin & Holgate 1985), Fishbourne Palace (Manley & Rudkin 2005).
Coin production	Evidence for coin production (coins, moulds) suggest the establishment of mints.	Limited structural remains and coin distributions suggest small-scale and transitory manufacture. Ritual association with manufacture and use of coinage	Sheepen - limited evidence for coin manufacture (Hawkes and Hull 1947, 129). Located close to 'watery' place in landscape	Small amount of evidence from Ounces Barn (Bedwin & Place 1995). Site located adjacent to the linear earthwork system.
Burial	Wealthy burial interpreted as 'elite' members of society (Lexden tumulus; Folly Lane). Large cemeteries unparalleled elsewhere (Westhampnett; King Harry Lane).	Parallel mortuary practices (excarnation, cremation). Burial paralleled to domestic practices. 'Elite' burials had communal focus.	Lexden burials and Stanway suggest communal practices (**5.4.3**). Small groups of cremations in Aylesford-Swarling tradition.	Westhampnett cemetery in N Gaul cremation tradition. Communal burial practices. Burials centred around a circular 'roundhouse' space.
Cross channel trade	Imported goods viewed as representative of interactions with Roman Empire through establishment of treaties and diplomatic gifts (Haselgrove 2000, 106).	Quantity of imports over-estimated (Willis 2007a, 17). Possible informal port sites in *oppida* with a symbolic/ritual significance. Movement of trade and ideas from *oppida* to elsewhere.	Large quantity of sites had imported goods. Possibly port site at Sheepen – ritual connections to watery contexts.	Moderate quantity of sites had imported goods. Possibly port site at Fishbourne and Selsey - ritual connections to watery contexts.
Urban centres	*Oppida* were proto-urban or urban centres, following Collis' (1984) definition.	Socially and economically embedded within the wider hinterland (Fernández-Götz *et al.* 2014a, 8). Urbanism defined as an ideology.	Debate over whether Camulodunum is urban or not (Pitts & Perring). Lack of 'urban' features as defined by Collis (1984).	Lack of 'urban' features as defined by Collis (1984).

Appendix 7.14: Dynasties of the ‘Southern’ and ‘Eastern’ Kingdoms. (After Creighton 2000, 76)



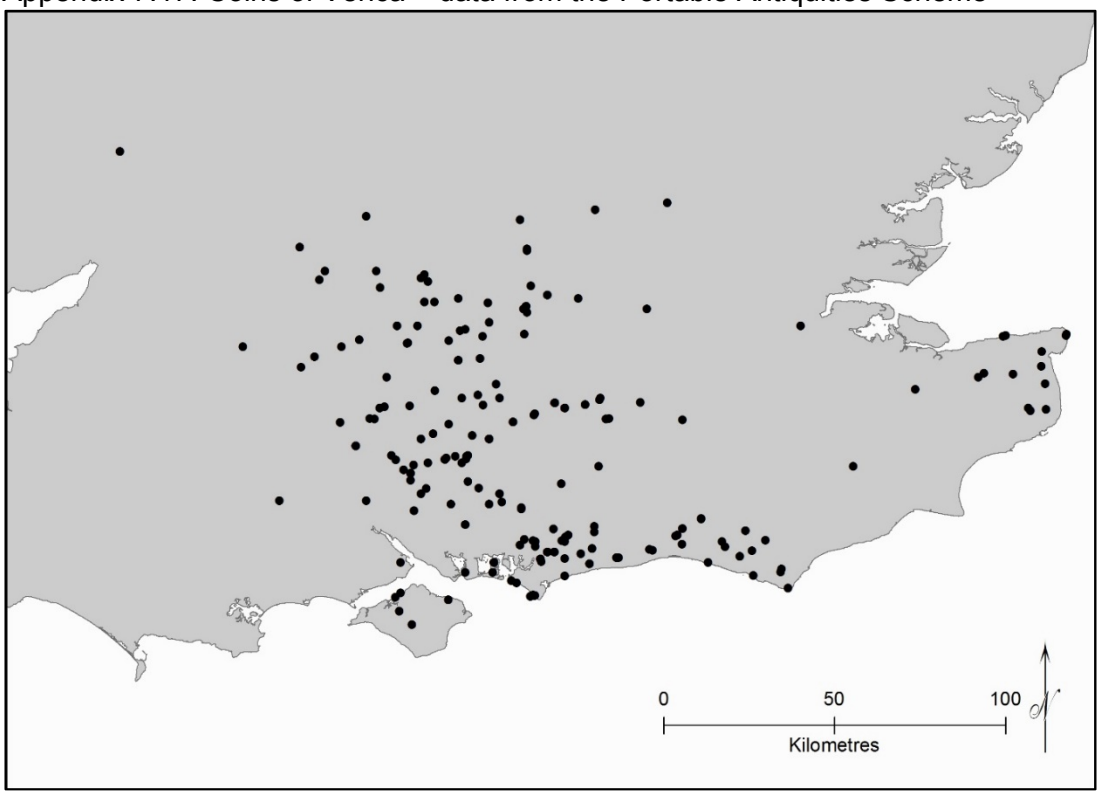
Appendix 7.15: Images of coins of Tincomarus and Tasciovanus displaying 'classical' images (After Creighton 2000, 2006)

IMAGE REMOVED DUE TO COPYRIGHT RESTRICTIONS

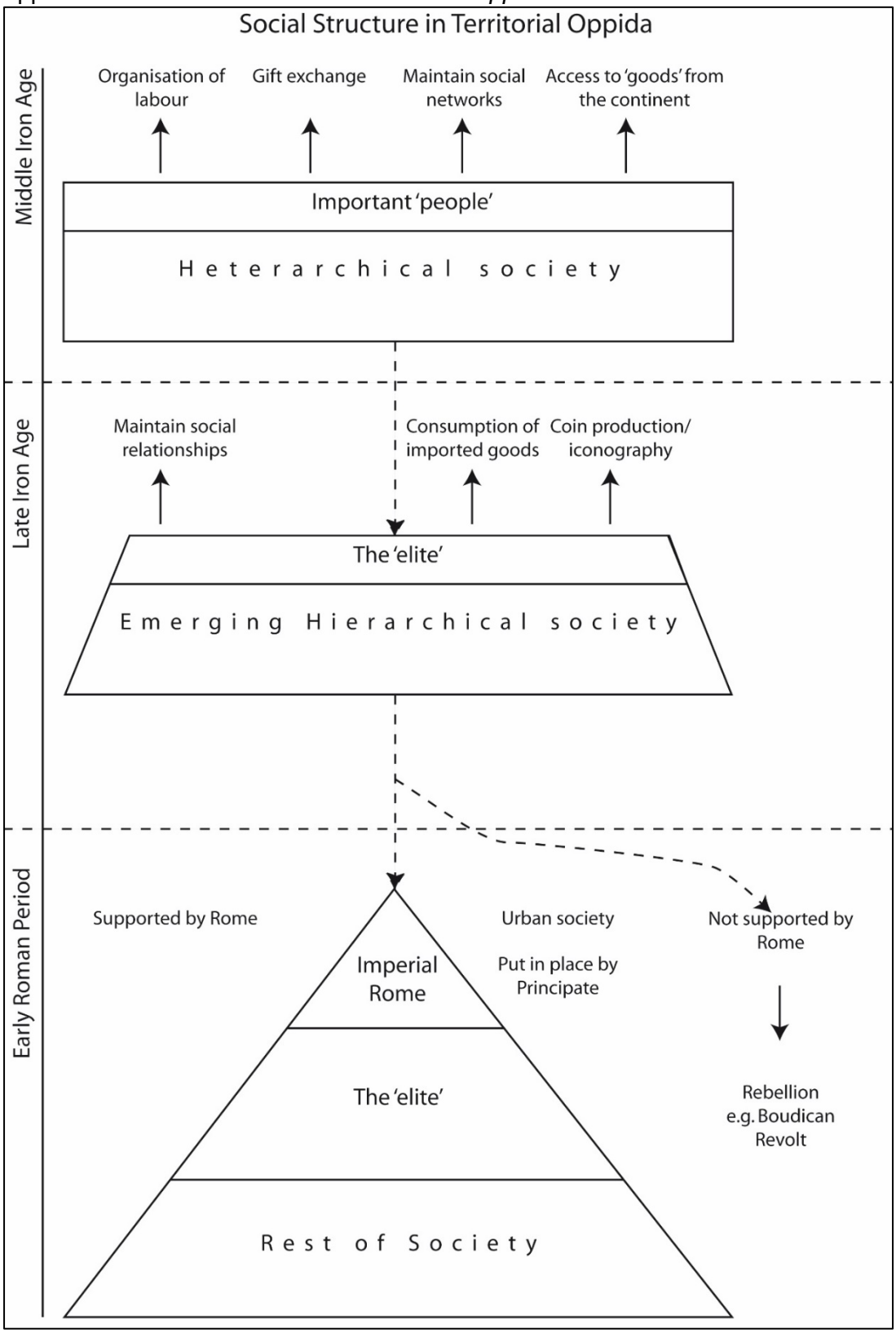
Appendix 7.16: Ptolemy's *Geographia* demonstrating 'tribal' regions in Britain (After Moore 2011, 337 – Fig. 2)

IMAGE REMOVED DUE TO COPYRIGHT RESTRICTIONS

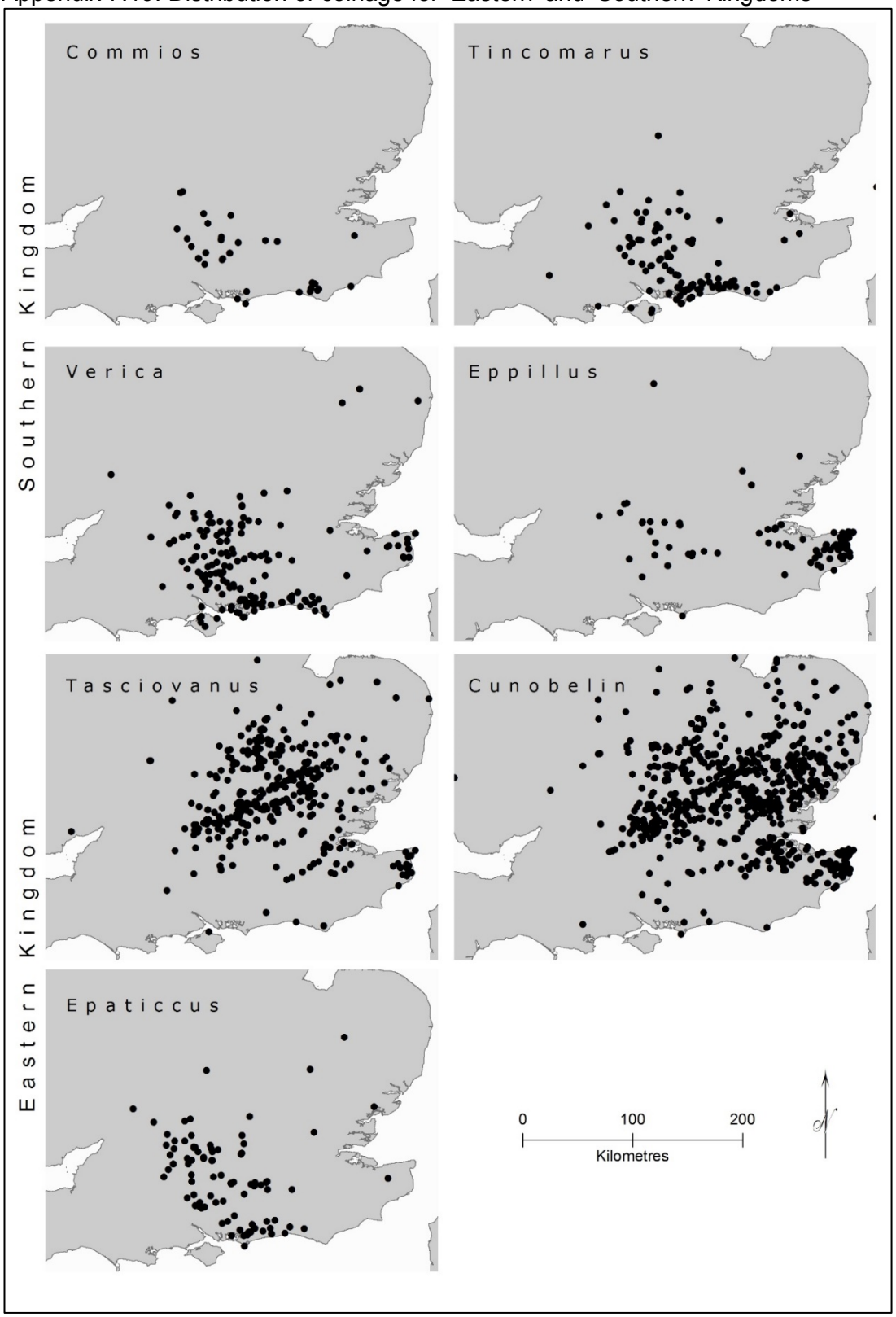
Appendix 7.17: Coins of Verica – data from the Portable Antiquities Scheme



Appendix 7.18: Social Structure in Territorial *oppida*

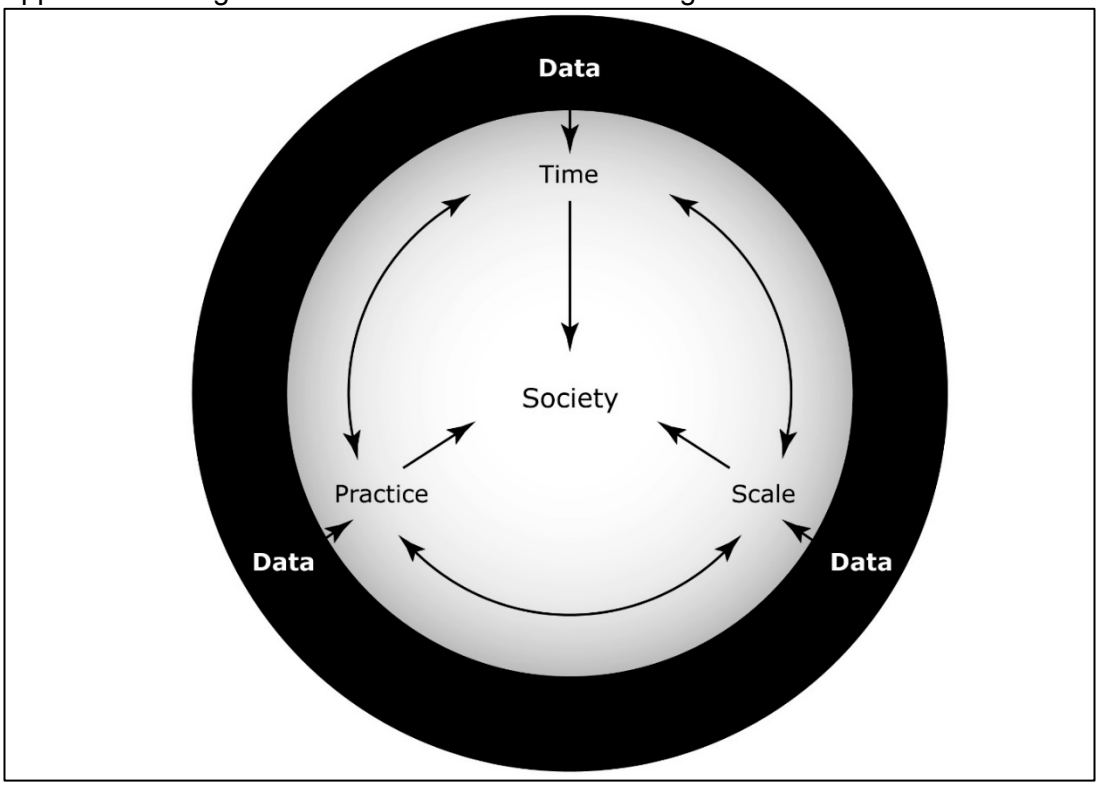


Appendix 7.19: Distribution of coinage for ‘Eastern’ and ‘Southern’ Kingdoms

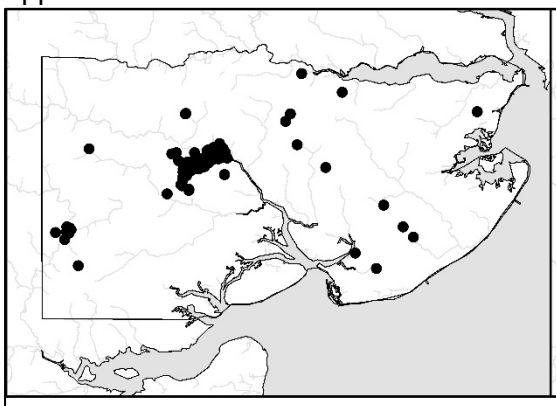


Appendix 8: Conclusion

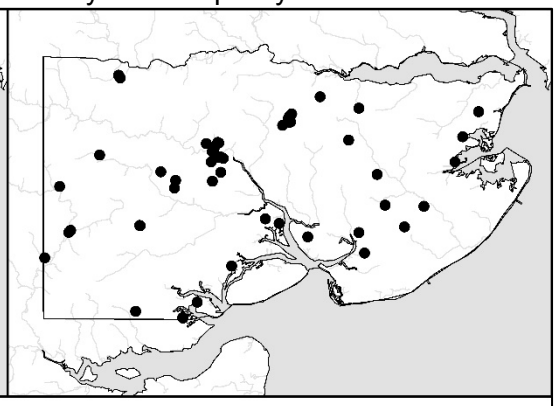
Appendix 8.1: Figure of five interrelated themes of significance



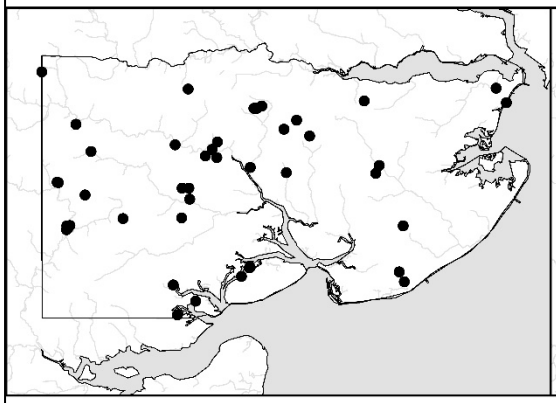
Appendix 8.2: Distribution of sites in the ETOZ by rank in quality index



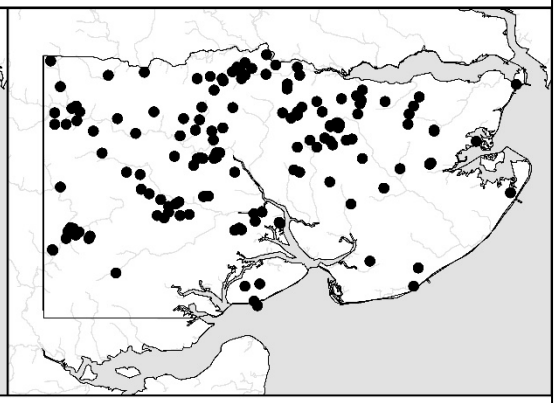
Distribution of quality 1 sites



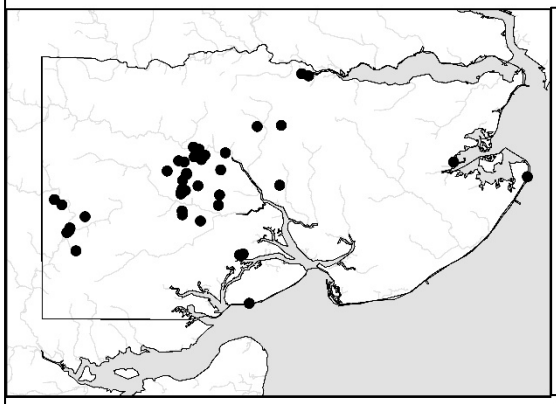
Distribution of quality 2 sites



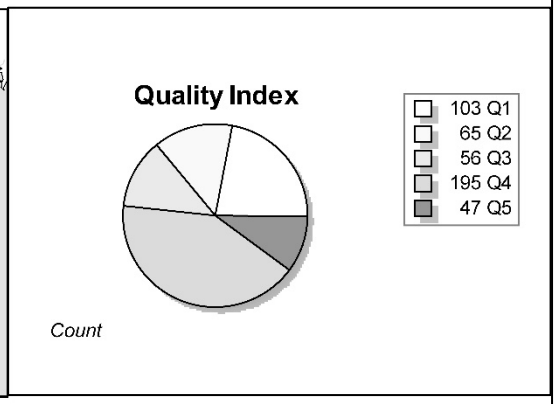
Distribution of quality 3 sites



Distribution of quality 4 sites

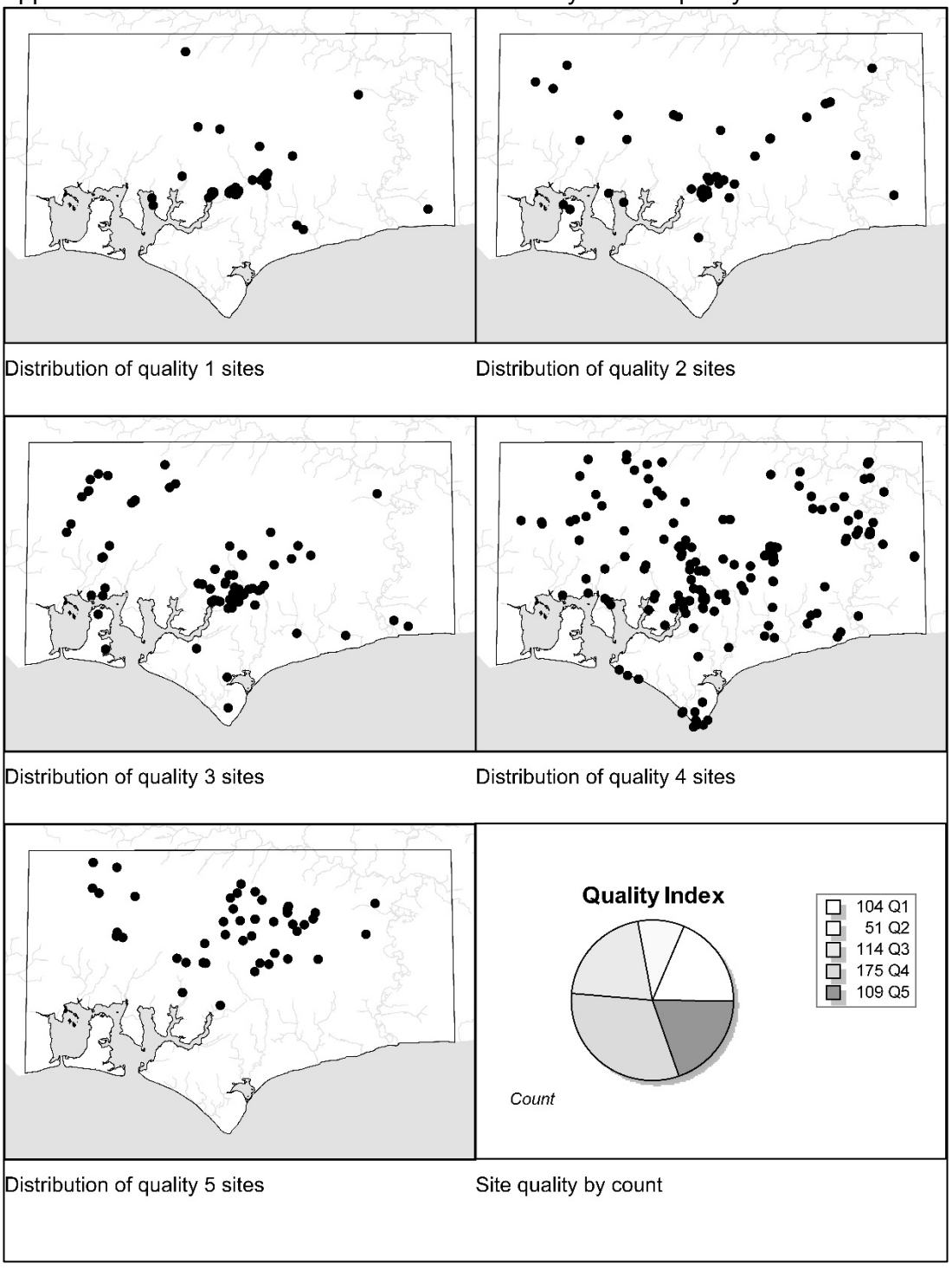


Distribution of quality 4 sites



Site quality by count

Appendix 8.3: Distribution of sites in the WSTOZ by rank in quality index



Appendix 9: ETOZ Database

ETOZ - Middle Iron Age

sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
Abbotts Hall Farm, Great Wigborough	Red Hill	An archaeological watching brief was carried out at Abbotts Hall Farm, Great Wigborough, Essex, and one previously unrecorded red hill of possible iron age date was observed	595532	213914	mia	INDUSTRY	SALT WORKING			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	1040065	Orr 2002		3
Birch Pit western extension, Maldon Road, Colchester	Occupation	The main area is defined by a concentration of features in the northwest part of the site. The extent of the features corresponds with the eastern half of a surface scatter of Roman finds	592500	219200	mia	HABITATION	OCCUPATION			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	1038556	Benfield 2007		2
Boxted B	Brooch	Incomplete copper-alloy La Tene I type brooch, Iron Age (4th century BC to 2nd century BC)			mia	HSG	BROOCH			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100003	PAS Database	ESS-5DF906	4
Boxted C	Pin	Incomplete copper-alloy ring-headed pin, Iron Age (8th to 3rd century BC)			mia	HSG	PIN			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100004	PAS Database	ESS-60CE23	4
Church Lane, Colchester	Trackway and Enclosure	Excavation of cropmarks revealed MIA trackway and residual finds. Aerial photographs revealed a droveway or track in the form of a pair of parallel ditches. The enclosure appears to be at least 45mx90m in size, possibly larger	594307	223930	mia	HABITATION	ENCLOSURE	ROUTE SYSTEM	TRACK WAY	Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	1037896	Partridge 1993		2
Colchester Garrison Project, Colchester - Area 2	Enclosure	A MIA enclosure and associated features including a roundhouse. Fragments of a loomweight could suggest weaving activities may have taken place within the enclosure	599588	223890	mia	HABITATION	ENCLOSURE		ROUND HOUSE	Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	1038515	Brooks and Masefield 2005		2

ETOZ - Middle Iron Age

sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
Colchester-West House Farm	Square Enclosure	Trench dug across south side of the enclosure, ditch about 1.1m deep and 4.9m wide. Pottery found in the lower fill dated from the 8th century BC to c.50BC whereas in upper fill (possibly remains of bank) was found a piece of Roman tile	597300	226100	mia	HABITATION	ENCLOSURE			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	36496	HER		5
Dead Lane	Ditches, gullies and pits	Excavation of area immediately to the west of a large cropmark complex. Features included ditches, gullies and pits of various sizes. In addition a large number of features (mostly Oval or round pits) could not be dated	615700	219100	mia	HABITATION	OCCUPATION			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	1033337	Wade 2008		2
Doucecroft site, Kelvedon	Settlement	A ditch forming the boundary of enclosure B, although enclosure A also probably dates from MIA. Finds included pottery, iron objects and animal bone. The roundhouse appears to have been a single ring of postholes and slots	586200	219100	mia	HABITATION	ENCLOSURE			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	31126	Priddy 1989		3
Fiveways Fruit Farm	Enclosure	Possible enclosure, including over 1.4kg of MIA from a large pit which intersected with the enclosure. In close proximity to similar enclosure at Stanway	595613	223170	mia	HABITATION	ENCLOSURE			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	1039659	Brooks & Holloway 2009		2

ETOZ - Middle Iron Age

sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
Gutteridge Wood, Weeley	Ditches and pits	An area of approximately 4000m2 was excavated. A small number of widely scattered features were recorded which produced little in the way of reliable dating evidence	614000	221000	mia	HABITATION	OCCUPATION			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	1033335	Wade 2008		2
Hill Farm	Enclosure	The earliest archaeological features on the site date to the MIA, in the form of a rectangular enclosure to the North West	613300	223700	mia	HABITATION	ENCLOSURE			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	1033484	Clarke 2004		3
Institute Hall, High Street, Kelvedon	Cremation	The evaluation revealed an urned cremation contained within a vessel of MIA fabric	586174	218759	mia	RELIGIOUS	CREMATION			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	1038869	HAT 2002		3
Kelvedon, Excavations by Eddy. Trench D	Building	A series of archaeological excavations in and around Kelvedon. A quarter of a polygonal building was encountered in trench D	586450	218950	mia	HABITATION	STRUCTURE			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	26627	Rodwell 1988		1
Little Oakley	Occupation	Excavations by Farrands between 1951-1975 (sites IIV) and Corbishley for ECC between 1975-1978 revealed evidence for Iron Age occupation. On Farrands site I Iron Age features comprised: three ditches, three pits and a few postholes	622200	229200	mia	HABITATION	OCCUPATION			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	12095	Barford 2002		1

ETOZ - Middle Iron Age

sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
New Poultry Unit opposite Bush Farm, Hall Road	Ditches and Pits	Monitoring identified several pits, a ditch terminus cut by stakeholes and a posthole. One pit yielded prehistoric pottery while the other pit and the ditch yielded MIA pottery	607499	226973	mia	HABITATION	OCCUPATION			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	1039979	Letch & Sparrow 2010		3
Priors Pit, Frog Hall Farm	Settlement	Cropmarks, showing linear features, possible field system, and ring-ditches. An area was excavated in 1975 in advance of gravel extraction. Several pits were found, one containing burnt seeds. Virtually all the finds were iron age	603500	219800	mia	HABITATION	FIELD SYSTEM		ROUND HOUSE	Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	7936	Brooks 2002		2
South of Lanenhoe Hall A	Red Hill	Red hill, no 1. Measuring 230ft x 175ft, appears to be surrounded by a bank and ditch, and was found to contain briquetting, pottery, clay, slag and bone when it was excavated in 1906	601350	216650	mia	INDUSTRY	SALT WORKING			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	7654	HER		5
South of Lanenhoe Hall B	Red Hill	Red hill, no 3, excavated in 1906. Finds consisted of briquetage, late Iron age pottery, animal bone, and in particular an omphalos bowl and pedestal urn, both of which were in a slight hollow under the red hill	601660	216740	mia	INDUSTRY	SALT WORKING			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	7661	HER		5

ETOZ - Middle Iron Age

sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
South of Marrow Lane farm, Ardleigh	Farmstead	A circular house within a pennanular ditched enclosure 50' in diameter. Later this was surrounded by a more massive rectangular enclosure with a probable internal palisade. Material evidence indicated occupation of the C3rd - C1st BC	606350	228360	mia	HABITATION	ENCLOSURE		ROUND HOUSE	Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	8683	Erith & Holbert 1970		3
St Osyth, Lodge Farm	Enclosed settlement	A large number of features of likely MIAdate were identified across the site. These were predominantly ditches representing droveways, field boundaries, trackways and enclosures. Evidence of occupation in the form of pits and postholes	613350	215450	mia	HABITATION	ENCLOSURE		FIELD SYSTEM	Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	1035884	Germany 2007		1
Stanway	Enclosures	Enclosure 1 (north enclosure) contained middle and late iron age pits together with a late iron age cremation in a pot. Enclosure 2 (to south) contained MIA pits two of which contained triangular loom weights	595000	222000	mia	HABITATION	ENCLOSURE			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	36270	Crummy et al 2007		1
Tollesbury Creek	Red Hill	A circular feature (a red hill) surrounded by an angular ditch or enclosure. The features recorded on the gradiometer survey represent a red hill; deposits of red earth and two fire pits were recorded	595900	211290	mia	INDUSTRY	SALT WORKING			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	211290	Germany 1994		3

ETOZ - Middle Iron Age

sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
Tollesbury Creek	Red Hill	Geophysics and trenchingrevealed a red hill. Deposits of red earth and two fire pits were recorded. Finds included pottery of MIA date (some burnt) and salt briquetage	595900	211290	mia	INDUSTRY	SALT WORKING			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	42230	Germany 1994		3
West of Tendring	Occupation	Trench E contained several features, gullies, ditches, pits and postholes which again did not seem to form a structural pattern. Pottery retrieval dated from Middle to Late Iron Age. Loomweights and a spindle whorl were also found	613600	224400	mia	HABITATION	OCCUPATION			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	11097	Lavender 1994		3

ETOZ - Late Iron Age

sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
3 St Johns Crescent	Coin	Very worn Claudian coin found	597900	229500	lia	HSG	COIN			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	34329	HER		4
A120 bypass, just NE of Elmstead Church	Cremation cemetery	The pottery is of Swarling type with pedestal pots and a single terra nigra platter. There were sherds of 12 vessels, all damaged	606400	226300	lia	RELIGIOUS	CREMATION		CEMETARY	Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	8571	Eddy 1982a		1
Abberton A	Brooch	Incomplete, copper alloy Roman brooch dating to the mid 1st century AD			lia	HSG	BROOCH			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100043	PAS Database	ESS-26F671	4
Abbey Field	Cinerary Urn	"Celtic" cinerary urn	599700	224100	lia	RELIGIOUS	CREMATION			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	34526	HER		5
Ardleigh A	Coin	Gold Iron Age quarter stater, probably dates to c. 50 BC, very likely to be a local (Trinovantian?) production			lia	HSG	COIN			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100097	PAS Database	ESS-CADDA3	4
Ardleigh B	Coin	Silver coin of Cunobelin. Very rare, this makes the sixth coin known for this type, dated between 20 and 43 AD			lia	HSG	COIN			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100044	PAS Database	ESS-CF25B0	4
Ardleigh C	Coin	Gold stater of Cunobelin. 'Wild type' see Van Arsdell, dated between 10 and 20 AD			lia	HSG	COIN			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100045	PAS Database	ESS-CFA9A8	4
Balkerne Hill, Waterworks	Coin	Coin of Cunobelin found near the Waterworks	599200	225500	lia	HSG	COIN			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	35848	HER		4

ETOZ - Late Iron Age

sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
Beacon Town-Wick Farm	Coins	A few coins of Cunobelin and some Gallo-Belgic pottery have come from the Roman settlement site here, although there is no positive evidence of a pre- Roman settlement	604700	219400	lia	HSG	COIN			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	7356	HER		4
Beaumont A	Brooch	Iron Age copper-alloy brooch fragment of La Tene III type, 50 BC-AD 50. Hattatt, R. 1987. Brooches of Antiquity			lia	HSG	BROOCH			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100098	PAS Database	ESS-0C7693	4
Berechurch Dyke	Earthwork	Section of dyke built in the reign of Cunobelin and running south from Berechurch Hall Road to Roman River. The rampart is 2m high and the ditch 2m deep, running on the east side of the rampart	599600	221900	lia	BOUNDARY	DYKE			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	33765	HER		5
Birch A	Harness fitting	Damaged and incomplete artefact, possibly a strap or harness fitting (similar to HAMP-B0A2D2), dated to 1st & 2nd century			lia	HSG	HARNESS			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100046	PAS Database	ESS-7E0D98	4
Birch airfield compost site	Ditches	Linear features and pits dating from the late Iron Age/early Roman period onwards. include ditches/gullies belonging to field systems, possibly with assoc structures	591125	219738	lia	HABITATION	FIELD SYSTEM			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	1040053	Crosson 2006		3
Birch B	Mount	A cast copper alloy looped object in the shape of a stylised bird. Late Iron Age or Roman in date			lia	HSG	MOUNT			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100047	PAS Database	ESS-7E7CB5	4
Birch C	Coin	Iron Age coin: Gallo-Belgic DC gold quarter stater, dating circa 70-50 BC. VA 69-1			lia	HSG	COIN			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100048	PAS Database	ESS-A79268	4
Birch D	Figurine	Late Iron Age or Early Roman cast copper alloy figurine in the form of a standing boar			lia	HSG	FIGURINE			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100049	PAS Database	ESS-C5CB81	4
Birch E	Coin	Eastern uninscribed gold quarter stater (attributed to the Trinovantes), c.50-20 BC			lia	HSG	COIN			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100050	PAS Database	ESS-96BB56	4

ETOZ - Late Iron Age

sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
Birch Pit western extension, Maldon Road, Colchester	Occupation	The main area of Roman activity is defined by a concentration of features in the northwest part of the site. The extent of the features corresponds with the eastern half of a surface scatter of Roman finds. On the east side of the Roman site was a ditch	592500	219200	lia	HABITATION	OCCUPATION			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	1038556	Benfield 2007		2
Birch Pit, Maldon Road		Most of the features were ditches forming enclosures, one with a ditched track or droveway on the west side. These features indicate stock management, probably primarily of cattle. Most of features consist of pits & postholes, no structures identified	592460	219222	lia	HABITATION	ENCLOSURE	ROUTE SYSTEM	TRACKWAY	Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	1040056	Benfield & Spurgeon 2008		2
Blackbrook Hill, Langham	Coin	Gold coin of Cunobelin, a small, possibly iron age beaker and pottery dated 20-60 AD found in 1949 at Blackbrook Hill, Langham, over the south end of field	603550	232380	lia	HSG	COIN			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	9775	HER		4
Blackwater Site 12	Red Hill	Red Hill comprising an area of briquetage 30-40cm deep, 35m long NE-SW and 27m wide NW-SE. Most briquetage occurs at the NE end of the site. A single pot sherd was found. All the finds were considered to be Late Iron Age and Roman	596260	211110	lia	INDUSTRY	SALT WORKING			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	37824	De Brisay 1978		2
Bluebottle Grove - Lexden Dyke	Earthwork	Part of Lexden dyke. The ditch proved to be 4.0m deep and 10.5m wide. The bank survived to a height of 1.5m	597400	225600	lia	BOUNDARY	DYKE			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	33741	Carter 1989		1

ETOZ - Late Iron Age

sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
Bonner's Saltings	Red Hill	Red hill, covering an oval area 56m x 35m, with briquetage, hearths, evaporation tanks, and a quantity of belgic pottery	600530	215670	lia	INDUSTRY	SALT WORKING			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	7864	De Brisay 1974		2
Boxted A	Toggle	A solid copper-alloy toggle, probably late Iron Age in date			lia	HSG	TOGGLE			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100051	PAS Database	ESS-CC8296	4
Boxted D	Toggle	Incomplete, cast copper alloy Late Iron Age or Early Roman toggle. 1st century BC to 1st century AD			lia	HSG	TOGGLE			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100052	PAS Database	ESS-70CB96	4
Boxted E	Cosmetic Pestle	Late Iron Age to Roman cast copper alloy cosmetic pestle. Dated between 10 and 100 AD			lia	HSG	COSMETIC			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100053	PAS Database	ESS-2CC362	4
Boxted F	Mount	Possibly an Iron Age or Roman cast copper alloy mount			lia	HSG	MOUNT			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100054	PAS Database	ESS-2D4F85	4
Boxted G	Strap Fitting	Incomplete Iron Age cast copper alloy strap fitting. Dated between 50 BC-50 AD			lia	HSG	HARNESS			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100055	PAS Database	ESS-362AA5	4
Boxted H	Brooch	Late Iron Age to early Roman copper-alloy Colchester brooch.			lia	HSG	BROOCH			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100056	PAS Database	ESS-A52183	4
Boxted I	harness fitting	Late Iron Age cast copper alloy harness fitting; It is damaged and incomplete, with only half surviving. Dated between 150BC to AD40			lia	HSG	HARNESS			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100057	PAS Database	ESS-19D156	4
Chalkney Wood	Hollow way	A broad hollow way running straight through the wood and in line with an ancient road outside the wood to the E. Rackham interprets this as the Roman or more probably pre-Roman direct road from Colchester to Cambridge	587000	228000	lia	ROUTE SYSTEM	TRACKWAY			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	28009	Gibson 1994		3

ETOZ - Late Iron Age

sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
Chitts Hill	Enclosure	A sub-rectangular enclosure and a ditch was excavated. The ditch represents part of a larger enclosure using the dyke to the west, and the River Colne to the north. The enclosures are presumed to be for stock	595700	226200	lia	HABITATION	ENCLOSURE			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	33920	Petchley 1973		3
Clacton A	Coin	Gold Iron Age stater, Late Clacton type. VA 1458-1. Dates between 125 and 50 BC			lia	HSG	COIN			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100099	PAS Database	ESS-A1BFE7	4
Clacton B	Coin	Gold Iron Age stater of Cunobelin, classic A series. VA 2027-1. Dates between 10 and 40 AD			lia	HSG	COIN			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100100	PAS Database	ESS-A1FB34	4
Clacton C	Coin	Gold Iron Age stater of Cunobelin, plastic A series. VA 2010-3. Dates between 10 and 40 AD			lia	HSG	COIN			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100101	PAS Database	ESS-A22698	4
Clacton D	Coin	Gold Iron Age stater of Cunobelin, linear series. VA 1925-1. Dates between 10 and 40 AD			lia	HSG	COIN			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100102	PAS Database	ESS-A23F13	4
Coggeshall A	Coin	Gold stater, contemporary forgery attributed to Addedomaros.			lia	HSG	COIN			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100012	PAS Database	YORYM-870D44	4
Coggeshall B	Coin	British Iron Age, Gold stater, contemporary forgery attributed to Addedomaros. Trinovantes. Dated between 20BC and 60AD			lia	HSG	COIN			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100013	PAS Database	YORYM-7FE597	4
Colchester A	Brooch	Copper alloy late Iron Age to early Roman 'Colchester' type brooch. It dates from 25-60 AD			lia	HSG	BROOCH			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100058	PAS Database	ESS-F1A632	4
Colchester B	Brooch	Complete cast copper alloy one piece Romano-British Colchester brooch. Brooches of this type date from 20-50AD			lia	HSG	BROOCH			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100059	PAS Database	ESS-C72097	4
Colchester C	Brooch	Complete copper alloy one piece La Tene III derivative brooch. They date from the early 1st century BC-1st century AD			lia	HSG	BROOCH			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100060	PAS Database	ESS-CB1F32	4
Colchester D	Ring	Cast copper-alloy ring. This ring has a circular sectioned hoop. It is possibly late Iron Age or Roman date			lia	HSG	RING			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100061	PAS Database	ESS-CB5021	4

ETOZ - Late Iron Age

sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
Colchester E	Harness fitting	Fragment of cast copper-alloy simple terret ring, dated between 100BC & AD100			lia	HSG	HARNESS			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100062	PAS Database	ESS-660828	4
Colchester F	Coin	Copper alloy Iron Age unit of Cunobelin. VA 2103.1. Dated between 10 & 40 AD			lia	HSG	COIN			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100063	PAS Database	ESS-928762	4
Colchester G	Brooch	Incomplete Late Iron Age or Roman iron penannular brooch of Fowler type C.			lia	HSG	BROOCH			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100064	PAS Database	ESS-C756C2	4
Colchester General Hospital	Ditch	An evaluation revealed a widespread area of linear features of late Iron Age/early Roman date. No specific plan could be formulated from the evaluation evidence.	599310	226500	lia	HABITATION	DITCH			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	1035164	Crossan 2001		2
Colchester H	Brooch	Incomplete copper alloy, one piece Colchester type late Iron Age to early Roman brooch			lia	HSG	BROOCH			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100065	PAS Database	ESS-1DADD4	4
Colchester I	Brooch	Late Iron Age to early Roman (20-70AD) copper alloy Colchester one piece brooch			lia	HSG	BROOCH			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100066	PAS Database	ESS-A5E504	4
Colchester J	Coin	Iron Age gold quarter stater of Cunobelin			lia	HSG	COIN			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100067	PAS Database	ESS-942681	4
Colchester-Dugard Avenue south	Earthwork	Kidmans dyke, adjacent enclosure and ditches excavated by Crummy 1974-5	596400	223500	lia	BOUNDARY	DYKE			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	36439	Hawkes & Crummy 1995		1
Colchester-fields south of Dugard Avenue	Earthwork	An 18m long east-west trench at the northern end of field 1303, was positioned to section ditch 9. The ditch was cut obliquely and was 1.2m deep, 3m wide	596500	223900	lia	BOUNDARY	DYKE			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	36480	Hawkes & Crummy 1995		1

ETOZ - Late Iron Age

sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
Colchester-Grymes Dyke	Earthwork	Grymes Dyke ditch observed inside a pit, 'was 23 feet west of the west hedge of the road, and filled with black earth only'	595800	225600	lia	BOUNDARY	DYKE			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	36506	Hawkes & Crummy 1995		1
Colchester-Kidmans Dyke	Earthwork	The ditch of this part of Kidmans Dyke was visible as a shallow earthwork. After contractors dumped large quantities of soil over the ditch obscuring it. A machine trench was dug into the top of the ditch fill to establish its position	596360	223180	lia	BOUNDARY	DYKE			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	36196	Crummy 1992, p868		1
Colchester-Kiln Road	Occupation	Late iron age and Roman occupation site	598580	225190	lia	HABITATION	OCCUPATION			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	36287	Hawkes & Crummy 1995, p131-137		1
Colchester-King Harold Road	Earthwork	A contractors trench in King Harold Road cut through the Prettygate Dyke. The ditches were about 2.5m deep, roughly V-shaped and about 19m apart	597050	224020	lia	BOUNDARY	DYKE			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	36189	Crummy 1992, p834		1
Colchester-Lexden and Shrub End area	Earthwork	Watching brief provided firm fixes (in Park Drive, Oaklands Ave and Straight Road) on ditches previously known from aerial photographs. Of special note was the discovery that the Triple Dyke did not reach Heath Road	596560	224390	lia	BOUNDARY	DYKE			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	36199	Crummy 1992, p7-79		1
Colchester-Lexden Road-Lindens	Ditch and Pit	East-west ditch and pit in the garden, pottery and overall finds of c.30-50AD	597700	225100	lia	HABITATION	DITCH			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	36490	Hawkes & Crummy 1995, p131		1

ETOZ - Late Iron Age

sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
Colchester-Park Drive	Earthwork	Ditch sectioned obliquely, depth 4 feet and width (oblique) 22-24 feet. Section created by installation of sewer pipe in 1953	596400	223900	lia	BOUNDARY	DYKE			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	36482	Hawkes & Crummy 1995		1
Colchester-Stanway-Iron Latch Lane	Road	Section across Roman road at Iron Latch Lane, Stanway	595400	225500	lia	ROUTESYSTEM	ROAD			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	36459	Hull 1958		1
Colchester-Straight Road-Morman Church	Earthwork	Shrub End Dyke section in service trench during building of Morman Church. Section shows ditch 2 metres at top but bottom not exposed	596700	223600	lia	BOUNDARY	DYKE			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	36437	Hawkes & Crummy 1995		1
Colchester-Tapwoods-Lexden Dyke	Earthworks	Dyke ditch exposed by road construction. Ditch was V-shaped, 12.5 feet deep and about 20 feet wide. Fourth century coin recovered from section three feet from base	597370	225240	lia	BOUNDARY	DYKE			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	36166	HER		5
Colne A	Coin	British Iron Age eastern region silver unit of Cunobelin. VA1949			lia	HSG	COIN			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100041	PAS Database	ESS-C842B1	4
Colne B	Coin	Early uninscribed Eastern gold quarter stater 'Maldon wheel' type, dating 50-30BC. This coin is also recorded as CCI 10.0896			lia	HSG	COIN			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100042	PAS Database	ESS-6228A0	4
Dead Lane	Ditches, gullies and pits	Seven features can be attributed to the late Iron Age - Romano- British phase on site, comprising ditches and pits. Pottery from the features dates to the 1st century AD	615700	219100	lia	HABITATION	OCCUPATION			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	1033338	Wade 1993		3
Dedham A	Harness fitting	Bar and base of hoop from a copper-alloy terret			lia	HSG	HARNESS			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100068	PAS Database	SF8383	4

ETOZ - Late Iron Age

sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
Dedham B	Toggle	A complete cast copper-alloy Late Iron Age or Early Roman toggle			lia	HSG	TOGGLE			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100069	PAS Database	ESS-6F9AB4	4
Dedham C	Coin	British Iron Age gold stater of Dubnovellaunos. Dating 30-25BC. Van Arsdell 1650. BMC IA			lia	HSG	COIN			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100070	PAS Database	ESS-0282F1	4
Dedham D	Coin	British Iron Age silver unit of Cunobelin, struck partly off the flan. BM 1858. Between 0 and 25 AD			lia	HSG	COIN			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100071	PAS Database	ESS-674822	4
Dedham E	Harness fitting	Late Iron Age to Early Roman incomplete cast copper alloy lippid terret. Between 50BC and 100AD			lia	HSG	HARNESS			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100072	PAS Database	ESS-B6B223	4
Dickley Hall	Double Ditched enclosure	Cropmark of a curvilinear and rectilinear features one of which may be the southern half of the enclosure 17324	611700	229500	lia	HABITATION	ENCLOSURE			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	1031511	Ingle & Saunders 2003		2
Doucecroft site, Kelvedon (KL 4)	Two enclosures	An archaeological excavation uncovered two LIA enclosures, with a contemporary round house within one of them. One of the enclosures continued in use just into the Roman period	586200	219100	lia	HABITATION	ENCLOSURE			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	27517	Clarke 1998		1
Dugard and Oaklands Avenue	Field systems	Belgic field ditches excavated in Dugard Ave and Oaklands Ave between Grymes and Triple Dykes. They all tend to have rounded profiles and vary in depth from 0.6 to 1.75m	596500	224200	lia	HABITATION	FIELD SYSTEM			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	34373	Hawkes & Crummy 1995, 117-20		1
Earls Colne	Coin	Quarter Stater of Gallo-Belgic boat tree (gold)	586000	228000	lia	HSG	COIN			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	1034117	HER		4

ETOZ - Late Iron Age

sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
Earthworks west of Colchester - the dykes	Earthwork	The dyke system west of Colchester. not only continued in use after the Roman conquest but was also added to and modified - by the Triple and Grymes Dykes the latter added, possibly in two phases as the new outer perimeter.	595000	224000	lia	BOUNDARY	DYKE			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	33794	HER		5
East Mersea A	Coin	Gold Gallo-Belgic AB2 quarter stater, Van Arsdell 20-1. Dated between 125 and 100 BC			lia	HSG	COIN			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100073	PAS Database	ESS-BEF440	4
East Mersea B	Coin	Gallo-Belgic, uninscribed, gold quarter stater. Gallo-Belgic DC type. Dated between 75 and 50 BC			lia	HSG	COIN			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100074	PAS Database	ESS-D22245	4
East of Ardleigh	Pit	A large circular pit, c 18' in diameter and a max of 7' deep, proved upon excavation to have belgic origins, and produced quantities of belgic pottery	605670	228760	lia	HABITATION	OCCUPATION			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	12701	Erith & Holbert 1974		2
East of Bourne Mill	Coin	Coin of Agrippa	600800	223800	lia	HSG	COIN			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	8226	HER		4
East of Dedham	Rectangular Enclosure	Rectangular enclosure trial trenched by Colchester Museum. As well as producing evidence of C1 Roman occupation, it also yielded iron age/belgic material and animal bones	606800	232530	lia	HABITATION	ENCLOSURE			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	12234	HER		5
East of the Freemason's Hall, Kelvedon	Pit	Rubbish pit with Iron Age or Roman pottery. VCH records many rubbish pits found east of the Freemason's Hall with remains c50-400 AD	586250	218580	lia	HABITATION	OCCUPATION			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	26674	Hull 1963		1

ETOZ - Late Iron Age

sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
East side of Earls Colne	Coin	Gold coin of Tiberius. Found some years before 1748	586000	228000	lia	HSG	COIN			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	27556	HER		4
Elmstead A	Coin	Gold Iron Age stater of Middle Whaddon Chase type. VA 1485-1. 1st century BC			lia	HSG	COIN			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100103	PAS Database	ESS-8D4C36	4
Elmstead, Fen Farm	Settlement	Thought to be part of a settlement. A curving boundary ditch, two hearths and a two four-post timber structures, interpreted as granaries were identified. Domestic refuse	605450	223760	lia	HABITATION	DITCH		RECTANGULAR STRUCTURE	Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	1037878	Ennis 2008		3
Fen Farm, Fox Street	Cremation	Belgic pot with a possible cremation, found in 1967	602900	227900	lia	RELIGIOUS	CREMATION			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	8783	HER		5
Fingringhoe A	Brooch	Incomplete copper alloy, one piece Late Iron Age brooch of unusual form			lia	HSG	BROOCH			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100075	PAS Database	ESS-2CBBB4	4
Fingringhoe B	Bead	Cast copper alloy bead. The bead is circular in plan and suboval in section, this bead is probably Late Iron Age or Roman in date			lia	HSG	BEAD			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100076	PAS Database	ESS-1D09E7	4
Fingringhoe C	Coin	Fragment of an Iron Age silver unit of Amminus (probably Adminius), probably struck in Kent circa AD 38-40			lia	HSG	COIN			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100077	PAS Database	ESS-9A0BF6	4
Fordham A	Bead	Cast copper alloy bead or ring			lia	HSG	BEAD			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100078	PAS Database	ESS-F90DA6	4
Fordham B	Ring	Cast copper alloy ring			lia	HSG	RING			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100079	PAS Database	ESS-F92F24	4

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sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
Frating A	Harnness Fitting	Incomplete copper alloy mini-terret decorated with enamel. 1st century BC to 1st century AD			lia	HSG	HARNESS			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100104	PAS Database	SF8675	4
Gosbecks Dyke	Earthwork	Section of dyke which was part of the dyke system built in the reign of Cunobelin as the third line of defence around the Gosbecks site to the south	596200	222100	lia	BOUNDARY	DYKE			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	33768	HER		5
Gosbecks Farm	Pit and Kiln	A kiln site in a large field to the west of the temple, the field bordering on the Maldon Road. A small pit with traces of fire contained exclusively La Tene III pottery	596600	222300	lia	INDUSTRY	POTTERY PRODUCTION			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	33864	HER		5
Gosbecks Iron Age and Romano-British site	Settlement	In the C1 or C2 BC the site was enclosed by the Heath Farm Dyke. Central settlement area surrounded by field systems to which it was linked by a complex network of trackways. An early feature of the site was a religious sanctuary	596900	222400	lia	HABITATION	OCCUPATION		FIELD SYSTEM	Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	33806	Hull 1958		
Gosbecks Iron Age and Romano-British site B	Pits	Excavation of the theatre uncovered four pits below the earliest phase, all of which had become completely silted up	596900	222300	lia	HABITATION	OCCUPATION			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	33823	Dunnett 1971		1
Great Bromley A	Coin	Continental Iron Age gold stater; uninscribed Gallo-Belgic E, dating 60-50BC			lia	HSG	COIN			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100106	PAS Database	ESS-356556	4
Great Bromley B	Coin	Continental Iron Age gold quarter stater; uninscribed Gallo-Belgic geometric type, VA 69-1, dating 65-60AD			lia	HSG	COIN			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100105	PAS Database	ESS-9E8D63	4
Great Horkesley A	Harness fitting	Fragment of cast copper alloy platform-decorated or knobbed terret dating to the 1st century AD			lia	HSG	HARNESS			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100080	PAS Database	ESS-309A31	4

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sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
Great Horkesley B	Harness fitting	Fragment of cast copper-alloy late Iron Age to early Roman knobbed terret dating to the 1st century AD			lia	HSG	HARNESS			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100081	PAS Database	ESS-299441	4
Great Oakley A	Coin	British Iron Age uninscribed gold stater 'late Whaddon Chase type', VA1500-1, dating 45-40BC			lia	HSG	COIN			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100107	PAS Database	ESS-5181B6	4
Great Oakley B	Bead	Cast copper alloy bead, probably Late Iron Age or Roman in date			lia	HSG	BEAD			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100108	PAS Database	ESS-FAFDF4	4
Great Oakley C	Brooch	Incomplete copper alloy, one piece Colchester type late Iron Age to early Roman brooch. Brooches of this type date from 20-50AD			lia	HSG	BROOCH			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100109	PAS Database	ESS-FB16B5	4
Great Oakley D	Cosmetic Mortar	Incomplete Roman copper alloy cosmetic mortar. The mortar is Late iron to Roman in date, c. AD 1-200			lia	HSG	MORTAR			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100110	PAS Database	ESS-FBA194	4
Great Tey	Mount	Incomplete cast copper alloy artefact, possibly a mount, of Iron Age to Roman date			lia	HSG	MOUNT			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100082	PAS Database	ESS-7300A5	4
Grounds of Elm Park	Cremation burial	Late Iron Age burial from grounds of Elm Park. This may possibly be one of the 8 belgic grave groups referred to by Erith	605600	228800	lia	RELIGIOUS	CREMATION			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	12180	Couchman & Savory 1983		2
Grymes Dyke	Earthwork	Comprises an upstanding rampart and ditch. The extension to the north, to the Colne River and to the south, partially enclosing the settlement area at Gosbecks. Late 1st C BC to Early 1st C AD date	596000	224900	lia	BOUNDARY	DYKE			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	33776	HER		5
Gurnhams Farm, Church Road, Tendring	Pit	Small area of a proposed golf course was investigated to the east of Gurnhams Farmhouse. One small pit with Late Iron Age/early Roman pottery sherd in the lower fill			lia	HABITATION	OCCUPATION			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	1038269	HER		5

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Hall Farm	Burial	In 1849 the grave of a British nobleman, at the period just before or just after the Roman conquest, was found near the railway. Multiple finds recovered as part of the burial	590700	232200	lia	RELIGIOUS	WARRIOR BURIAL			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	29214	Fawn 1988		2
Hall Farm B	Ditches	Iron Age ditch revealed, late Iron Age pottery recovered. It seems likely the ditches marked boundaries or were for drainage	590750	232160	lia	HABITATION	DITCH			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	29218	McMaster & Fawn 1982		2
Hamford Water	Red hill	The presence of red earth was confirmed by the use of an auger. The Red Hill has been much disturbed. No significant pieces of briquetage were visible	620800	227000	lia	INDUSTRY	SALT WORKING			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	1034040	Fawn 1991		2
Heath Farm Dyke and Kidmans Dyke	Earthwork	Heath Farm Dyke. Remains of the bank about 0.5m high and about 7m wide. The ditch was 2.4m deep 7.8m wide and appeared to be V-shaped. Kidmans Dyke. Bank revealed about 0.1m high in section sealed by considerable depth of modern dump	596360	223180	lia	BOUNDARY	DYKE			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	36174	HER		5
Heath Farm Dyke Middle	Part of Dyke system	A ditch runs north-east to south-west with a low bank on the south-east side; bank and ditch are approximately 10m wide and from the bottom of the ditch to the top of the bank is approximately 1.5m	596300	222400	lia	BOUNDARY	DYKE			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	33732	English Heritage 2002		3
Hill Farm	Farmstead	A Late Iron Age/Romano-British farmstead with two entrances and a central circular house gully, c.13m in diameter. The house had an east facing entrance with porch	592100	211700	lia	HABITATION	FARMSTEAD			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	33468	Adkins 1985		2

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Hill Farm - Malting Barn	Ditches	Iron Age ditch, comprising the terminals and a 7m length of shallow ditch aligned east-west and found during renovation to the barn	597920	219620	lia	HABITATION	DITCH			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	33567	HER		5
Hill Farm B	Farmstead	Enclosure proved to be a Late Iron Age/Romano-British farmstead, with two entrances and a central circular house gully, c.13m in diameter. The house had an east facing entrance with porch. A central hearth may have been used as a kiln	592100	211700	lia	HABITATION	FARMSTEAD			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	33471	Adkins 1985		2
Hill Farm C	Rectangular enclosure	In the Middle Iron Age, a rectangular enclosure at the North-west of the evaluation area	613300	223700	lia	HABITATION	ENCLOSURE			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	1033484	Clarke 2004		3
Hill Farm, Tendring	Enclosure and field system	Two enclosures which possibly included buildings were associated a field system ditches The majority of ditches were actually two or more ditches running along the same alignment and recut a number of times	613300	223700	lia	HABITATION	ENCLOSURE			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	1033485	Clarke 2004		3
Horkesley Green	Coin	Coin - Claudius as Minerva	598650	232190	lia	HSG	COIN			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	29383	HER		4
Hundred Acre Field	Enclosures	A series of ditched rectangular enclosures were added in the first half of the C1 to the now largely silted-up Bronze Age enclosure. The amount of occupation debris in the ditches suggests these were house plots	605800	229000	lia	HABITATION	ENCLOSURE			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	12697	Hinchcliffe 1981		1

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Hungerdown Lane	Enclosure	Cropmarks of a very irregular curvilinear enclosure with a possible entrance to the north east and an apparent funnelled entrance to the south side.	608300	230500	lia	HABITATION	ENCLOSURE			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	1031480	Ingle & Saunders 2003		2
Institute Hall, High Street, Kelvedon	Ditch	The evaluation revealed an urned cremation (contained within a vessel of middle Iron Age fabric), a curvilinear ditch of Late iron Age date			lia	HABITATION	DITCH			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	1038869	HAT 2002		3
Jupes Hill Farm	Cremation	Inurned cremation found in a water mains trench. Cremation in iron age `A' urn in 1967. In Colchester Museum	607400	232340	lia	RELIGIOUS	CREMATION			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	9749	HER		5
Kelvedon	Brooches & Coins	Iron Age coin and La Tene III brooches recovered from building site. During construction works at least ten other coins were apparently recovered, and many Roman coins also. There is also a rumour of a torc being found, but this is rather unreliable	586610	218880	lia	HSG	COIN	HSG	BROOCH	Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	26715	HER		4
Kelvedon - Blandford House (Trench H)	Field Systems	Trenching in the garden of Blandford House revealed two Late Iron Age field systems on different alignments, one associated with a possible hedge line	586170	218670	lia	HABITATION	FIELD SYSTEM			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	26638	Rodwell 1988		1
Kelvedon A	Coin	Gold Iron Age Gallo-Belgic DC quarter stater. VA 69. Dated between 100BC to 50BC			lia	HSG	COIN			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100024	PAS Database	ESS-DBF736	4

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Kelvedon B	Ditches and Pits	Complex of two ditches at right angles and three pits in a row. One ditch recorded as Roman, the other produced Belgic pottery and a Langton Down brooch. Found by Campen in 1956	586460	219010	lia	HABITATION	OCCUPATION			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	26762	HER		5
Kelvedon B	Coin	British South-Eastern Iron Age cast copper alloy Potin. It is an uninscribed crescent type circa 85BC			lia	HSG	COIN			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100025	PAS Database	ESS-1CA3C3	4
Kelvedon C	Coins	Two iron age coins of Cunobelin found in 1956	586380	218930	lia	HSG	COIN			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	26765	HER		4
Kelvedon D	Ditch	Ditch containing potsherds of Belgic date	586470	218970	lia	HABITATION	DITCH			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	26770	HER		5
Kelvedon Excavations by Eddy	Ditches	A boundary ditch was located in Trench B and C. The ditch runs along the edge of the gravel terrace and acted as a divide between the settlement with its arable fields and the pasture of the flood plain	586450	218740	lia	HABITATION	DITCH			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	26618	Rodwell 1988		1
Kelvedon Excavations by Eddy Trench A	Ditches	A spinal boundary ditch which runs along the edge of the gravel terrace and acted as a divide between the settlement with its arable fields and the pasture of the flood plain	586400	218670	lia	HABITATION	DITCH			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	26628	Rodwell 1988		1
Kelvedon Iron Age Warrior	Warrior burial	The Kelvedon warrior was buried c75-25 BC on a slope overlooking a late Iron Age village and includes a sword, scabbard, shield boss, spear, pots. Related to continent	587000	217000	lia	RELIGIOUS	WARRIOR BURIAL			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	26911	Sealey 2007		5

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Kelvedon Late Iron Age settlement	Settlement	Evidence of Late Iron Age settlement has been found throughout the area of the Roman town, comprised individual enclosed house-plots, fields and some form of an industrial component	586400	218800	lia	HABITATION	OCCUPATION	INDUSTRY	?	Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	1031962	Medleycott 1999		5
Kelvedon temple	Temple	A small round building in the south-eastern quadrant of the town, may have had its origins in the Late Iron Age. A second more sophisticated building survived till the 2nd century	586430	218870	lia	RELIGIOUS	TEMPLE			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	1031966	Medleycott 1999		5
Kelvedon, Excavations by Eddy 1977-78 Trench C	Ditch	A boundary ditch was located in trench C. The ditch runs along the edge of the gravel terrace and acted as a divide between the settlement with its arable fields and the pasture of the flood plain	586570	218850	lia	HABITATION	DITCH			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	26623	Rodwell 1988		1
Kelvedon, Excavations by Rodwell 1968-73 Site 3, Area J	Enclosure	In the late Iron Age the area was occupied by a series of ditched or palisaded enclosures containing poorly preserved rectangular buildings, probably domestic. Three phases of IA occupation were identified	586380	218690	lia	HABITATION	ENCLOSURE			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	40178	Rodwell 1988		1
Kelvedon, Site 2 Area B	Ditches, Pits & Oven	Iron Age features included a ditch running north-south which cut a pit and an oven. The ditch included a large quantity of coarseware, Terra Rubra, Terra Nigra, an amphora fragment	586450	219000	lia	HABITATION	OCCUPATION	INDUSTRY	POTTERY MANUFACTURE	Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	40171	Rodwell 1988		1
Kidmans Dyke	Earthwork	A small section of Kidmans Dyke built in the reign of Cunobelin. The dyke curves out from the Shrub End Dyke towards the Heath Farm Dyke, which it follows on the outside, around the Gosbecks area	596300	222400	lia	BOUNDARY	DYKE			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	33746	HER		5

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Kidman's Dyke in Walk Wood	Earthwork	Part of the Late Iron Age dyke system around Colchester. The earthwork is aligned north west - south east and extends over a distance of some 150m	596980	221439	lia	BOUNDARY	DYKE			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	1034454	English Heritage 2002		3
Kidmans Dyke north and Heath Farm Dyke north	Earthwork	Section across Kidmans Dyke north and Heath Farm Dyke north by CFC Hawkes (Section no.VI)	596200	222800	lia	BOUNDARY	DYKE			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	36477	Hawkes & Crummy 1995		1
Kingswode Hoe School, Sussex Road	Pit and Ditch	The trench recorded a prehistoric pit and the south-eastern edge of a large late Iron Age ditch whose fill contained pottery dated to the first half of the 1st century AD	598350	225222	lia	HABITATION	OCCUPATION			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	1040083	Sparrow 2010		3
Langenhoe	Coin	Silver issue of EPATICCUS. As Mack 263a, illegible obverse. Boar to right on reverse; below IPAI	600800	218700	lia	HSG	COIN			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	36569	HER		4
Langenhoe A	Coin	British eastern Iron Age stater of Addedomaros.			lia	HSG	COIN			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100083	PAS Database	ESS-7C3C77	4
Langham A	Coin	Iron Age coin: uninscribed quarter stater attributed to Dubnovellaunus of Kent. VA1660 / BMC2442. Dated between 25BC and 10AD			lia	HSG	COIN			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100084	PAS Database	ESS-67A583	4
Langham B	Knife	Late Iron Age to Early Roman cast copper alloy knife handle with iron core and enamelled decoration			lia	HSG	KNIFE			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100085	PAS Database	ESS-7B3131	4
Langham C	Coin	British Iron Age, eastern region gold quarter stater of Cunobelin. VA2017, Hobbs 1845			lia	HSG	COIN			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100086	PAS Database	ESS-B5F136	4
Lawford A	Coin	Gold uninscribed stater dating between 80 BC to 50 BC			lia	HSG	COIN			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100111	PAS Database	SF9034	4

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Lawson Villas, High St. Kelvedon	Ditch and Pit	The Late Iron Age and Early Roman phases could not be separated here was settlement activity within, or immediately adjacent to the development area during 1C BC to 1C AD. included a series of gullies and a circular pit	586300	218910	lia	HABITATION	OCCUPATION			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	42089	Ennis 2002		3
Layer Dyke	Earthwork	A trench was cut by Bryan Blake in 1962 across the line of a dyke at this point. Mrs de Brisay remembers it as showing that the dyke ran north-west to south-east along the line of the road to Woodhouse Farm	596330	220160	lia	BOUNDARY	DYKE			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	34564	HER		5
Layer-de-la-Haye	Coin	Gaulish Bellovaci coin Mack 3, Evans A4	596000	220000	lia	HSG	COIN			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	33696	HER		4
Layer-de-la-Haye B	Coin	Coin-Gaulish gold stater, Belgic	596800	220100	lia	HSG	COIN			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	36582	HER		4
Layer-de-la-Haye Treatment Works	Ditches and pits	Thirty-two trenches were opened, covering 2560sq m. The majority of the archaeological remains were concentrated towards the north western corner of the site on a slight plateau	596271	219792	lia	HABITATION	OCCUPATION			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	1040028	Robertson 2005		3
Lexden - Rectory	Cemetery	Flat cremation grave of Iron Age date found behind the rectory in Lexden village	597500	225200	lia	RELIGIOUS	CEMETARY			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	34101	Hawkes & Hull 1947		1

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Lexden Cemetery	Cemetery	Cemetery is all pre-Roman. Further north a few scattered burials were found, of later date with Gallo-Belgic pottery, the pottery and brooches showing Roman influence. Main area for burial	597500	225000	lia	RELIGIOUS	CEMETARY			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	34100	Hawkes & Hull 1947		1
Lexden Dyke	Earthwork	The dyke running between Braiswick and Bluebottle Grove. North of the River Colne the same dyke is called Moat Farm Dyke. This is the middle of the three dykes (Sheepen, Lexden and Shrub End) constructed at the accession of Cunobelin in AD 10	597800	224200	lia	BOUNDARY	DYKE			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	33735	Hawkes & Crummy 1995		1
Lexden Grange	Cremation	Well known grave - including a bronze mirror, coral mounted bronze cup and a pair of jugs. The burial lies isolated between the cemetery at Lexden and the site of Camulodunum on Sheepen Farm	597800	225100	lia	RELIGIOUS	CREMATION			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	34105	Fox & Hull 1948		1
Lexden Mount	Burial Mound	May have been the burial of a LIA elite as the tumulus nearby (Lexden Tumulus) proved to be. No burial was found here	596800	224800	lia	RELIGIOUS	CREMATION			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	34064	Laver & Reader 1912		1
Lexden Tumulus	Burial	A rich burial with the remains of the metalwork of a funerary vehicle, bronzes, gold and silver objects and a coin with the head of Augustus mounted as a medallion. Thought to be the that of Cunobelin, dated between 17BC and 43AD	597500	224700	lia	RELIGIOUS	WARRIOR BURIAL			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	34083	Foster 1986		1
Lexden Tumulus B	Burial Mound	Iron age burial mound.	597530	224730	lia	RELIGIOUS	CREMATION			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	36232	Hawkes & Crummy 1995		1

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Lexden Tumulus Cemetery	Cremation Cemetery	To the north of the tumulus around St Clare Road and St Clare Drive an extensive cemetery is attested by at least 14 contemporary flat cremation graves. The evidence suggests that the Lexden tumulus is surrounded by an extensive urnfield	597500	224700	lia	RELIGIOUS	CEMETARY		CREMATION	Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	34093	Hawkes & Crummy 1995		1
Little Bentley A	Coin	British Eastern Iron Age late silver unit of AGR or Cunobelin. Dates between 30 and 40 AD			lia	HSG	COIN			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100112	PAS Database	ESS-A77FE5	4
Little Bromley A	Coin	Gold Iron Age stater of Addedomaros. King only known from the coins made in his name. c. 20 BC - AD 10, part of a hoard			lia	HSG	COIN			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100113	PAS Database	ESS-0C1AB1	4
Little Bromley B	Coin	Gold Iron Age stater of Addedomaros. King only known from the coins made in his name. c. 20 BC - AD 10, part of a hoard			lia	HSG	COIN			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100114	PAS Database	ESS-0C4CE1	4
Little Bromley C	Coin	Gold Iron Age stater of Addedomaros. King only known from the coins made in his name. c. 20 BC - AD 10, part of a hoard			lia	HSG	COIN			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100115	PAS Database	ESS-0C6B07	4
Little Bromley D	Coin	Gold Iron Age stater of Addedomaros. King only known from the coins made in his name. c. 20 BC - AD 10, part of a hoard			lia	HSG	COIN			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100116	PAS Database	ESS-0C9B04	4
Little Bromley E	Coin	Gold Iron Age stater of Addedomaros. King only known from the coins made in his name. c. 20 BC - AD 10, part of a hoard			lia	HSG	COIN			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100117	PAS Database	ESS-0CAE30	4
Little Bromley F	Coin	Gold Iron Age stater of Addedomaros. King only known from the coins made in his name. c. 20 BC - AD 10, part of a hoard			lia	HSG	COIN			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100118	PAS Database	ESS-0CBB10	4
Little Bromley G	Coin	Gold Iron Age 'wild type' stater of Cunobelin. VA 1933-3, dates between 10 and 40 AD			lia	HSG	COIN			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100119	PAS Database	ESS-C6C598	4

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Little Bromley H	Coin	Gold Iron Age stater of Addedomaros.VA 1620, King only known from the coins made in his name			lia	HSG	COIN			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100120	PAS Database	ESS-175400	4
Little Bromley I	Coin	Gold Iron Age stater of Addedomaros.VA 1620. King only known from the coins made in his name			lia	HSG	COIN			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100121	PAS Database	ESS-1798A3	4
Little Bromley J	Coin	Gold Iron Age stater of Addedomaros.VA 1620. King only known from the coins made in his name			lia	HSG	COIN			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100122	PAS Database	ESS-17ABA5	4
Little Bromley K	Cosmetic mortar	An incomplete cast copper-alloy cosmetic mortar of centre-looped type of Late Iron Age to Roman date, circa 1-200 AD			lia	HSG	MORTAR			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100123	PAS Database	ESS-B6F794	4
Little Bromley L	Mount	Incomplete late Iron Age to early Roman (25-60AD) cast copper alloy rosettle brooch			lia	HSG	MOUNT			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100124	PAS Database	ESS-6D2A31	4
Little Bromley M	Coin	British Eastern Iron Age coin: quarter stater of Cunobelin. Exact date undetermined			lia	HSG	COIN			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100125	PAS Database	ESS-2718B4	4
Little Clacton	Ring Ditch	Cropmarks of linear features- field boundaries, several are shown on OS 1st edition 6' sheet 38	617400	220900	lia	HABITATION	FIELD SYSTEM			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	1031440	Ingle & Saunders 2003		2
Little Oakley Roman villa	Structures	The villa (Farrands site I; Corbishley Site C) shows several phases of occupation. The first phase follows Iron Age occupation of the site and comprises a series of timber buildings: a sunken-floored hut and three beam slots from a ground level building	622200	229200	lia	HABITATION	VILLA			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	12087	Barford 2002		1
Little Totham A	Strap Fitting	Incomplete Iron Age cast copper alloy strap union			lia	HSG	HARNESS			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100087	PAS Database	ESS-77DD41	4

ETOZ - Late Iron Age

sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
Little Totham B	Strap Fitting	Incomplete Iron Age cast copper alloy strap union.			lia	HSG	HARNESS			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100088	PAS Database	ESS-77E098	4
Manningtree A	Coin	Gold stater of Dubnovellaunus. BM 2425-2436 / VA 1650-5. Dates between 30 and 25 BC			lia	HSG	COIN			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100126	PAS Database	ESS-42A371	4
Manningtree B	Coin	An extremely rare example of a gold quarter stater of Tasciovanus, c.25-20BC. VA 1694-1			lia	HSG	COIN			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100127	PAS Database	ESS-741591	4
Marks Tey A	Coin	Possibly a British Iron Age uninscribed East Anglian (Iceni) silver unit			lia	HSG	COIN			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100089	PAS Database	ESS-96FDE7	4
Martell's Quarry	Late Iron Age and Roman field system	Evaluation and Excavation at Martell's quarry revealed evidence of field system ditches, pits, postholes, a possible hearth and a cremation/pyre deposit	605250	227570	lia	HABITATION	OCCUPATION			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	1032423	Griffin 2002		3
Mersea Channel	Red Hill and Enclosure	Large earthwork, three sides of a rectangle surviving. A linear earthwork runs from this to the sea wall. There is a roughly centrally positioned red hill within this enclosure.	602278	215458	lia	INDUSTRY	SALT WORKING			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	1039810	Heppell and Brown 2001		3
Mersea Channel B	Red Hill	Possible red hill, with central position excavated away. Located on the salt marsh	601509	214666	lia	INDUSTRY	SALT WORKING			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	1039832	Heppell and Brown 2001		3
Messing A	Coin	Gold quarter stater of Cunobelin. Wild type, VA 1935-1. Dated between 10 and 40AD			lia	HSG	COIN			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100026	PAS Database	ESS-76F6B2	4
Mistley A	Ring	Cast copper alloy ring. This ring has a circular sectioned hoop. It is probably Late Iron Age or Roman harness ring			lia	HSG	RING			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100128	PAS Database	ESS-80E246	4

ETOZ - Late Iron Age

sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
Mistley B	Harness fitting	Incomplete, cast copper alloy Late Iron Age or Romano-British crescentic harness ring or terret, the late Iron Age style of design suggests that they may have been in use pre-conquest in the first century BC			lia	HSG	HARNESS			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100129	PAS Database	ESS-8861C2	4
Mistley C	Coin	Iron Age quarter stater: Uninscribed 'Trophy type' quarter stater attributed to the Cantii tribe, dating 50-20BC			lia	HSG	COIN			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100130	PAS Database	ESS-661FF3	4
Moat Farm Dyke	Earthwork	The northward extension of Lexden Dyke (site 11628) north of the River Colne. It originally curved round between Black Brook and Salary Brook. Assigned to a phase of construction that took place around the time of Cunobelin's succession in AD 10	597800	225900	lia	BOUNDARY	DYKE			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	33734	HER		5
Mount Bures A	Brooch	Incomplete copper alloy one piece Roman Colchester brooch. Brooches of this type date from AD1-60			lia	HSG	BROOCH			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100090	PAS Database	ESS-B47832	4
Mount Bures-Middle field and Butt field	Burial	Iron Age Burial. In 1849 the grave of a British nobleman, at the period just before or just after the Roman conquest, was found near the railway. celebrated series headed by the burials of the Lexden tumulus	590600	232400	lia	RELIGIOUS	WARRIOR BURIAL			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	36389	Fawn 1983		2
Moverons Pit/ Brightlingsea Quarry	Cremation and Field System	In 2003 0.15 ha was stripped in the North Field, two ditches were recorded, one with prehistoric pottery, one with an abraded Roman sherd. A cremation and storage pit was also found	607210	218220	lia	RELIGIOUS	CREMATION	HABITATION	FIELD SYSTEM	Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	43099	Brooks 2003		2

ETOZ - Late Iron Age

sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
Naze Tower	Red Hill	Briquetage and pottery from three sites near the Naze tower, found in 1928-9.	626600	223500	lia	INDUSTRY	SALT WORKING			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	12819	HER		5
Near Bocking Hall	Coin	Gallo-Belgic E stater of the Morini, noted by Colchester Museum in 1946. Mack 27 and 27a, Evans B8	603000	214000	lia	HSG	COIN			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	7309	HER		4
Near Lawford	Coin	Quarter stater found 1891, stater found 1899	608000	230000	lia	HSG	COIN			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	9480	HER		4
North of Bridge Farm	Coin hoard	Iron Age coin hoard	591300	223800	lia	HSG	COIN			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	34164	HER		4
North of Colchester Cemetery	Burials	Besides the large cemeteries there was a scatter of graves all around the town with occasional concentrations which amount to small cemeteries in themselves e.g. this site at the modern cemetery	600030	223680	lia	RELIGIOUS	INHUMATION			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	8948	Hull 1958		1
North of Gatehouse Farm, Ardleigh reservoir	Enclosures	Enclosures, north east facing entrance. other features were associated with low levels of activity and were also Late Iron Age segment possible placed deposits were uncovered including a grog-tempered bowl	602600	229400	lia	HABITATION	ENCLOSURE			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	8939	Germany 2007b		3

ETOZ - Late Iron Age

sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
North side of Earls Colne	Coin	Gold stater of Cunobelin (Evans IX, 1-2) found `at Colne near Halstead' c1847	585000	229000	lia	HSG	COIN			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	27563	HER		4
Oakland Avenue	Ditches	Late iron age/Roman ditches	596410	224180	lia	HABITATION	DITCH			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	36249	Hawkes & Crummy 1995		1
Old Hall Marshes	Salt working site	Eight Red Hills located and a salt working site	597500	212500	lia	INDUSTRY	SALT WORKING			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	1032465	Barker 2000		3
Old Moze dock area	Red Hill	Red hill excavated by RH Farrands in 1954. This was supported by the finding of `Belgic' grog- tempered pottery and at least two distinct collections of briquetage, some from a `buried pit' under the red hill	620130	224790	lia	INDUSTRY	SALT WORKING			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	24119	HER		5
Olivers Dyke	Earthwork	Part of the dyke system built in the reign of Cunobelin, running south through farmland to the Roman River and continuing beyond as Layer Dyke. Joins Kidmans Dyke to the north	596300	220500	lia	BOUNDARY	DYKE			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	33753	HER		5
Olivers Dyke B	Earthwork	McMaster aerial photographs (1980) show a possible dyke extension - sketch plan on back of SMR sheet	596200	222000	lia	BOUNDARY	DYKE			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	33756	HER		5

ETOZ - Late Iron Age

sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
Peartree Junction	Earthwork	Excavation of Prettygate Dyke and Shrub End Dyke by CFC Hawkes and MR Hull in 1936	596600	223800	lia	BOUNDARY	DYKE			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	36435	Hawkes & Crummy 1995, p46-54		1
Pebmarsh A	Coin	Gold Gallo Belgic A quarter stater. Dated between 100 BC and AD50			lia	HSG	COIN			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100091	PAS Database	ESS-21E147	4
Pitchbury hillfort	Hillfort	Iron Age defended settlement situated at the southern end of Pitchbury Woods. The north end of a large camp, roughly oval in shape and defended by a double rampart and ditch	596630	229040	lia	HABITATION	HILLFORT			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	36293	Crummy 1992		1
Pitchbury Ramparts	Hillfort	Iron Age hillfort, roughly oval in shape with a double rampart and ditch. carbon sample taken from some burnt wood found approximately 0.3m from the bottom of the inner ditch which gave a date of 10BC+ /-80	596600	229000	lia	HABITATION	HILLFORT			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	33868	Rodwell 1975		1
Prettygate Dyke	Earthwork	Dyke linking the Lexden and Shrub End Dykes; it appears to have been a later addition during Cunobelins reign	596700	223800	lia	BOUNDARY	DYKE			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	33790	HER		5
Prettygate Junction	Earthwork	Junction of Prettygate Dyke, Heath Farm Dyke north and Lexden Dyke excavated by CFC Hawkes 1943-1959	597600	224200	lia	BOUNDARY	DYKE			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	36433	Hawkes & Crummy 1995, p34-45		1
Rivenhall A	Coin	Gold uninscribed South-Eastern 'LZ' quarter stater. Hobbs 2470. Dated between 75 and 50BC			lia	HSG	COIN			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100028	PAS Database	ESS-44EE87	4

ETOZ - Late Iron Age

sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
Rivenhall End	Burial	1st century AD, spindle-shaped Roman amphora, with neck and handles missing, found in a field south east of the Congregational Church at Rivenhall End in 1936. The find was donated to Colchester Museum	584130	216380	lia	RELIGIOUS	CREMATION			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	26134	Rodwell & Rodwell 1985		2
Royal Grammar School, 6 Lexden Road, Colchester	Earthwork	Prior to the construction of the temple-tomb, a major ditch crossed the site in the 1st century AD, after which the site was used for the cremation of human remains in the 2nd century AD			lia	BOUNDARY	DYKE			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	1038156	HER		5
Sand and Gravel Pit Southwest of Keelars Farm	Burial	Probable IA burial. Skeleton, loom weight and IA sherds found between 1934 and 1936 during gravel extraction	604860	222760	lia	RELIGIOUS	INHUMATION			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	8423	HER		5
Section across Shrub End Dyke	Earthwork	Two service trenches were cut across the Shrub End Dyke which revealed the western edge of the ditch 21.5m from the western boundary wall	596590	224250	lia	BOUNDARY	DYKE			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	36209	Crummy 1992, p1045		1
Sheepen	Settlement and Coin	A probable Iron Age hut site with a single post hole and hearth in which was found a gold plated coin of the Brigantes	598690	225870	lia	HSG	COIN	HABITATION	ROUND HOUSE	Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	34000	Hawkes & Hull 1947, 67		1
Sheepen Dyke	Earthwork	The Sheepen Dyke (not visible) encloses the settlement on the Hillyfields close by the river which was navigable at that point. The dyke appears to have been filled in AD 43 although many parts of it may still exist below ground level	598000	225000	lia	BOUNDARY	DYKE			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	33793	HER		5

ETOZ - Late Iron Age

sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
Sheepen Farm	Settlement	Iron Age settlement was protected to the east by the Sheepen Dyke and the floruit is dated to the first two-thirds of the C1 AD. contained several important industrial complexes including pottery kilns and a mint of Cunobelin	598500	225500	lia	HABITATION	OCCUPATION	INDUSTRY	POTTERY MANUFACTURE, COIN MANUFACTURE	Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	33959	Hawkes & Hull 1947		1
Sheepen industrial site	Settlement	Seven post pits are the remains of a rectangular or trapezoidal building although the rest form no recognizable pattern. Amphorae, coin etc. also found	598600	225700	lia	HABITATION	RECTANGULAR STRUCTURE			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	33960	Niblett 1985		1
Sheepen Saltern	Salt working site	Iron Age rubbish pit - salt working site. roughly circular hollow 18 feet in diameter and 1 foot deep suggesting that the Colne was tidal at this point. It is dated AD10-43	598500	225780	lia	INDUSTRY	SALT WORKING			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	33995	Hawkes & Hull 1947, 73		1
Shoulder of Mutton	Spear	Large iron spearhead of Iron Age date found near the `Shoulder of Mutton'	592100	227200	lia	HSG	SPEAR			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	33703	HER		4
Shrub End Dyke	Earthwork	Constructed about the time of Cunobelins accession; it provides the outer line of the triple defensive system (Sheepen, Lexden and Shrub End Dykes) built at this time	597700	222700	lia	BOUNDARY	DYKE			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	33792	HER		5
South east of Kelvedon village	Coin	A gold stater of Dubnovellaunos	586850	218300	lia	HSG	COIN			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	1034289	HER		4

ETOZ - Late Iron Age

sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
South Elms Farm, Ardleigh	Cremation	Cremation in an omphalos bowl, accompanied by a pedestalled urn of type Cam 202/3 - dated to AD 10-43. Discovered during course of deep ploughing in 1956	605000	228000	lia	RELIGIOUS	CREMATION			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	12680	Couchman & Savory 1983		2
South Elms Farm, Ardleigh B	Cremation burials	Four grave groups, not otherwise more specifically mentioned, found at various times on Vince's Farm	605000	228000	lia	RELIGIOUS	CREMATION			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	12685	HER		5
South of Lanenhoe Hall	Red Hill	Red hill, no 1. Measuring 230ft x 175ft, it appears to be surrounded by a bank and ditch, and was found to contain briquetage, pottery, clay, slag and bone when it was opened in 1906	601350	216650	lia	INDUSTRY	SALT WORKING			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	7654	HER		5
South of Lanenhoe Hall B	Red Hill	Red hill, no 3, excavated in 1906. Finds consisted of briquetage, late Iron age pottery, animal bone, and in particular an omphalos bowl and pedestal urn, both of which were in a slight hollow under the red hill	601660	216740	lia	INDUSTRY	SALT WORKING			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	7661	HER		5
South of Moat Farm Cottage	Enclosure	Cropmarks of a sub-rectangular enclosure with internal divisions. Trench put across by Col. Appleby in early 50's	598300	225400	lia	HABITATION	ENCLOSURE			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	1035506	HER		5
South of Tudloe Farm	Coin	Iron Age gold coin at Fingringhoe in Sept 98. Coin is British G (or 'Clacton' type) quarter stater	601400	218750	lia	HSG	COIN			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	1032385	HER		4

ETOZ - Late Iron Age

sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
South side of Earls Colne	Coin	Gold stater of Cunobelin (Mack 201. Evans IX 2, XXII, 1)	585000	228000	lia	HSG	COIN			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	27560	HER		4
St Helena School Drama Block, Sheepen Road, Colchester	Occupation	Three cut features of early Roman date including a ditch and post-hole were recorded. Pottery, animal bone, burnt flint, a coin, slag and Roman tile suggest domestic use	598948	225810	lia	HABITATION	OCCUPATION			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	1038150	Orr 2006		3
St Mary's Hospital	Coin	Finds from this area include a bronze coin of Cunobelin	599100	225300	lia	HSG	COIN			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	35893	HER		4
Stanway	Enclosures	Three enclosures (no 3, 4, 5), included mortuary enclosures and doctors and warriors grave	595000	222000	lia	HABITATION	ENCLOSURE	RELIGIOUS	WARRIORS GRAVE	Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	36270	Crummy et al 2007		1
Stanway Hall Farm	Enclosure	Trial excavation of cropmark site (Site 11756). An exploratory trench dug to locate a series of large enclosures to the west of Grymes Dyke suggests that they probably belong to the first half of the C1 AD	595500	222500	lia	HABITATION	ENCLOSURE			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	34237	Carter 1989		2
Star and Fleece	Ditches and trackway	An excavation revealed earliest features were a late Iron Age ditch in trench 2 and the gravel trackway (Context 33 et al) in trench 4	586460	219120	lia	HABITATION	OCCUPATION	ROUTE SYSTEM	TRACKWAY	Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	1033470	HAT 1999		3

ETOZ - Late Iron Age

sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
Tendring A	Harness fitting	Complete cast, copper alloy harness terret. Terrets of this design date from the very late Iron Age into the Early Roman period, likely to have a 1st century date			lia	HSG	HARNESS			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100131	PAS Database	ESS-28C2D3	4
The Chase	Structure, Pits and Ditches	Two rectangular beam and post buildings were excavated, both producing only Late Iron Age pottery from their foundation slots. A Late Iron Age pit was found south-west of the first building. Intersecting ditches also encountered	585200	218600	lia	HABITATION	RECTANGULAR STRUCTURE		OCCUPATION	Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	26695	Rodwell 1988		1
The Old Vicarage, Church Street, Kelvedon	Gullies and ditches	Gully 09 and ditch 03/07 both contained prehistoric pottery.			lia	HABITATION	DITCH			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	1039415	Pocock 2007		3
The Triple Dyke	Earthwork	A well preserved section of the Triple Dyke built to strengthen the line of Shrub End Dyke at its northern end	596700	223700	lia	BOUNDARY	DYKE			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	33771	HER		5
Tollesbury Creek	Red Hill site	Excavation uncovered superimposed working floors and a clay lined gully across the upper levels of which was a curved wall with flat slabs of briquetage. The briquetage includes fragments of brine containers and early type fire bars	596230	211130	lia	INDUSTRY	SALT WORKING			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	33522	De Brisay 1978		2
Turner Rise, Colchester	Cemetery	The inurned cremation is of broad C1-C3 date and probably belonged (Together with earlier urns found in the 1840's; see PRN 11799) to a widespread cemetery area	599400	226450	lia	RELIGIOUS	CEMETARY			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	1033258	Shimmin 1996		3
Twinstead A	Toggle	Complete, cast copper alloy Late Iron Age or Early Roman toggle			lia	HSG	TOGGLE			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100038	PAS Database	ESS-853D41	4

ETOZ - Late Iron Age

sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
Twinstead B	Bead	Cast copper alloy bead, probably Late Iron Age or Roman in date			lia	HSG	BEAD			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100039	PAS Database	ESS-C2F1F4	4
University of Essex	Ditches and Postholes	A number of Late Iron Age and Roman ditches and postholes were uncovered. These features date to the first half of the 1st century AD and were possibly associated with agricultural activity on the west facing valley slope	602283	224222	lia	HABITATION	OCCUPATION			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	1037685	Ennis 2004		3
Vicinity of Ardleigh village	coin	Uninscribed gold stater, Mack 1, Evans A1 2.8	605000	229000	lia	HSG	COIN			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	8128	HER		4
Vicinity of Bradfield	Coin	Denarius of Augustus	614000	230000	lia	HSG	COIN			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	11675	HER		4
Vicinity of Bradfield B	Quern	Beehive puddingstone quern found in 1874	614000	230000	lia	HSG	QUERN			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	11679	HER		4
Vicinity of Walton-On-The-Naze	Coin	Six Iron Age coins found 1843	625000	222000	lia	HSG	COIN			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	12042	HER		4
Vicinity of Walton-On-The-Naze B	Coin	Gold Stater, Evans type IV found 1850	625000	222000	lia	HSG	COIN			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	12046	HER		4

ETOZ - Late Iron Age

sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
Vince's Farm: East of Ardleigh	Cremation burials	Three belgic cremations were uncovered in close proximity to one another during winter ploughing on Vince's Farm in 1960. Each burial was accompanied by a pair of pedestal urns, and other accessory	605700	228300	lia	RELIGIOUS	CREMATION			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	12679	Couchman & Savory 1983		2
Wakes Colne A	Cosmetic Mortar	Incomplete late Iron Age to early Roman (1st to mid 2nd century AD) cast copper alloy cosmetic mortar			lia	HSG	COSMETIC			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100092	PAS Database	ESS-6C5EF1	4
Weeley A	Coin	Gold Iron Age stater, British F series, Clacton type, Hobbs 140. Exact date undetermined			lia	HSG	COIN			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100132	PAS Database	ESS-979545	4
Welhams Farm	Enclosure and trackway	Cropmarks of two parallel linear features which possibly form part of a trackway	610800	226700	lia	HABITATION	ENCLOSURE	ROUTE SYSTEM	TRACKWAY	Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	1031507	National Mapping Programme		2
West Bergholt	Coin	Gold Iron age coin found by Mr C.R.Behn of 193, Mersea Rd, Colchester. Discovered Oct-Nov 1982	596300	228500	lia	HSG	COIN			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	36383	HER		4
West Bergholt A	Mount	A Late Iron Age copper alloy bucket mount. Very rare, all these mounts are dated to the early first century AD			lia	HSG	MOUNT			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100093	PAS Database	ESS-BD8454	4
West Bergholt B	Coin	Iron Age quarter stater of Cunobelin, struck at Camulodunum, c. AD 10-41. VA1935			lia	HSG	COIN			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100094	PAS Database	ESS-59B001	4
West Bergholt C	Mount	Iron Age cast copper alloy circular mount with central cylindrical projection. Dated between 50BC and AD100			lia	HSG	MOUNT			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100095	PAS Database	ESS-904BA6	4

ETOZ - Late Iron Age

sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
West Clacton reservoir and pumping station	Field Systems	An evaluation by 13 trenches revealed an area of prehistoric and Roman occupation dating from the Middle Iron Age to the Roman period (not necessarily continuously) which is probably marginal to cropmark sites to the east and west			lia	HABITATION	FIELD SYSTEM			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	1038509	Brooks & Holloway 2006		2
West House Farm	Coin	Claudian coin found in cottage, 1963	602510	220160	lia	HSG	COIN			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	8410	HER		4
West Mersea-Fairhaven Avenue-42	Cremation	Burial of four pottery vessels and cremated bone found at 42, Fairhaven Avenue by Mr Strutter	602200	212400	lia	RELIGIOUS	CREMATION			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	36601	HER		5
West of Mistley Hall	Settlement and field system	Two sub-rectangular enclosures, one complete enclosure by Long Road, incomplete enclosure cut by the Clacton Road	610350	230900	lia	HABITATION	FIELD SYSTEM		ENCLOSURE	Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	11813	Cunliffe & Rowley 1976		1
West of Tendring	Occupation	Trench E contained several features, gullies, ditches, pits and postholes which again did not seem to form a structural pattern. Pottery retrieval dated from Middle to Late Iron Age. Loomweights and a spindle whorl were also found.	613600	224400	lia	HABITATION	OCCUPATION			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	11097	Lavender 1994		3
West side of Roman Town	Coins	Many Iron Age coins have come from Colchester and district, including over 20 gold coins	598000	225000	lia	HSG	COIN			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	33700	HER		4

ETOZ - Late Iron Age

sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
West side of Roman Town B	Coin	Carthaginian bronze coin, Colchester	599000	225000	lia	HSG	COIN			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	35400	HER		4
Wick Farm, Ardleigh, Essex	Settlement areas	Two archaeological sites dating to the Late Iron Age/early Roman period (mid-1st century BC to mid-1st century AD) were excavated	603300	229600	lia	HABITATION	OCCUPATION			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	1036590	Allen & Germany 2009		3
Wick Farm, Ardleigh, Essex B	Settlement	Further excavation in 2008 revealed two archaeological sites dating to the Late Iron Age/early Roman period (mid-1st century BC to mid-1st century AD)	602877	229401	lia	HABITATION	OCCUPATION			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	1036591	Allen & Germany 2009		3
Within Friday Wood	Ditches	Two small, parallel ditches west of the `rampart' (Berechurch Dyke) and north of Roman River. The ditches produced much Belgic and Roman pottery	599500	221000	lia	HABITATION	DITCH			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	34508	HER		5
Wix A	Coin	Continental Iron Age gold stater; uninscribed Gallo-Belgic E, dating 60-50BC. Van Arsdell p. 69, no. 50-1.			lia	HSG	COIN			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100133	PAS Database	ESS-353724	4
Wix B	Cosmetics Pestle	Late Iron Age to early Roman cast copper alloy cosmetic pestle. Broadly dates from 50 BC to 100 AD			lia	HSG	COSMETIC			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100134	PAS Database	ESS-270C74	4
Wormingford A	Coin	British Eastern Iron Age copper alloy unit of Cunobelin dating AD 10-20			lia	HSG	COIN			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100096	PAS Database	ESS-315694	4
Wrabness A	Coin	British Iron Age uninscribed 'Q' stater. Dates from 60 to 50 BC			lia	HSG	COIN			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100135	PAS Database	ESS-25C622	4

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sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
3 St Johns Crescent	Coin	Very worn Claudian coin found at above	597900	229500	erom	HSG	COIN			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	34329	HER		4
86 Lexden Road	Brooches	Two brooches of Claudio-Neroian date. One brooch published in CAR 2, the other is a two-piece Colchester B brooch, Type 92	597790	225070	erom	HSG	BROOCH			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	37040	HER		4
90-92 Kingswood Road	Coin	Roman coins of Trajan found in 1953-4	599760	227680	erom	HSG	COIN			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	34335	HER		4
Ardleigh	Ditch	Length of ditch producing vast quantities of pottery. This ditch may be the same as that excavated in Elm Park	605560	228660	erom	HABITATION	DITCH			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	12732	Erith & Holbert 1965		2
Ardleigh A	Buckle	An early Roman cast copper alloy buckle. A 'pelta' style buckle associated with the military equipment of the 1st and 2nd century AD			erom	HSG	BUCKLE			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100135	PAS Database	ESS-F7E490	4
Balkerne Hill, Waterworks	Brooch	A brooch of Itford Hill type was found near the waterworks	599200	225500	erom	HSG	BROOCH			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	35851	HER		4

ETOZ - Early Roman

sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
Balkerne Gate	Legionary fortress ditch	Legionary fortress ditch dug - c.43AD: flimsy stake-hole structures built along the street frontage c: small metalworking workshops and furnaces along the street: timber buildings along the frontage - c.AD60 - second defensive ditch dug	599200	225200	erom	MILITARY STRUCTURE	OCCUPATION			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	36792	Wilson 1975		2
Balkerne Lane	Fortress	Defences of the fortress and colonia were uncovered during excavations for St Mary's carpark. Also remains of extramural settlement alongside the London-Colchester road	599200	225200	erom	MILITARY STRUCTURE	DEFENSIVE DITCH			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	36092	Crummy 1984, p93-154		1
Birch A	Brooch	Roman cast copper alloy Colchester derivative brooch, circa AD 40-100			erom	HSG	BROOCH			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100136	PAS Database	ESS-7DDFD2	4
Birch B	Brooch	Fragment of a cast copper alloy Roman brooch. A Hod Hill brooch dating to the first century AD			erom	HSG	BROOCH			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100137	PAS Database	ESS-7F12E8	4
Birch C	Brooch	Early Roman rosette brooch, dated between 40 and 70 AD			erom	HSG	BROOCH			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100138	PAS Database	ESS-7F6701	4
Birch D	Brooch	Roman cast copper alloy Colchester two piece brooch, dated between 40 and 100 AD			erom	HSG	BROOCH			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100139	PAS Database	ESS-7F6A73	4
Birch E	Brooch	Damaged and incomplete Roman cast copper alloy Colchester derivative brooch, circa AD 40-100			erom	HSG	BROOCH			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100140	PAS Database	ESS-7F6C47	4
Birch F	Brooch	Incomplete early Roman cast copper alloy lozenge shaped plate brooch, dated between 40 and 100 AD			erom	HSG	BROOCH			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100141	PAS Database	ESS-7FCE90	4

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sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
Birch G	Brooch	Damaged and incomplete Roman Colchester derivative brooch, dated between 40 and 100 AD			erom	HSG	BROOCH			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100142	PAS Database	ESS-7FD273	4
Birch H	Brooch	Fragment of an early Roman cast copper alloy bow brooch, circa AD 50-200			erom	HSG	BROOCH			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100143	PAS Database	ESS-817223	4
Birch I	Harness Fitting	Early Roman (40-100AD) cast copper alloy skirted terret harness fitting			erom	HSG	HARNESS			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100144	PAS Database	ESS-C03B24	4
Birch J	Harness Fitting	Early Roman (40-100AD) cast copper alloy harness fitting			erom	HSG	HARNESS			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100145	PAS Database	ESS-C03D13	4
Birch K	Brooch	A cast copper alloy early Roman bow brooch. This is a Dolphin or Polden Hill Brooch dating from the mid to late 1st century AD			erom	HSG	BROOCH			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100146	PAS Database	ESS-C07014	4
Birch L	Brooch	Incomplete early Roman cast copper alloy Colchester two-piece derivative brooch, dated between 40 and 100 AD			erom	HSG	BROOCH			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100147	PAS Database	ESS-C0BC94	4
Birch M	Brooch	Incomplete early Roman cast copper alloy Colchester derivative brooch, probably a 'Dolphin' type, dated between 50 and 100AD			erom	HSG	BROOCH			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100148	PAS Database	ESS-C0BED3	4
Birch Pit western extension, Maldon Road, Colchester	Settlement	A series of features date to the 1st to early 2nd century AD. These comprise a number of ditches, pits and post-holes, four possible graves for inhumation burials, and one very large pit which was possibly a well	592500	219200	erom	HABITATION	OCCUPATION	RELIGIOUS	INHUMATION	Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	1038556	Benfield 2007		2

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sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
Bishops Park College, Jaywick Lane	Field system	Fifteen evaluation trenches were opened showing evidence of multi-phase activity seen before as cropmarks. Also evidence of early Roman structures and elements of a field system	615355	215055	erom	HABITATION	STRUCTURE		FIELD SYSTEM	Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	1039292	Letch 2002		3
Blackwater Site 12	Red Hill	Red Hill comprising an area of briquetage 30-40cm deep, 35m long NE-SW and 27m wide NW-SE. Most briquetage occurs at the NE end of the site. A single pot sherd was found.	596260	211110	erom	INDUSTRY	SALT WORKING			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	37824	De Brisay 1978		2
Braiswick	Coin	Coin of Nero found in 1957	598930	226630	erom	HSG	COIN			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	34336	HER		4
Brickyard near North Station	Cemetery	Roman cemetery concentrated in the area of the brickfields. It was apparently in use from the end of the C1 to the late C3 or early C4	599600	226400	erom	RELIGIOUS	CEMETARY			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	34338	Hull 1958, p257		1
Brook House	Cremation	RB/IA cremation in globular native brown ware cooking pot, found in the garden here. Dated to cAD50. Found 1940. The pot is of native brown ware with a black surface	588150	225950	erom	RELIGIOUS	CREMATION			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	27989	HER		1

ETOZ - Early Roman

sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
Brookhouse Road, Great Tey	Field systems	A sequence of field and enclosure ditches were recorded, dating from mid-1st to 4th centuries, along with ovens, at least one corn-drier, and timber structures, probably fence lines and sheds. Seems to represent an agricultural landscape	588320	225620	erom	HABITATION	ENCLOSURE		RECTANGULAR STRUCTURE	Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	1035656	Allen 2003		3
Castle Park	Building	Houses II and III formed a double building of courtyard type. House II had a corridor between it and the street to the S. the courtyard ofHouse III had corridors. Dated on basis of foundation pots	599900	225980	erom	HABITATION	RECTANGULAR STRUCTURE			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	35701	Hull 1958, p81-85		1
Central Kelvedon	Coin	Roman republican coin, also sigillata bowl found	586170	218630	erom	HSG	COIN			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	26654	HER		4
Chalkney Wood	Routeway	Rackham interprets this as the Roman or more probably pre-Roman direct road from Colchester to Cambridge	587000	228000	erom	ROUTE SYSTEM	ROAD			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	28009	Rackham 1973		3
Chappel A	Brooch	Copper alloy fragment of a Roman trumpet brooch. This fragment is the trumpet head of the brooch. They date from the mid 1st century AD and lasted until the late 2nd century AD			erom	HSG	BROOCH			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100150	PAS Database	ESS-3B9087	4

sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
Church Walk - St Mary's Cottage	Building and Barracks	Some foundations (robbed out), tessellated pavement, mortar pavement and Roman tile drains pointed to a Roman house. A building, burnt during the Boudican revolt had probably been the spine wall of a barrack that had been reused in the colony	599270	226020	erom	MILITARY STRUCTURE	RECTANGULAR STRUCTURE	HABITATION	RECTANGULAR STRUCTURE	Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	37088	Crummy 1992, p980		1
Coggeshall House/Brooklands, Church St (CG8), Coggeshall	Structure	Following the evaluation in 1989 (CG8) a watching brief was carried out by ECC's Field Archaeology Group. Overall the features were interpreted as a two-phase Romano-British structure with associated external activity	585350	222920	erom	HABITATION	RECTANGULAR STRUCTURE			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	40483	Wade 1993		3
Colchester A	Finger Ring	Ring: silver finger-ring, broken in three pieces, with an incised palm frond on its narrow bezel			erom	HSG	RING			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100151	PAS Database	PAS-C37187	4
Colchester B	Brooch	This copper alloy fragment of Romano-British Dolphin brooch. It dates to between AD45-60			erom	HSG	BROOCH			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100152	PAS Database	ESS-D62FF7	4
Colchester C	Brooch	Incomplete copper alloy Romano-British Dolphin brooch, date from about AD 55-80			erom	HSG	BROOCH			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100153	PAS Database	ESS-91AFA5	4
Colchester E	Coin	Early Roman copper alloy as of Vespasian dating from AD71			erom	HSG	COIN			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100154	PAS Database	LANCUM-2D9AD4	4
Colchester F	Coin	Early Roman copper alloy as of Claudius dating from AD41-50			erom	HSG	COIN			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100155	PAS Database	LANCUM-2DB486	4

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sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
Colchester General Hospital	Ditches	An evaluation revealed a widespread area of linear features of late Iron Age/early Roman date no specific plan could be formulated from the evaluation evidence	599310	226500	erom	HABITATION	FIELD SYSTEM			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	1035164	Benfield 1997		2
Colchester Institute	Pits and Walls	Several pits were recorded, one of which was dated by pottery to the early Roman period. A short stretch of mortared Roman tiles, presumed to be a Roman wall or foundation	598830	225700	erom	HABITATION	STRUCTURE		OCCUPATION	Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	1038154	Orr 2001		2
Course of Roman road from Coggeshall to Feering	Road	A Possible Roman road lies between Coggeshall and Kelvedon. The course of the supposed Roman Road appears to follow in part the modern road and then a footpath	585100	221500	erom	ROUTE SYSTEM	ROAD			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	1033166	HER		5
Cowdray Avenue and Essex Hall Road	Kiln	An area of extensively burnt soil on the S bank of the river was noted by workmen. In view of the pre-Flavian pottery subsequently found on the site it is likely that this is the remains of a kiln	599050	226050	erom	INDUSTRY	POTTERY MANUFACTURE			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	36955	Crummy 1992, p366-7		1
Culver Street, Colchester	Military barracks	Structures recorded include C1 military barracks. Civilian occupation began in the mid C1 Several of the rooms were heated, remains of hypocausts were recorded and several had mosaic floors	599490	225060	erom	MILITARY STRUCTURE	RECTANGULAR STRUCTURE			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	1032089	Crummy 1992, p21-126		1

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sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
Dead Lane	Ditches and pits	Seven features can be attributed to the late Iron Age - Romano- British phase on site, comprising ditches and pits. Pottery from the features dates to the 1st century AD	615700	219100	erom	HABITATION	OCCUPATION			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	1033338	Wade 2008		1
Doucecroft site, Kelvedon (KL 4)	Enclosures	An archaeological excavation uncovered two LIA enclosures, with a contemporary round house within one of them. One of the enclosures continued in use just into the Roman period and there also is evidence to of a round house of that date	586200	219100	erom	HABITATION	ENCLOSURE		ROUND HOUSE	Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	27517	Clarke 1998		1
Dovercourt - Clarke Road	Ditches	Roman 1st century occupation was attested by parts of at least four ditches containing pottery and a hearth in one the trenches (Trench 1)	623850	231170	erom	HABITATION	DITCH			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	12356	Barford		3
Dovercourt - Mill Bay	Red Hill	The site was a small mound c10m diameter, 0.3m high. There is a considerable amount of badly fragmented friable briquetage and a little Roman pottery. The latter includes one body sherd of `Early Roman' greyware as at Little Oakley	624750	229900	erom	INDUSTRY	SALT WORKING			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	24127	Barford		3

ETOZ - Early Roman

sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
Dudley Road	Coin	Roman coin found at Dudley Road	616900	215400	erom	HSG	COIN			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	10695	HER		4
Dutch Quarter	Street	The N-S Roman street. No buildings were visible under the street and it is therefore almost certain that the earliest surface was military, flanking the western ends of the military building found earlier at Lion Walk	599600	225100	erom	ROUTE SYSTEM	ROAD			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	35781	Crummy 1992		1
Earls Colne A	Brooch	Almost complete copper alloy Romano-British Dolphin brooch, dated from AD40-55.			erom	HSG	BROOCH			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100156	PAS Database	ESS-4061F6	4
East Clacton-on-Sea	Coin	Two Roman coins found at Butlin's holiday camp	616500	213800	erom	HSG	COIN			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	10692	HER		4
East of Broomhouse	Coin	Sestertius of Trajan found by Mr C.R.Behn of 193, Mersea Road, Colchester	603600	234100	erom	HSG	COIN			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	36377	HER		4
East of Dedham	Enclosure	Rectangular enclosure, showing as a cropmark, was trial trenched by Colchester Museum and produced 1st century AD pottery, a brooch of AD50-Flavian date and animal bones. Approximate size: 62 x 75 yds	606800	232530	erom	HABITATION	ENCLOSURE			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	9722	Blake 1960		1

ETOZ - Early Roman

sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
East side of Hill House Farm	Road	Course of Roman road to Colchester. Modern road follows same course. Connects with TL82-034, 8772	587800	220000	erom	ROUTE SYSTEM	ROAD			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	27836	HER		5
East Street, Coggeshall (CG4)	Ditch	The phase 1 (50-150) boundary ditch from the St Peter's School site was located in the N part of the East Street site	585440	222640	erom	HABITATION	DITCH			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	28044	Clarke 1986		2
Elm Park, Station Road	Field system	A Watching on the stripping of a new access road revealed multi-period remains which were subsequently excavated. Features recorded included a series of late Iron age and early Roman field boundary ditches	605500	228600	erom	HABITATION	FIELD SYSTEM			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	1033065	Brooks 1996		2
Elmstead Hall	Coin	Gold coin of Nero, found in ploughed field W of the church, near the manor house, in 1941	606300	226000	erom	HSG	COIN			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	8269	HER		4
Everetts Brickyard	Well	Timber well disclosed here in 1955 by removal of overburden. Part of the upper fill of the well was excavated and may have produced much of the pottery found. Finds dating from 1st to 3rd century AD suggesting 3rd century AD date of infilling	600100	225600	erom	HABITATION	OCCUPATION			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	24031	HER		5

sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
Fordham	Brooch	Incomplete copper alloy Romano-British trumpet brooch, date from the mid first century AD and lasted until the second century			erom	HSG	BROOCH			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100157	PAS Database	ESS-F9ECB5	4
Gilberd School	Legionary barracks	Excavations in the NW corner of Insula 17a revealed traces of a succession of Roman buildings. The earliest is a legionary barrack block, built c.AD 44. traces of pre-Boudican timber-framed structures	599300	225300	erom	MILITARY STRUCTURE	RECTANGULAR STRUCTURE			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	35817	Crummy 1992		1
Gosbecks - Fort	Fort	Roman fort possibly dating to the conquest period. The site consists of a rectangular defensive ditch (on three sides) with a fourth side being the bank of the dyke	596300	222700	erom	MILITARY STRUCTURE	FORT			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	33810	Wilson 1977		1
Gosbecks Iron Age and Romano-British site	Religious sanctuary	In the C1 or C2 BC the site was enclosed by the Heath Farm Dyke. central settlement area surrounded by field systems to which it was linked by a complex network of trackways. An early feature of the site was a religious sanctuary	596900	222400	erom	HABITATION	FIELD SYSTEM		ENCLOSURE	Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	33795	Hull 1958		1
Great Bromley A	Brooch	Damaged and incomplete roman cast copper alloy bow brooch. Dated to the 1st century AD			erom	HSG	BROOCH			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100158	PAS Database	ESS-658BC6	4
Great Bromley B	Brooch	Incomplete (late 1st to 2nd century) cast copper alloy headstud brooch			erom	HSG	BROOCH			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100159	PAS Database	ESS-11BF24	4
Great Bromley C	Harness Fitting	A fragment of a cast copper alloy covered loop Roman terret mount			erom	HSG	HARNESS			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100160	PAS Database	ESS-128DD6	4

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sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
Great Bromley D	Coin	Silver Roman Republican denarius serratus of the moneyer Q. Antonius Balbus, Rome, 83-82 BC			erom	HSG	COIN			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100161	PAS Database	ESS-2D16B4	4
Grove House	Cremation	Urn containing cremation, base of another found in 1926, in the garden of Tregunter	608900	224300	erom	RELIGIOUS	CREMATION			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	8892	Hull 1963		1
Grymes Dyke	Earthwork	Added to the dyke system after the Roman conquest, perhaps in two phases, as the new outer perimeter. Two Roman roads cross it	596000	224900	erom	BOUNDARY	DYKE			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	33775	Hawkes & Crummy 1995		1
Gutteridge Wood, Weeley	Ditches and cremations	Romano- British features comprised ditches and cremations. Two cremations were associated with pottery of late 1st and early 2nd century AD. The average surviving depth of the cremations was between 0.05m - 0.13m	614000	221000	erom	HABITATIO N	DITCH	RELIGIOU S	CREMATI ON	Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	1033336	Wade 2008		1
Harwich A	Coin	Roman Coin: Sestertius of Trajan, dating 98-117AD			erom	HSG	COIN			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100163	PAS Database	ESS-7EFCC1	4
Haselmere	Coin	Roman coin; AS of Claudius found in 1935	590380	214970	erom	HSG	COIN			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	33409	HER		4

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sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
Head Street, `Kentons'	Building?	One stanchion hole cut through some Boudican destruction debris, the burnt floor of a Boudican building and part of a later gravel packed Roman foundation	599380	225180	erom	HABITATION	STRUCTURE			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	36967	Crummy 1992, p793		1
High Street, Cups Hotel	Building	Early N-S Roman street observed in section, also the earliest Roman wall was timber-framed infilled with fragments of segmental bricks and had been burnt in AD 60	599560	225230	erom	HABITATION	STRUCTURE			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	35684	Crummy 1992		2
Hill Farm	Farmstead and structure	Number of rectilinear enclosures noted on the aerial photographs one proved to be a Late Iron Age/Romano-British farmstead, with two entrances and a central circular house gully, c.13m in diameter. The house had an east facing entrance with porch	592100	211700	erom	HABITATION	FARMSTEAD		ROUND HOUSE	Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	33471	Adkins 1985		2
Hill Farm - Malting Barn	Ditch	Excavation of a length of ditch uncovered during renovation of Malting Barn dated to the mid C1 AD and produced both Iron Age and Roman pottery fragments including Arretine ware and an amphora handle	597920	219620	erom	HABITATION	DITCH			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	33573	HER		5

ETOZ - Early Roman

sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
Hill Farm, Tendring	Enclosures with structures	Two enclosures which possibly included buildings were associated a field system ditches. The majority of ditches were actually two or more ditches running along the same alignment and recut a number of times	613300	223700	erom	HABITATION	ENCLOSURE			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	1033485	Clarke 2004		2
Holly Lodge	Coin	Sesterce, probably of Hadrian, found in 1930. Found in ploughing a field at Holly Lodge. Has temple on reverse	608480	229100	erom	HSG	COIN			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	8724	HER		4
Hollytrees Meadow	Rubbish pit	Midden heap almost entirely of oyster shells was found 118ft from the gate and proved to be the overflow of a rubbish pit (pit 1) - circular, 8ft deep, 8ft in diameter, and full almost entirely of oyster shells and pottery	600000	225550	erom	HABITATION	OCCUPATION			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	36091	Hull 1958, p91, 118		1
Horkesley Green	Coin	Coin - Claudius as Minerva	598650	232190	erom	HSG	COIN			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	29383	HER		4
Hundred Acre Field	Enclosures	A series of ditched rectangular enclosures were added in the first half of the C1 to the now largely silted-up Bronze Age enclosure. Occupation appears to have continued until the mid C2, and be connected with pottery manufacture	605800	229000	erom	HABITATION	ENCLOSURE			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	12717	Hinchcliffe 1981		2

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sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
Jacklin's Café	Shop	Large amounts of broken burnt pottery, melted glass vessels, found during the construction of the cafe. They were stored in stacks, apparently as part of shop stock. Destroyed by Boudican revolt	599500	225200	erom	HABITATIO N	OCCUPATION			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	35697	Crummy 1986		2
Kelvedon	Coin	Reputed find of many early Roman coins, including four republican denarii	586610	218880	erom	HSG	COIN			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	26717	HER		4
Kelvedon - housing estate	Pits	Romano-British pits found in October 1935 while digging drainage trenches for a housing estate at Kelvedon. Pits also contained Roman pottery and coins of C1-C3	586200	218600	erom	HABITATIO N	OCCUPATION			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	26684	HER		5
Kelvedon Area J	Enclosure and Cemetery	Enclosure and square structure replaced by a group of kilns and later in the mid 1st century AD a cemetery defined by boundary ditches included both inhumations and cremations	586384	218555	erom	HABITATIO N	ENCLOSURE	RELIGIOU S	CEMETA RY	Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	40180	Rodwell 1988, p15-27		1
Kelvedon Hall Lane	Kiln	A small C1 kiln producing grey ware was found	587200	215700	erom	INDUSTRY	SALT WORKING			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	26833	Rodwell 1982		2

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sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
Kelvedon Roman cemeteries	Cemeteries	There are four separate cemeteries known from the immediate environs of the town as well as various isolated burials. The south-western and south-eastern cemetery lay outside the town and cut the ditch	586000	218000	erom	RELIGIOUS	CEMETARY			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	1031968	Rodwell 1988		1
Kelvedon Roman fort	Fort	The Rodwell excavations identified what was interpreted as a military-style ditch, associated with military equipment, dating to the mid-first century AD. This has been interpreted by the excavator as a fort, post-Boudican in date	586230	218620	erom	MILITARY STRUCTURE	FORT			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	1031963	Eddy 1982		2
Kelvedon Roman town	Minor road	The built-up area appears to have developed along the minor road rather than the main road. It has been suggested that it may have originated as a vicus located on the eastern side of the fort	586400	218800	erom	ROUTE SYSTEM	ROAD			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	1031965	Rodwell 1988		1
Kelvedon Roman town defences	Defensive ditch	The south-western corner of a large defensive ditch, 5m wide and 2m deep, was excavated in Eddy's Trenches A and B. The Roman road passed through the centre of the town enclosure, presumably with gates at the east and west ramparts	586400	218800	erom	BOUNDARY	DEFENSIVE DITCH			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	1031964	Eddy 1982		2

ETOZ - Early Roman

sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
Kelvedon temple	Structure	A small round building in the south-eastern quadrant of the town, may have had its origins in the Late Iron Age. A second more sophisticated building survived til the 2nd century	586430	218870	erom	HABITATION	ROUND HOUSE			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	1031966	Medleycott 1999		1
Kelvedon, Excavations by Rodwell 1968-73 Site 1 Areas E & F	Pits	6 pits with straight steep sides and flat bottoms and had been filled with pottery of Flavian/Trajanic date. This was overlain by a floor of made of large rounded cobbles. A trench associated with the gravel floor appears to have been a beam slot	586430	218900	erom	HABITATION	OCCUPATION			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	40169	Rodwell 1988		1
Kelvedon, Excavations by Rodwell 1968-73 Site 2 Area B	Quarry pits, ditches and structure	Post-conquest activity took several forms including quarry pits, ditches, a structure indicated by a pair of parallel timber-slots and a track. The ditches and the pit both produced pottery of Neronian-early Flavian	586450	219000	erom	HABITATION	RECTANGULAR STRUCTURE		OCCUPATION	Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	40173	Rodwell 1988		1
Kirkee McMunn Barracks	Ditches	The features recorded date from the first century AD, these include parts of two shallow ditches containing Sheepen-type pottery and two pits	598850	223100	erom	HABITATION	DITCH			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	42238	Shimmin 1998		2
Langham A	Brooch	Roman cast copper alloy dolphin brooch, circa AD 40-100			erom	HSG	BROOCH			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100166	PAS Database	ESS-B25DA2	4

ETOZ - Early Roman

sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
Langley Green	Gully	A shallow gully was uncovered containing dark soil with pottery, including a small thin-walled beaker, mid C1 in date. The course of the gully was traced for about 20ft as an arc of a circle perhaps 25ft in diameter. Two small possible postholes	587800	221800	erom	HABITATION	DITCH			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	28101	McMaster et al 1974		3
Lexden	Brooches	Close to St Clare Drive were found a fine series of imported Roman bronze brooches of early Claudian date just subsequent to the conquest	597500	225000	erom	HSG	BROOCH			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	34113	HER		4
Lexden - Moat Farm	Tile kiln	Roman tile kilns excavated by the CAG which uncovered the remains of two tile kilns of rectangular updraught type. They are dated by the pottery to the end of the C1 AD	598300	226400	erom	INDUSTRY	POTTERY MANUFACTURE			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	34274	Holbert 1971		2
Lexden - Roman cemetery	Cemetery	One phase of the cemetery ended c.AD 50 but burials began again in the Flavian period, in a very small way, and end in the C3	597500	225000	erom	RELIGIOUS	CEMETARY			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	34094	Hull 1963		1
Little Bromley Hall	Coin	Gold coin commemorating Drusus senior, found on Little Bromley Farm. Gold coin found about 1890, in Colchester Museum	609200	227900	erom	HSG	COIN			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	8101	HER		4

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sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
Little Oakley Roman villa	Villa	The first phase follows Iron Age occupation of the site and comprises a series of timber buildings: a sunken-floored hut and three beam slots from a ground level building (Building 2), possibly aisled	622200	229200	erom	HABITATION	VILLA			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	12087	Barford 2002		2
Long Wyre Street, 2	Defence earthwork	Rampart later demolished. An E-W street and a street running N from it were probably laid out then. After 60-61 a street running S was built and clay walled buildings on stone and mortar plinths were built on either side of it	599800	225100	erom	HABITATION	DEFENSIVE DITCH			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	35796	Smith 1979		2
Martell's Quarry	Field System	Traces of a roman field system were located together with some later features	605250	227570	erom	HABITATION	FIELD SYSTEM			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	1032423	Griffin 2002		3
Mersea Channel	Red Hill and Enclosure	Large earthwork, three sides of a rectangle surviving. A linear earthwork runs from this to the sea wall. There is a roughly centrally positioned red hill within this enclosure. Presumable this would have provided a safer haven for livestock	602278	215458	erom	INDUSTRY	SALT WORKING			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	1039810	Heppell and Brown 2001		3

ETOZ - Early Roman

sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
Montana Nursery	Ditches	Excavation at Montana Nursery recovered a sequence of straight sided ditches of early Roman date. Ditches produced pottery broadly datable to the period 'early Roman', perhaps mid to late 1st century	616600	218200	erom	HABITATION	DITCH			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	1031016	Wade 2008		1
Near Beverley Road	Cemetery	A Roman walled cemetery dated c.AD100 found during excavations between 1934 and 1940 by AF Hall in the garden of Gurney Benham House. There are both cremations and inhumation burials	598690	224830	erom	RELIGIOUS	CEMETARY			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	34473	Hull 1958, p254		1
Near Creffield Road	Inhumation	Roman terracotta figures found with a child inhumation, including figures of Hercules, together with pottery and 36 coins of Agrippa and Claudius dated by Hull to 43 AD	598640	224710	erom	RELIGIOUS	CREMATION			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	34461	Hull 1958, p254		1
Near Fitzwalter Road	Earthworks	Earthworks east of Althancealgach House. A short length of curving ditch dated to the Claudius-Nero period was uncovered by Hull during excavation on the proposed site of a school	597900	224800	erom	BOUNDARY	DYKE			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	34539	Hull 1958, p271-3		1
Near Golf Course	Ring ditches	Cropmarks of ring ditches, now quarried away, are known from this field. All sherds are weathered, abraded and chemically eroded. The pottery is mostly early Roman and indicates occupation of the site in C1AD	615800	214200	erom	HABITATION	ROUND HOUSE			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	24037	Barford		3

ETOZ - Early Roman

sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
Near Kelvedon	Coin	Roman coin of Domitian. In Colchester Museum	586310	218610	erom	HSG	COIN			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	26687	HER		4
Near Kelvedon B	Coin	Roman coin of Claudius (as Minerva) found in 1861	586370	218610	erom	HSG	COIN			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	26670	HER		4
Near St Osyth	Coins	Coins of Vespasian, Marcus Aurelius as Caesar, Gordian III, and Constantius II, found on north side of Clacton road opposite Saxon site	612670	216000	erom	HSG	COIN			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	2895	HER		4
North Cemetery	Cemetery	In 1928-9 the museum recovered 32 graves consisting of groups or single vessels. None of these are remarkably early and the cemetery seems to have been used to a moderate extent fairly evenly from the end of the C1	599000	226000	erom	RELIGIOUS	CEMETARY			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	36855	Collingwood & Taylor 1931, p236		2
North East Gate	Gate	Postern gate first found and excavated by Dr Duncan in 1853. Re-excavated 1929. The 1927-9 excavations showed that the road and a drain below it were contemporary with the gate	600110	225570	erom	BOUNDARY	DEFENSES			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	35466	Hull 1958, p36-41		1

ETOZ - Early Roman

sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
North west of Bower Hall Farm	Red Hill	The principal features of the saltern are a substantial mound surrounded by a square bank and an earthwork causeway which runs from this to the sea wall. Excavations suggest red hill is of early Roman date while enclosure might be later	602200	215410	erom	INDUSTRY	SALT WORKING			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	36331	Fawn et al 1990		3
Nun's Wood	Structures	Remains of one or more Roman buildings represented by a tessellated pavement, box flue tiles and pottery. 0.75 miles north west of St Osyth Priory and 100yds north west "of the pond in Nun's Wood	611500	216800	erom	HABITATION	STRUCTURE			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	10190	Rodwell 1978		1
Oakland Avenue	Ditches	Late iron age/Roman ditches	596410	224180	erom	HABITATION	DITCH			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	36249	Hawkes & Crummy 1995		1
Old Hall Marshes	Red Hills	Eight Red Hills located and a salt working site	597500	212500	erom	INDUSTRY	SALT WORKING			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	1032465	Barker 1999		2

ETOZ - Early Roman

sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
Old Moze dock area	Occupation	Five trenches excavated into the mound. The sections show a complex stratigraphy, indicating a complex formation process. Finds included early Roman pottery - early greyware, Colchester flagon sherds, a rim sherd of Central Gaulish Samian	620130	224790	erom	HABITATION	OCCUPATION			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	12874	Farrands 1959		2
Old Post Office 29-39 Head Street	Fort	Five trenches opened revealing evidence of two possible phases of the fort prior to the Boudican revolt and 1st and 2nd Century construction	599360	225080	erom	MILITARY STRUCTURE	FORT			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	1035158	Moore & Howe 1998		3
Possible Roman road between Coggeshall and Kelvedon	Road	Possible Roman road between Coggeshall and Kelvedon. The course appears to follow in part the modern road and then a footpath	585750	221039	erom	ROUTE SYSTEM	ROAD			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	18809	HER		5
Prettygate Road	Coin	Claudian coin	597180	224400	erom	HSG	COIN			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	34320	HER		4
Rear of Lawson Villas, High St. (KL8), Kelvedon	Ditches	Features included 2 large ditches, one v-shaped and a palisade trench. Finds included pottery, a copper alloy ring, some brick and tile, iron fragments and two pieces of glass	586300	218910	erom	HABITATION	DITCH			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	42092	Ennis 2002		3

ETOZ - Early Roman

sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
Red Hill Site	Red Hill	The presence of red earth was confirmed by the use of an auger. The Red Hill has been much disturbed. It is under grass and no significant pieces of bricketage were visible	620800	227000	erom	INDUSTRY	SALT WORKING			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	1034040	CAG 1991		2
Reservoir, Great Horkesley	Structures / postholes	Site lies 1.5km north of Great Horkesley, adjacent to a Roman road. Early Roman post-holes dated to the 1st-early 2nd C were recorded, but no significant patterns were identified	596840	231090	erom	HABITATIO N	OCCUPATION			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	1035662	Allen 2003		3
Rose and Crown Public House	Coin	Coin of Nero, found in the garden here	597500	232000	erom	HSG	COIN			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	29275	HER		4
Royal Grammar School	Ditch	Prior to the construction of the temple-tomb, a major ditch crossed the site in the 1st century AD, after which the site was used for the cremation of human remains in the 2nd century AD	598750	224800	erom	HABITATIO N	DITCH			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	1038156	Brooks 2006		2
Royal Grammar School Playing Fields	Temple	A rectangular temple was built in the centre of the enclosure represented by a polygonal ditch almost 3ft deep with an entrance on the E side. The only stratified dateable objects reported are 2 coins, one of Domitian and one of Hadrian	598270	224380	erom	RELIGIOUS	TEMPLE			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	36816	Rodwell 1980, p258		1

sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
Scheduled monument East of Ardleigh	Ditch	A ditch was recorded for c 38' of its length, with an entrance occurring half way along. Much Roman pot was recovered, pre Trajanic in date. Project- ed this ditch would continue over Vince's Farm and join with a short length excavated there in 1956	605560	228720	erom	HABITATIO N	DITCH			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	12217	Erith & Holbert 1965		2
Scheduled monument East of Ardleigh	Brooches	In the field N of the road, 400ft NW of spot level 120, Mr Erith found two C1st Roman brooches, with fused blue glass and pieces of bone that may be calcined. This may represent a burial	605750	228550	erom	HSG	BROOCH	RELIGIOU S	CREMATI ON	Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	12708	HER		4
Scheduled monument East of Ardleigh B	Structure and kiln	A circular timber building was constructed over a number of Bronze Age barrows which had been levelled. small simple kiln was excavated into the side of a ditch in the adjoining trackway, which was possibly ditched for the first time at this period	605600	228500	erom	HABITATIO N	STRUCTURE	INDUSTR Y	POTTER Y MANUFA CTURE	Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	12690	Hinchliffe 1981		2
Scheduled monument East of Ardleigh C	Kiln	Roman pottery kiln, pear-shaped, c7' x 3' internally, with a central support 2'6" long projecting from the back wall. It was built of clay. Most of the associated pottery was coarse ware	605620	228280	erom	INDUSTRY	POTTERY MANUFACTURE			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	12724	Couchman & Savory 1983		2

ETOZ - Early Roman

sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
Sheepen	Structures and wells	A group of hut sites and a well, the latter lined with oak planks with corner posts, some 4'6" deep, dated 43-48AD	598630	225860	erom	HABITATION	ROUND HOUSE			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	34003	Hawkes & Hull 1947, p61 & 126		1
Sheepen B	Well	Roman well, eight feet deep lined with sawn oak with shoulder jointing. The earliest material from the fill is dated AD 49-61	598840	225680	erom	HABITATION	OCCUPATION			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	34006	Hawkes & Hull 1947, p107 & 126		1
Sheepen C	Pottery kiln	Roman pottery kiln which had been destroyed still containing its last load of pottery, and dated 61AD	598740	225660	erom	INDUSTRY	POTTERY MANUFACTURE			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	34022	Hawkes & Hull 1947		1
Sheepen Cemetery	Cremation cemetery	Excavation in 1971 produced five pre-Flavian cremation groups. Poor condition but some indication may have lain within an enclosure delimited by a ditch or possibly even a robbed out wall	598600	225600	erom	RELIGIOUS	CEMETARY		CREMATION	Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	33968	Niblett 1985		1
Sheepen D	Tile kiln	Roman tile kiln discovered during excavation in 1934. It was not fully excavated but dated to AD 50-61	598580	225800	erom	INDUSTRY	POTTERY MANUFACTURE			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	34028	Hull 1963		1

ETOZ - Early Roman

sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
Sheepen Farm	Settlement	Iron Age and Early Roman settlement was protected to the east by the Sheepen Dyke and the floruit is dated to the first two-thirds of the C1 AD. contained several important industrial complexes including pottery kilns and a mint of Cunobelin	598500	225500	erom	HABITATION	ENCLOSURE	INDUSTRY	POTTERY MANUFACTURE, COIN MANUFACTURE	Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	33959	Hawkes & Hull 1947		1
Sheepen Military industrial site	Military metal working	Roman military metal working site. Site of a Roman armoury comprising large hollows with a timber structure in use as a military metal working site. The finds include all the litter of bronze and iron working. Dated AD49-61	598530	225570	erom	MILITARY STRUCTURE	METAL WORKING			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	33973	Hawkes & Hull 1947		1
South East Kelvedon	Brooches	Three Colchester style brooches from Kelvedon, unprovenanced, detailed in sale guide	586000	218000	erom	HSG	BROOCH			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	25926	HER		4
South of Downhouse Farm	Ditches and pits	Pipeline crossed part of a cropmark complex of field systems, trackways and pits (site 3068?). The sections of three ditches and two pits were observed, demonstrating that the field and track system was Roman and of several phases	612280	230050	erom	HABITATION	OCCUPATION			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	24048	Barford		3

sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
South side of Scheduled monument East of Ardleigh	Cremation	SE of ring ditch 8 was a Roman pot, form Cam 268, buried complete	605390	228340	erom	RELIGIOUS	CREMATION			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	12203	Hull 1963		1
St Botolph's Vicarage	Cremations	Four vessels (cremation urns) at least have been found in the garden of St Botolph's Vicarage. They are of C1 and C2 date. Though ashes are not recorded from them they were probably present	600250	225130	erom	RELIGIOUS	CREMATION			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	36857	Hull 1958, p258		1
St Helena School Drama Block	Kiln	Three cut features of early Roman date including a ditch and post-hole were recorded. Pottery, animal bone, burnt flint, a coin, slag and Roman tile suggest domestic use. Features dated between 50-60AD	598948	225810	erom	INDUSTRY	POTTERY MANUFACTURE			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	1038150	Orr 2005		2
St Leonards Church, Beamont Hall	Coin	Coin of either Antoninus Pius or Marcus Aurelius, found in 1929 just S of the church.	618020	224610	erom	HSG	COIN			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	11047	HER		4
St Nicholas' Church	Building	The Roman building was not a church but was part of a major Roman public building of as yet undetermined use. The earliest buildings were C1 of clay blocks which had burnt, presumably in the Boudican sack	599770	225190	erom	HABITATION	STRUCTURE			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	35601	Hull 1960		1

ETOZ - Early Roman

sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
St Nicholas Passage	Wall and Pit	Possibly pre-Boudican daub wall, burnt in AD60/1, a burnt surface of a ?pit nearby and a foundation of flint, all at a depth of c.2m	599760	225180	erom	HABITATION	OCCUPATION			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	37034	Crummy 1992, p891		1
St Peter's School, Coggeshall (CG2)	Ditches and gullies	A substantial N-S ditch was parallel to a gully 12m to the E. Gullies and a further major ditch represented internal boundaries and a trackway approached the larger of the two ditches from the W.	585450	222880	erom	HABITATION	OCCUPATION			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	28041	Clarke 1985		3
St. Mary's Hospital, Balkerne Hill, Colchester	Structure	The 1997 evaluation demonstrates that there are stratified Roman remains on the South edge of the site very close to modern ground level. In the central part of the site there is evidence for a burnt Boudican structure	599100	225300	erom	HABITATION	STRUCTURE			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	1033305	Brooks 1997		2
Stanley Hall	Ditch	Roman settlement investigated after initial discovery by a farmer during deep ploughing in 1959. In 1962 more substantial work was carried out. To the north of the building, a ditch was located. This seemed to have been dug by c.50AD.	584000	232600	erom	HABITATION	DITCH			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	29765	Smallwood 1964		3

sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
Star and Fleece	Quarry and trackway	An excavation on land proposed for residential development on the site of a former Hotel and Brewery Complex. This includes a large poss quarry and a gravel trackway	586460	219120	erom	INDUSTRY	QUARRY	ROUTE SYSTEM	TRACKWAY	Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	1033471	HAT 1999		3
Temple of Claudius	Temple	Located beneath Norman castle. The temple was undoubtedly octastyle and Crummy suggests a Eustyle arrangement. The temple stood within a precinct	599850	225320	erom	RELIGIOUS	TEMPLE			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	35410	Drury 1984		1
The Avenue	Cremations	Workmen engaged in cutting a pipe trench reported a find of two Roman cremation urns under the pavement adjacent to numbers 15 to 17, The Avenue	598430	224800	erom	RELIGIOUS	CREMATION			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	36178	Crummy 1992, p344		1
The Avenue, 15-17	Cremation	In Mar 1975 workmen cutting a pipe trench reported find of two Roman cremations under the pavement adjacent to Nos 15-17 The Avenue. They comprised two Flavian cremation urns with contents	598430	224800	erom	RELIGIOUS	CREMATION			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	36986	Crummy 1992, p809		1
The Chase (Trench J), Kelvedon	Ditches	Intersection of three main ditch systems of this period was found. A Late Iron Age or early Roman four-post structure overlay a Late Iron Age building	585200	218600	erom	HABITATION	RECTANGULAR STRUCTURE		FIELD SYSTEM	Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	26699	Rodwell 1988		1

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sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
The North-east cemetery	Cemetery	8 graves are listed from this site in the museum, the earliest Flavian. The cemetery seems to have been used at intervals from the late C1 onwards	599000	225000	erom	RELIGIOUS	CEMETARY			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	36856	Hull 1958, p278-8		1
Triple Dyke	Earthworks	This source states that Triple Dyke was added to the dyke system after the Roman conquest to strengthen the line of Shrub End Dyke at its northern end	596500	224800	erom	BOUNDARY	DYKE			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	33770	HER		5
Turner Rise, Colchester	Cremation	The inumed cremation is of broad C1- C3 date and probably belonged (Together with earlier urns found in the 1840's; see PRN 11799) to a widespread cemetery area.	599400	226450	erom	RELIGIOUS	CEMETARY			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	1033258	Shimmin 1996		2
Vicinity of Elmstead Market	Coins	Coin of Claudius, Minerva type, found in garden, Elmstead Market	606000	224000	erom	HSG	COIN			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	8095	HER		4
Vicinity of Great Bentley	Coin	Coin, dupondius of Nero, corroded	611000	221000	erom	HSG	COIN			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	10767	HER		4

ETOZ - Early Roman

sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
Warren's Farm	Ditch	Precursor to a 2nd century villa, 1st century features include an E-W ditch contained pottery of mid C1-mid C2, a stone foundation parallel to this, and presumably contemporary, had been cut by a small drainage channel running into the ditch	588940	225400	erom	HABITATION	VILLA			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	27977	Wilson & Wright 1968		2
West Clacton reservoir and pumping station	Occupation	An evaluation by 13 trenches revealed an area of prehistoric and Roman occupation dating from the Middle Iron Age to the Roman period (not necessarily continuously) which is probably marginal to cropmark sites to the east and west	611700	218600	erom	HABITATION	OCCUPATION			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	1038509	Brooks & Holloway 2006		2
West House Farm	Coin	Claudian coin found in cottage, 1963	602510	220160	erom	HSG	COIN			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	8410	HER		4
West Mersea	Coin	Illegible sestertius of Hadrian. Col Mus identification no.5722	602500	212500	erom	HSG	COIN			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	36385	HER		4

sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
West of Wellwick Farm	Enclosure	Excavations in 1979 revealed a large square or rectangular enclosure. A ditched trackway to the NW had 2 stone buildings at its end. At the entrance to the enclosure another ditched trackway SW-NE to the Roman road from Colchester to Clacton.	612200	216800	erom	HABITATION	ENCLOSURE			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	10424	McMaster 1982		2
Wick Farm	Buildings and Early camp	It consists of Claudian-Neronian material from pits, parts of a cemetery, two timber-lined wells and a possible landing place. There were also at least three Roman houses with hypocausts and tessellated pavements and a bronze vessel	604700	219400	erom	HABITATION	ENCLOSURE		STRUCTURE	Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	7367	Hull 1938, p189		2
Wick Farm, Ardleigh, Essex	Occupation	Excavation in 2007 revealed largely Iron Age occupation with a small area of Late Iron Age/early Roman activity in the nw of the site, indicated by pottery, pits/post holes, gullies and trenches.	603300	229600	erom	HABITATION	OCCUPATION			Essex County Council Historic Environment Record	1036591	Germany 2007b		3
Wix A	Brooch	A fragment of a Roman (1st to 2nd century) cast copper alloy bow brooch.			erom	HSG	BROOCH			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100169	PAS Database	ESS-E663E7	4

ETOZ - Early Roman

sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
Wix B	Mount	Roman cast copper alloy pelta shaped mount. It has a maximum width of 18.86mm. There is a worn break at the apex. The patina is light green.			erom	HSG	MOUNT			Portable Antiquities Scheme	100170	PAS Database	ESS-FE4837	4

Appendix 10: WSTOZ Database

WTOZ - Middle Iron Age

sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
Adam's Copse, Stoughton	Field system	Field systems represented by lynchets broadly of a Iron Age / Romano-British date	474340	112520	mia	HABITATION		FIELD SYSTEMS		Chichester Historic environment record	59	HER		5
Amberley	Brooch	An incomplete copper alloy La Tene I type brooch, dating from circa 4th to 3rd century BC.			mia	HSG		BROOCH		Portable Antiquities Scheme Database	100000	PAS Database	PAS id: SUSS-2DEC26	4
Bilsham	MIA unenclosed settlement	MIA occupation site dated to 5th to 3rd C BC by pottery was found in 1984 in a field W of Bilsham	496540	102450	mia	HABITATION		UNENCLOSED		West Sussex Historic Environment Record	1473	HER		4
Brockhurst Bottom, East Dean A	Field system	Field systems represented by lynchets broadly of a Iron Age / Romano-British date	491600	114500	mia	HABITATION		FIELD SYSTEMS		Chichester Historic environment record	2628	HER		5
Brockhurst Bottom, East Dean B	Field system	Field systems represented by lynchets broadly of a Iron Age / Romano-British date	491600	114900	mia	HABITATION		FIELD SYSTEMS		Chichester Historic environment record	2636	HER		5
Byes Copse, West Dean	Field system	Field system as visible on aerial photographs and represented by lychets of a broadly Iron Age / Romano-British date	486100	114900	mia	HABITATION		FIELD SYSTEMS		Chichester Historic environment record	1199	HER		5
Canal Basin, Chichester	MIA occupation	While monitoring ground works at Canal Wharf, a gully-like feature, dated to the MIA was seen just south of the site	485983	104044	mia	HABITATION		OCCUPATION		Chichester Historic environment record	4227	Pine 2005		3
Carne's Seat, Westhampnett	Mid to Late IA Enclosure	An Iron Age enclosure with three concentric ditches on Carne's Seat was revealed by aerial photography in 1976. Excavations were carried out in 1984	488760	109450	mia	HABITATION		ENCLOSURE		Chichester Historic environment record	2381	Holgate 1986a		1

WTOZ - Middle Iron Age

sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
Chalkpit Lane, Lavant	MIA unenclosed settlement	Pits and postholes of a small unenclosed Iron Age settlement were found at Chalkpit Lane, including up to 13 round houses and granaries. A possible communal space was noted during excavations	486960	109450	mia	HABITATION		UNENCLOSED		Chichester Historic environment record	2401	Kenny 1993		3
Chidham Harbour A	IA & Roman Salt Production	Mid Iron Age to Roman salt production site excavated in 1989 by A.Hadley. The excavation revealed large quantities of briquetage and domestic containers	477854	104210	mia	INDUSTRY		SALT PRODUCTION		Chichester Historic environment record	207	Bradley 1992		1
Chidham Harbour B	IA & Roman Salt Production	An Iron Age & Roman salt production site excavated in 1989 (site B) revealed mainly briquetage and pottery but also three features, one of which contained alternating layers of burnt and unburnt clay	477980	103480	mia	INDUSTRY		SALT PRODUCTION		Chichester Historic environment record	208	Bradley 1992		1
Chilgrove 1, West Dean	MIA Habitation	Evidence of Iron Age occupation, a hearth and posthole remains of a circular building, was found during the excavation of the Chilgrove 1 Roman villa. Possible field systems lie to the south	483440	112440	mia	HABITATION		ROUNDHOUSE	FARMSTEAD	Chichester Historic environment record	647	Down 1979		2
Clanfield	Occupation site - pits and postholes	Six pits and seven postholes dating to the 3rd to 2nd centuries BC during work on the A3 - data is low grade	471600	117050	mia	HABITATION		OCCUPATION		Hampshire Archaeology and Historic Buildings Record	39837	HER		3
Cocking Down	Field system	Field systems represented by lynchets broadly of a Iron Age date	486500	116500	mia	HABITATION		FIELD SYSTEMS		Chichester Historic environment record	1128	HER		5

WTOZ - Middle Iron Age

sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
Creek Field	Salt working salt	Two ditches and a large hollow containing a large amount of pottery, briquetage and pot boilers suggesting a salt working site	471800	103550	mia	INDUSTRY		SALT PRODUCTION		Hampshire Archaeology and Historic Buildings Record	23546	HER		2
Deanlane End, Stoughton	Field system	Field systems represented by lynchets broadly of a Iron Age / Romano-British date	474250	112150	mia	HABITATION		FIELD SYSTEMS		Chichester Historic environment record	58	HER		5
Double Barn, West Dean	Field system	Field system as visible on aerial photographs and represented by lychets of a broadly Iron Age / Romano-British date	485100	113600	mia	HABITATION		FIELD SYSTEMS		Chichester Historic environment record	1221	HER		5
Drayton Sand and Gravel Pit, Oving B	Mid to Late IA occupation	Several ditches dating to the Mid to Late Iron Age were exposed during a watching brief in 2002	488288	104340	mia	HABITATION		OCCUPATION		Chichester Historic environment record	4136	Griffin 2002		3
Droke, East Dean	Field system	Field systems represented by lynchets broadly of a Iron Age / Romano-British date	492560	112640	mia	HABITATION		FIELD SYSTEMS		Chichester Historic environment record	2648	HER		5
E. of Downs Farm	Field system	Field system as visible on aerial photographs and represented by lychets of a broadly Iron Age / Romano-British date	481310	109470	mia	HABITATION		FIELD SYSTEMS		Chichester Historic environment record	1023	HER		5
Eartham	Brooch	An incomplete copper alloy La Tene I type brooch, dating from circa 4th-3rd century BC. The spring and head of the brooch are missing and the break is very worn			mia	HSG		BROOCH		Portable Antiquities Scheme Database	100001	PAS Database	PAS id: SUSS-DF00F6	4
Eartham B	Brooch	An incomplete copper alloy La Tene I type brooch, dating from circa 4th to 3rd century BC			mia	HSG		BROOCH		Portable Antiquities Scheme Database	100002	PAS Database	PAS id: SUSS-911483	4

WTOZ - Middle Iron Age

sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
East Dean	Field system	Field systems represented by lynchets broadly of a Iron Age / Romano-British date	490200	113600	mia	HABITATION		FIELD SYSTEMS		Chichester Historic environment record	2640	HER		5
East of Council depot, Westhampnett	MIA Ditch	A ditch dating to the middle iron age was exposed and recorded during evaluation and excavation conducted by ASE in 2004	488036	106040	mia	HABITATION		FIELD SYSTEMS		Chichester Historic environment record	7948	Priestly-Bell 2004a		1
Funtington Down	Field system	Field systems represented by lynchets broadly of a Iron Age / Romano-British date	480400	109900	mia	HABITATION		FIELD SYSTEMS		Chichester Historic environment record	1022	HER		5
Goodwood Park, Westhampnett	Field system	Field systems represented by lynchets broadly of a Iron Age / Romano-British date	488800	109400	mia	HABITATION		FIELD SYSTEMS		Chichester Historic environment record	2363	HER		5
Great Hidden Farm, Boxgrove	Enclosure	A probable Iron Age enclosure was observed in aerial photographs	489700	109300	mia	HABITATION		ENCLOSURE		Chichester Historic environment record	2382	King 1979		5
Halnaker Hill, Boxgrove	Banjo Enclosure	A 'banjo' enclosure with annexe NW. of Halnaker Hill is visible as a parch mark on an AP by Wishart	491620	109830	mia	HABITATION		ENCLOSURE		Chichester Historic environment record	1607	HER		5
Harting Hill	IA Habitation	An Iron Age habitation site consisting of 16 or 17 roundhouses was. dated to shortly after 250BC. Two huts sites were excavated in 1945 by H. Brightwell and P.A.M. Keef and measured 20' x 16' - may have been erected for some purpose other than human habit	479180	118550	mia	HABITATION		ROUNDHOUSE		Chichester Historic environment record	241	Keefe 1947		3
Hasler's Lane, West Dean	Field system	Field system as visible on aerial photographs and represented by lychets of a broadly Iron Age / Romano-British date	485300	112300	mia	HABITATION		FIELD SYSTEMS		Chichester Historic environment record	1220	HER		5

WTOZ - Middle Iron Age

sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
Hat Hill, Boxgrove	Field system	Field systems represented by lynchets broadly of a Iron Age / Romano-British date	490300	110400	mia	HABITATION		FIELD SYSTEMS		Chichester Historic environment record	2657	HER		5
Hat Hill, West Dean	Field system	Field system as visible on aerial photographs and represented by lychets of a broadly Iron Age / Romano-British date	486800	113700	mia	HABITATION		FIELD SYSTEMS		Chichester Historic environment record	1189	HER		5
Holt Down Plantation	Mid Iron Age stone structure	A drystone building dating to the middle iron age was excavated however its function remains obscure, possibly a dwelling or animal shelter	472430	117620	mia	HABITATION		RECTANGULAR HOUSE		Hampshire Archaeology and Historic Buildings Record	39824	Berkshire Archaeological Services 1998		3
Ide's Barn, East Dean	Field system	Field systems represented by lynchets broadly of a Iron Age / Romano-British date	492130	113350	mia	HABITATION		FIELD SYSTEMS		Chichester Historic environment record	2630	HER		5
Ingrams Farm	Ring	A mid-late Iron Age baldric ring, which would have been used as part of the composite belt, used to hang a sword. The cast copper alloy ring is very badly worn and corroded. The whole ring appears to have been cast as one piece, or alternatively wrought			mia	HSG		RING		Portable Antiquities Scheme Database	100009	PAS Database	PAS id: SUSS-D82452	4
Knight's Hill, Singleton	Field system	Field systems represented by lynchets broadly of a Iron Age / Romano-British date	487958	112155	mia	HABITATION		FIELD SYSTEMS		Chichester Historic environment record	1280	HER		5
Lamb Lea, East Dean	Field system	Field systems represented by lynchets broadly of a Iron Age / Romano-British date	491682	115161	mia	HABITATION		FIELD SYSTEMS		Chichester Historic environment record	1781	HER		5

WTOZ - Middle Iron Age

sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
Lavant	Brooch	An incomplete copper alloy La Tene I type brooch, dating from circa 4th to 3rd century BC			mia	HSG		BROOCH		Portable Antiquities Scheme Database	100010	PAS Database	PAS id: SUSS-940CE3	4
Lavant B	Brooch	An incomplete copper alloy La Tene I type brooch, dating from circa 4th to 3rd century BC			mia	HSG		BROOCH		Portable Antiquities Scheme Database	100011	PAS Database	PAS id: SUSS-96E258	4
Levin Down, Singleton	Field system	Field systems represented by lynchets broadly of a Iron Age / Romano-British date	488301	113856	mia	HABITATION		FIELD SYSTEMS		Chichester Historic environment record	1190	HER		5
Little Down Copse, Harting	Field system	Field systems represented by lynchets broadly of a Iron Age / Romano-British date	476140	116174	mia	HABITATION		FIELD SYSTEMS		Chichester Historic environment record	287	HER		5
Manor Farm Down, Cocking	Field system	Field systems represented by lynchets broadly of a Iron Age date	488320	116640	mia	HABITATION		FIELD SYSTEMS		Chichester Historic environment record	1137	HER		5
North Bersted	MIA unenclosed settlement	MIA to LIA settlement revealed through excavation in 1976. Drainage ditches formed the boundaries of a rectangular field and a 6m diameter roundhouse	49319	10102	mia	HABITATION		FARMSTEAD	ROUNDHOUSE	West Sussex Historic Environment Record	1429	Bedwin 1978		1
North Down	Field system	Field systems represented by lynchets broadly of a Iron Age / Romano-British date	494420	114500	mia	HABITATION		FIELD SYSTEMS		Chichester Historic environment record	2654	HER		5
Northney Road	Mid Iron Age Pyre activity	A area of burning was uncovered during a Watching Brief containing Mid Iron Age pottery and possibly relating to pyre activity	472400	103400	mia	RELIGIOUS		PYRE		Hampshire Archaeology and Historic Buildings Record	57314	Wessex Archaeology 2006c		3

WTOZ - Middle Iron Age

sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
S. of Horley Farm, Cocking	Field system	Field system as visible on aerial photographs and represented by lychets of a broadly Iron Age / Romano-British date	486880	117410	mia	HABITATION		FIELD SYSTEMS		Chichester Historic environment record	1117	HER		5
Selhurstpark Farm, Boxgrove A	MIA Enclosure	The remains of lynchets and fieldways serving an enclosure were seen on an AP of 1976 and excavated in 2005. The enclosure contained possible roundhouses and granaries and stretched from the MIA to 300 AD	492657	110348	mia	HABITATION		ENCLOSURE	ROUND HOUSE	Chichester Historic environment record	2660	Anelay 2006a		3
Shopwhyke, Oving	MIA unenclosed settlement	Excavations in 2000 and 2002 revealed evidence foe MIA roundhouses and other occupation (pits and ditches) and a LIA trackway	489147	105641	mia	HABITATION		UNENCLOSED		Chichester Historic environment record	4128	Sygrave 2002, Brown et al 2004		2
Singleton Forest, Singleton	Field system	Field systems represented by lynchets broadly of a Iron Age date	489000	115800	mia	HABITATION		FIELD SYSTEMS		Chichester Historic environment record	1140	HER		5
Stoke Clump	Field system	Field systems represented by lynchets broadly of a Iron Age / Romano-British date	483300	109400	mia	HABITATION		FIELD SYSTEMS		Chichester Historic environment record	1068	HER		5
Stoke Clump, Funtington	Field system	Field systems represented by lynchets broadly of a Iron Age / Romano-British date	483048	109448	mia	HABITATION		FIELD SYSTEMS		Chichester Historic environment record	3018	HER		5
SW of Langford Farm, Lavant	MIA Brooch	A silver Iron age coin and a C4-C3BC La Tene brooch were found during metal detecting in a field to the SW of Langford Farm, Lavant in early 2008	483836	109561	mia	HSG		BROOCH		Chichester Historic environment record	6817	HER		4

WTOZ - Middle Iron Age

sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
Tarmac Quarry, Shopwyke	MIA unenclosed settlement	Iron Age settlement at Shopwhyke is inferred from a concentration of pits and a posthole containing IA pottery	488690	105800	mia	HABITATION		UNENCLOSED		Chichester Historic environment record	2411	Kenny 1991		3
The Trundle	Hillfort	Iron Age hillfort - polygonal univallate with two entrances (with internal flanking earthworks) and overlying a Neolithic causewayed enclosure	487740	111070	mia	HABITATION		HILLFORT		Chichester Historic environment record	1214	Curwen 1929, 1931, Oswald 1995		2
Tourner Bury	Univallate hillfort	A 3.5 hectare univallate hillfort	473150	99860	mia	HABITATION		HILLFORT		Hampshire Archaeology and Historic Buildings Record	23329	Bradley 1968		3
Upwaltham	Field system	Field systems represented by lynchets broadly of a Iron Age / Romano-British date	493300	113300	mia	HABITATION		FIELD SYSTEMS		Chichester Historic environment record	2631	HER		5
Upwaltham B	Field system	Field systems represented by lynchets broadly of a Iron Age / Romano-British date	494200	113900	mia	HABITATION		FIELD SYSTEMS		Chichester Historic environment record	2632	HER		5
Venus Wood, Cocking	Field system	Field system as visible on aerial photographs and represented by lynchets - of a broadly Iron Age date	485800	116000	mia	HABITATION		FIELD SYSTEMS		Chichester Historic environment record	1127	HER		5
Warren Down, Stoughton	Field system	Field systems represented by lynchets broadly of a Iron Age / Romano-British date	474900	112000	mia	HABITATION		FIELD SYSTEMS		Chichester Historic environment record	60	HER		5
West Dean Arboretum, West Dean	Field system	Field system as visible on aerial photographs and represented by lychets of a broadly Iron Age / Romano-British date	487090	111690	mia	HABITATION		FIELD SYSTEMS		Chichester Historic environment record	1223	HER		5

WTOZ - Middle Iron Age

sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
Westburton Hill, Bury	Field system	Field systems represented by lynchets broadly of a Iron Age / Romano-British date	499550	112330	mia	HABITATION		FIELD SYSTEMS		Chichester Historic environment record	2734	HER		5
Westhampnett Bypass Area 4	MIA occupation	During an excavation by Wessex Archaeology in 1992 prior to the construction of the A27 Westhampnett bypass possible Iron Age features were found, along with a large amount of middle and late Iron Age pottery	489230	106410	mia	HABITATION		OCCUPATION		Chichester Historic environment record	1852	Fitzpatrick et al 2008		1
Westhampnett Bypass Area 5, Oving	MIA unenclosed settlement	Evidence for a MIA settlement site, including a four post structure, was found during the A27 Westhampnett bypass excavation in 1991-2. A Le Tene I Brooch was also found	488924	106041	mia	HABITATION	HSG	UNENCLOSED	BROOCH	Chichester Historic environment record	2418	Fitzpatrick et al 2008		1
Westhampnett roundabout	Possible MIA enclosure	Evidence for a possible Iron Age enclosure was recovered during an watching brief revealing evidence for pits and ditches revealing mid to late IA pottery	487691	105941	mia	HABITATION		ENCLOSURE		Chichester Historic environment record	4133	Higgins 2001		3

WSTOZ - Late Iron Age

sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
23-25 The Hornet, Chichester	LIA Ditch	A ditch dating from the LIA was found between The Hornet and the Lavant in 1988-90 containing two horse burials	486582	104817	lia	BOUNDARY		TOWN DEFENCES		Chichester Historic environment record	2276	Browse 1990a		3
36 Fishbourne Road East	Iron Age roundhouse	Evidence of LIA occupation, including a hut circle and ring-ditch, was found prior to re-development work in 1992	484290	104790	lia	HABITATION		ROUNDHOUSE		Chichester Historic environment record	2183	Kenny & Magilton 1995		3
67 Langdale Avenue, Oving	Coin	A single Celtic coin found in the garden of 67 Langdale Avenue	487100	103700	lia	HSG		COIN		Chichester Historic environment record	2961	HER		4
Adam's Copse, Stoughton	Field system	Field systems represented by lynchets broadly of a Iron Age / Romano-British date	474340	112520	lia	HABITATION		FIELD SYSTEMS		Chichester Historic environment record	59	HER		5
Aldingbourne A	Coin	LIA gold quarter stater uninscribed Gallo-Belgic D, 60-50 BC, Van Arsdell 67-3 A rare type to find in Britain: a contemporary copy is in the British Museum			lia	HSG		COIN		Portable Antiquities Scheme Database	100099	PAS Database	SUSS-827121	4
Aldingbourne B	Cosmetic Mortar	LIA - Early Roman (1st-2nd century AD) cast copper alloy end loop cosmetic grinder mortar			lia	HSG		OTHER		Portable Antiquities Scheme Database	100100	PAS Database	SUSS-8311A7	4
Amberley B	Brooch	Incomplete cast copper-alloy LIA to early Roman brooch of Colchester one piece type. See Hattatt 1982 page 61 fig 14-15.			lia	HSG		BROOCH		Portable Antiquities Scheme Database	100129	PAS Database	SUSS-BDCC36	4
Angmering	Coin	Iron Age cast copper alloy potin of Thurrock type, South Eastern (Cantii), BM661/VA1402			lia	HSG		COIN		Portable Antiquities Scheme Database	100119	PAS Database	SUSS-AD0EC1	4

sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
Apuldram Farm	Coins	Three LIA gold coins were found on the surface of a ploughed field, at Apuldram Farm in 1980. Two inscribed gold staters of Tincommius and one of poss Epillus	484200	103500	lia	HSG		COIN		Chichester Historic environment record	2085	HER		4
Area 7, Tower Street, Chichester	Coins	Two coins, one of Cunobelin and one of Durotriges were found in post-Roman layers during excavations in Area 7, Tower Street in 1974	485920	104930	lia	HSG		COIN		Chichester Historic environment record	3384	Down 1978		4
Barker Close, Fishbourne	Coin	An LIA gold coin was found in 1976 in a garden at Barker Close, Fishbourne	483440	105330	lia	HSG		COIN		Chichester Historic environment record	1071	HER		4
Bersted	Funerary Objects	Iron Age copper alloy and associated iron and ceramic objects from a grave including Helmet or copper vessel, Iron knife, Possible shield boss, two lattice work shield covers, Five large iron hoops			lia	HSG		RELIGIOUS		Portable Antiquities Scheme Database	100063	PAS Database	SUSS-22FC67	4
Bignor	Coin	An uninscribed gold stater of the Catuvellauni was found on the Downs near Bignor	498000	114000	lia	HSG		COIN		Chichester Historic environment record	2735	HER		4
Bow Hill, West Dean	Field system	Field system as visible on aerial photographs and represented by lychets - of a broadly Iron Age date	483200	111400	lia	HABITATION		FIELD SYSTEMS		Chichester Historic environment record	623	HER		5
Bowley Cottages	Coin	An uninscribed gold stater apparently found in the garden of 1 Bowley Cottages, South Mundham	488566	100039	lia	HSG		COIN		Chichester Historic environment record	2989	HER		4

sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
Boxgrove	Coin	Silver unit of Tincomarus, TIN CO.Hobbs, p91, 917-921			lia	HSG		COIN		Portable Antiquities Scheme Database	100113	PAS Database	SUSS-96E983	4
Boxgrove B	Coin	British Iron Age silver unit of Tincomarus, Southern (Atrebates) BM 907 p 91, VA 396			lia	HSG		COIN		Portable Antiquities Scheme Database	100122	PAS Database	SUSS-AF33C3	4
Boxgrove C	Coin	British Iron Age copper alloy unit, uninscribed Chichester Cock type, Southern (Atrebates) Hobbs 659			lia	HSG		COIN		Portable Antiquities Scheme Database	100124	PAS Database	SUSS-AF7BB5	4
Boxgrove D	Brooch	Heavily distorted Iron Age brooch; probably a boss-on-bow, Knotenfibula, type of La Tene D2 period, 80-30 BC			lia	HSG		BROOCH		Portable Antiquities Scheme Database	100073	PAS Database	SUSS-3993A5	4
Boxgrove E	Harness fitting	Fragment of a loop, probably part of a 1st century AD ribbed terret ring			lia	HSG		WARFARE		Portable Antiquities Scheme Database	100095	PAS Database	SUSS-71F603	4
Boxgrove F	Coin	Iron Age silver plated contemporary copy probably of a British Iron Age silver unit of Epaticcus, Southern (Atrebates) VA580/BM 2065			lia	HSG		COIN		Portable Antiquities Scheme Database	100150	PAS Database	SUSS-F86F75	4
Boxgrove G	Coin	British Iron Age silver minim of Tincomarus, Southern (Antrebates), VA483/BM985, CCI 94.0639			lia	HSG		COIN		Portable Antiquities Scheme Database	100090	PAS Database	SUSS-5FA1F0	4
Boxgrove H	Coin	British Iron Age silver unit; uninscribed 'Sussex Lyre' type; southern (Atrebates), Bean (2000) QsT1-5, cf CCI 00.0846			lia	HSG		COIN		Portable Antiquities Scheme Database	100114	PAS Database	SUSS-96FAC2	4

WSTOZ - Late Iron Age

sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
Bramshott Bottom, Harting	Coin hoard	A small collection of Iron Age gold, silver and bronze coins have been recovered from a site at Bramshott Bottom, possibly representing a hoard.	480280	118603	lia	HSG		COIN		Chichester Historic environment record	530	HER		4
Broadbridge	High Status Goods	Three Iron Age Bronze coins, a Langdom Down type brooch, a 'horse's head' of Celtic design were found in the Broadbridge area	481000	105000	lia	HSG		COIN	BROOCH	Chichester Historic environment record	1058	HER		4
Brockhurst Bottom, East Dean A	Field system	Field systems represented by lynchets broadly of a Iron Age / Romano-British date	491600	114500	lia	HABITATION		FIELD SYSTEMS		Chichester Historic environment record	2628	HER		5
Brockhurst Bottom, East Dean B	Field system	Field systems represented by lynchets broadly of a Iron Age / Romano-British date	491600	114900	lia	HABITATION		FIELD SYSTEMS		Chichester Historic environment record	2636	HER		5
Broyle Road, Lavant	LIA roundhouses	Hut circles yielding masses of broken pottery, indicate an LIA occupation site	485690	107380	lia	HABITATION		ROUNDHOUSE		Chichester Historic environment record	2330	Heron-Allen 1911		3
Burpham	Coin	A silver republican denarius. Minted by L. and C. Memmius L.f. Galeria, in 87 BC. Reverse type: Venus in slow biga right, Cupid flying left above			lia	HSG		COIN		Portable Antiquities Scheme Database	100145	PAS Database	SUSS-DC4B55	4
Bury	Brooch	Copper alloy bow brooch of La Tene III type, and of Nauheim derivative form of 1st century BC to 1st Century AD date			lia	HSG		BROOCH		Portable Antiquities Scheme Database	100040	PAS Database	NMGW-7ACF21	4
Bury B	Coin	British Iron Age silver unit of Tincomarus; Southern (Atrebates) VA 381var/BM 917			lia	HSG		COIN		Portable Antiquities Scheme Database	100142	PAS Database	SUSS-D73B82	4

WSTOZ - Late Iron Age

sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
Butser Hill	Agricultural activity - field systems	An area of agricultural activity has been uncovered in aerial photographs as earthworks	471900	119600	lia	HABITATION		FIELD SYSTEMS		Hampshire Archaeology and Historic Buildings Record	26594	HER		5
Byes Copse, West Dean	Field system	Field system as visible on aerial photographs and represented by lychets of a broadly Iron Age / Romano-British date	486100	114900	lia	HABITATION		FIELD SYSTEMS		Chichester Historic environment record	1199	HER		5
Cakeham Area	Coins	About 1878, opposite Cakeham, 200 British Iron Age coins were found in brick-earth	478294	97198	lia	HSG		COIN		Chichester Historic environment record	46	Heron-Allen 1911		4
Canal Basin, Chichester	LIA occupation	While monitoring ground works at Canal Wharf, a gully-like feature, dated to the Mid to Late IA was seen just south of the site	485983	104044	lia	HABITATION		OCCUPATION		Chichester Historic environment record	4227	Pine 2005		3
Carne's Seat, Westhampnett	Mid to Late IA Enclosure	An Iron Age enclosure with three concentric ditches on Carne's Seat was revealed by aerial photography in 1976. Excavations were carried out in 1984.	488760	109450	lia	HABITATION		ENCLOSURE		Chichester Historic environment record	2381	Holgate 1986a		1
Catherington Lane, Horndean	Coin	A British "d" type (cheriton) gold stater found in the rear garden of 57, catherington lane, horndean	469590	112750	lia	HSG		COIN		Hampshire Archaeology and Historic Buildings Record	26452	HER		4
Cattlemarket, Chichester	LIA and Early Roman Occupation	Evidence for occupation in the LIA was recovered during excavations between 1978 and 1982 including amphorae, 3 republican coins, a field boundary with LIA and Erom pot	486444	104582	lia	HABITATION		OCCUPATION		Chichester Historic environment record	3864	Down 1989		2

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sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
Chalkpit Lane, Lavant	LIA and Early Roman Unenclosed settlement	A late IA and Roman settlement existed at Chalkpit Lane, indicated by V shaped ditches containing pottery as well as a ring gully	487030	109370	lia	HABITATION		UNENCLOSED	ROUND HOUSE	Chichester Historic environment record	2402	Kenny 1993		3
Charlton A	LIA to Romano-British Settlement	During excavation at Chalton a LIA to Romano-British settlement site was uncovered including ritual deposition of LIA pots within pits	473461	117408	lia	HABITATION		ENCLOSURE		Hampshire Archaeology and Historic Buildings Record	27845	Cunliffe 1977		4
Charlton B	LIA occupation - ditch	A V shaped ditch dated by pottery to between 1 and 40 AD was found close to the settlement at Chalton A	473398	117447	lia	HABITATION		OCCUPATION		Hampshire Archaeology and Historic Buildings Record	27846	Cunliffe 1977		3
Charlton Down	LIA and Early Roman enclosure	A LIA and Early Roman enclosure was visible from aerial photographs and was dated due to field walking.	472500	116500	lia	HABITATION		ENCLOSURE		Hampshire Archaeology and Historic Buildings Record	26781	HER		5
Chi Harbour (CH-65)	Salt working site	Iron Age pottery and daub found at CH-65 indicating Salt working site	476380	104700	lia	INDUSTRY		SALT PRODUCTION		Chichester Historic environment record	163	Cartwright 1984		2
Chichester	Coin	A gold stater dating between 68 and 55 BC - displays abstract head of Apollo and Horse			lia	HSG		COIN		Portable Antiquities Scheme Database	100013	PAS Database	HAMP1988	4
Chichester Entrenchment - EWA(i)	Linear Dyke	A stretch of LIA Chichester entrenchment that runs more or less uninterruptedly from east of Halnaker in Boxgrove to Pook Lane in East Lavant. Aka The Devil's Dyke	490243	108418	lia	BOUNDARY		DYKE		Chichester Historic environment record	1654	Bradley 1971		3

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sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
Chichester Entrenchment - EWA(ii)	Linear Dyke	A stretch of LIA Chichester entrenchment that runs more or less uninterruptedly from Pook Lane in Mid Lavant to Lye Wood in Funtington	484236	107964	lia	BOUNDARY		DYKE		Chichester Historic environment record	2484	Bradley 1971		3
Chichester Entrenchment - EWB	Linear Dyke	A section of the Chichester Entrenchments that runs east-west for approx 2,110m from the north-east corner of the Roussillon Barracks site to Salthill Road. A complete archaeological section across the bank and ditch has not been recorded	485304	106644	lia	BOUNDARY		DYKE		Chichester Historic environment record	2492	Bradley 1971		3
Chichester Entrenchment - EWD(i)	Linear Dyke	EWD(i) is a section of The Chichester Entrenchments running almost east-west for approx 1,267m from Little Cotfield Plantation to Mouthey's Plantation in Funtington in the general Oakwood area	482552	106514	lia	BOUNDARY		DYKE		Chichester Historic environment record	7905	Bradley 1971		3
Chichester Entrenchment - EWD(ii)	Linear Dyke	EWD(ii) is a section of the Chichester Entrenchments running almost east-west for approx 470m from Little Cotfield Plantation westwards in the general Oakwood area of Funtington	482968	106443	lia	BOUNDARY		DYKE		Chichester Historic environment record	8004	Bradley 1971		3

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Chichester Entrenchment - EWJ	Linear Dyke	A previously unknown stretch of the Chichester Entrenchments (designated EWJ) was exposed during an evaluation and excavation by Southern Archaeology in 1998 in advance of site redevelopment for a new acute mental health unit at Graylingwell Hospital	486609	105953	lia	BOUNDARY		DYKE		Chichester Historic environment record	4009	Bradley 1971		3
Chichester Entrenchment - NS1	Linear Dyke	A c.2.5km stretch of the Chichester Entrenchments running from the southern part of Lavant parish to Bishop Otter College. Usually dated to the LIA but it may be a medieval park or forest boundary bank	486123	107377	lia	BOUNDARY		DYKE		Chichester Historic environment record	4001	Bradley 1971		3
Chichester Entrenchment - NS2	Linear Dyke	A possible stretch of the Chichester entrenchments running southwards from the eastern end of EWB. Known only from documentary sources and historic mapping	486238	106138	lia	BOUNDARY		DYKE		Chichester Historic environment record	4005	Bradley 1971		3
Chichester Entrenchment - NS3	Linear Dyke	NS3 is a section of The Chichester Entrenchments running approx N-S for approx 230m from a point roughly halfway along EWB at East Broyle, Chichester. It is a Scheduled Monument. It has not been sectioned archaeologically	485267	106473	lia	BOUNDARY		DYKE		Chichester Historic environment record	2493	Bradley 1971		3

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Chichester entrenchment - NS4	Linear Dyke	A possible Chichester entrenchment described in documentary sources as running from the head of Fishbourne Harbour to the 'Winchester Highway'. It may date to the LIA or the medieval period	483776	105983	lia	BOUNDARY		DYKE		Chichester Historic environment record	7998	Bradley 1971		3
Chichester entrenchment - NS6	Linear Dyke	An excavation in the former cemetery of St. James' Hospital uncovered a substantial ditch, 7m wide and 2m deep, possibly IA and part of the Chichester Entrenchments. It has subsequently been traced further north in resistivity surveys	487161	105394	lia	BOUNDARY		DYKE		Chichester Historic environment record	3220	Bradley 1971		3
Chichester gravel pit	Coin	Several Iron Age staters have been noted found either in Chichester gravel pits including Gold stater of 70BC, gold plated bronze of Tasciovanus and a gold stater of Tincommius	486000	104000	lia	HSG		COIN		Chichester Historic environment record	2255	HER		4
Chichester High School for Girls	LIA occupation	Evidence for LIA activity in the form of two ditches and one pit were seen during an evaluation in 1997.	485578	104006	lia	HABITATION		OCCUPATION		Chichester Historic environment record	3930	Brading et al 1997		3
Chichester Road	Coin	Gold stater, Evans type B9.	485900	94500	lia	HSG		COIN		Chichester Historic environment record	1005	HER		4
Chidham Harbour A	IA & Roman Salt Production	Mid Iron Age to Roman salt production site excavated in 1989 by A.Hadley. The excavation revealed large quantities of briquetage and domestic containers	477854	104210	lia	INDUSTRY		SALT PRODUCTION		Chichester Historic environment record	207	Bradley 1992		1

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Chidham Harbour B	IA & Roman Salt Production	An Iron Age & Roman salt production site excavated in 1989 (site B) revealed mainly briquetage and pottery but also three features, one of which contained alternating layers of burnt and unburnt clay	477980	103480	lia	INDUSTRY		SALT PRODUCTION		Chichester Historic environment record	208	Bradley 1992		1
Chilgrove 1, West Dean	LIA Habitation	Evidence of Iron Age occupation, a hearth and posthole remains of a circular building, was found during the excavation of the Chilgrove 1 Roman villa. Possible field systems lie to the south	483440	112440	lia	HABITATION		ROUNDHOUSE	FARMSTEAD	Chichester Historic environment record	647	Down 1979		2
Clanfield A	LIA and Early Roman enclosure	A LIA and Early Roman enclosure was visible from aerial photographs and was dated due to field walking. A field system is visible surrounding the site	471830	117000	lia	HABITATION		ENCLOSURE	FIELD SYSTEM	Hampshire Archaeology and Historic Buildings Record	26751	HER		5
Clanfield B	LIA and Early Roman occupation - ditch	During a watching brief a ditch was recorded and a 1m section of its length was excavated revealing densely packed with flint, burnt flint and LIA/ early Romano-British pottery sherds	471400	115870	lia	HABITATION		OCCUPATION		Hampshire Archaeology and Historic Buildings Record	26835	HER		3
Clanfield C	LIA and Early Roman occupation - ditch and hollow	During a watching brief a LIA ditch and hollow were uncovered	471450	115920	lia	HABITATION		OCCUPATION		Hampshire Archaeology and Historic Buildings Record	26840	HER		3
Climping	Harness fitting	Just under half of the hoop of a ribbed terret which originally had an iron bar			lia	HSG		WARFARE		Portable Antiquities Scheme Database	100041	PAS Database	SF7840	4

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sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
Climping A	Coin	1x Climping type gold stater. British Q gold stater was also reported at the same time under the same Treasure Case number			lia	HSG		COIN		Portable Antiquities Scheme Database	100101	PAS Database	SUSS-861DE4	4
Climping B	Coin	1x Climping type gold stater. British Q gold stater was also reported at the same time under the same Treasure Case number			lia	HSG		COIN		Portable Antiquities Scheme Database	100102	PAS Database	SUSS-8628B7	4
Cocking Down	Field system	Field systems represented by lynchets broadly of a Iron Age date	486500	116500	lia	HABITATION		FIELD SYSTEMS		Chichester Historic environment record	1128	HER		5
Copse Farm, Oving	LIA Enclosure and Farmsteads	Excavation of cropmarks indicated the existence of an LIA settlement site, comprising a rectangular ditched enclosures and two farmsteads	489460	105510	lia	HABITATION		ENCLOSURE	FARMSTEAD	Chichester Historic environment record	2374	Bedwin 1983, Bedwin & Holgate 1985		1
Deanlane End, Stoughton	Field system	Field systems represented by lynchets broadly of a Iron Age / Romano-British date	474250	112150	lia	HABITATION		FIELD SYSTEMS		Chichester Historic environment record	58	HER		5
Ditch - Goodwood Park, Westhampnett	Linear Dyke	In the golf course in the south-west corner of Goodwood Park a broad linear feature can be seen on 2007 APs. It may be a continuation of a Chichester entrenchment and/or the Tudor deer park pale for Goodwood Park	488283	108551	lia	BOUNDARY		DYKE		Chichester Historic environment record	2486	GeoPerspectives 2007		5
Double Barn, West Dean	Field system	Field system as visible on aerial photographs and represented by lychets of a broadly Iron Age / Romano-British date	485100	113600	lia	HABITATION		FIELD SYSTEMS		Chichester Historic environment record	1221	HER		5

sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
Downs Farm A	Brooch	Iron age or early Roman copper alloy brooch of La Tene type III. A complete example of a Nauheim derivative one-piece type			lia	HSG		BROOCH		Portable Antiquities Scheme Database	100062	PAS Database	SUSS-15B253	4
Downs Farm B	Coin	A copper-alloy Iron Age potin, of Belgic issue			lia	HSG		COIN		Portable Antiquities Scheme Database	100120	PAS Database	SUSS-AE1DB6	4
Downs Farm C	Harness fitting (terret)	A cast copper alloy miniature terret ring, dating to the LIA. A similar example with a circular section can be seen in 'Early Celtic Art in Northern Britain' by M. Macgregor, Fig.52.			lia	HSG		WARFARE		Portable Antiquities Scheme Database	100125	PAS Database	SUSS-B37F23	4
Drayton	Coin	An Iron age silver minim of Epatticus (Catuvellauni - AD24-35)was found in 1983 at Drayton	488300	104800	lia	HSG		COIN		Chichester Historic environment record	2254	Bone 1985		4
Drayton Sand and Gravel Pit, Oving A	occupation	A possible Iron Age settlement was found during an excavation including pits, ditches and postholes	488628	104246	lia	HABITATION		UNENCLOSED		Chichester Historic environment record	2984	Stevens 2003		2
Drayton Sand and Gravel Pit, Oving B	Mid to LIA occupation	Several ditches dating to the Mid to LIA were exposed during a watching brief in 2002	488288	104340	lia	HABITATION		OCCUPATION		Chichester Historic environment record	4136	Griffin 2002		3
Droke, East Dean	Field system	Field systems represented by lynchets broadly of a Iron Age / Romano-British date	492560	112640	lia	HABITATION		FIELD SYSTEMS		Chichester Historic environment record	2648	HER		5
Drove Lane	Harness fitting	LIA or Early Roman cast copper alloy incomplete terret. The plainess of the terret, defined collar and straight bar all suggest a late date			lia	HSG		WARFARE		Portable Antiquities Scheme Database	100097	PAS Database	SUSS-7BBBB0	4

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Duncton	Boar Figurine	A cast copper alloy figurine of a boar dating to the LIA. A prominent bristled back bone runs the length of the body with small striations possibly representing hair			lia	HSG		STATUE		Portable Antiquities Scheme Database	100136	PAS Database	SUSS-C6A000	4
E. of council depot, Westhampnett	LIA to Roman Occupation	A single circular pit containing LIA or early Romano-British pottery was exposed during an evaluation carried out in 2004	488052	106024	lia	HABITATION		OCCUPATION		Chichester Historic environment record	4202	Priestly-Bell 2004a		2
E. of Downs Farm	Field system	Field system as visible on aerial photographs and represented by lychets of a broadly Iron Age / Romano-British date	481310	109470	lia	HABITATION		FIELD SYSTEMS		Chichester Historic environment record	1023	HER		5
Eartham A	Coin	Iron Age Continental gold stater, Gallo-Belgic type E, VA 54Philip De Jersey stated: These coins were produced by the Ambiani in Belgic Gaul, imported into Britain in large numbers across almost all of the coin-using areas			lia	HSG		COIN		Portable Antiquities Scheme Database	100081	PAS Database	SUSS-4E9F15	4
Eartham B	Brooch	An almost complete cast copper alloy one-piece 1st century AD, Colchester derivate brooch. This brooch is similar to examples in Hattatt, 2000, p296			lia	HSG		BROOCH		Portable Antiquities Scheme Database	100083	PAS Database	SUSS-4F1142	4
Eartham C	Coin	An Iron age silver unit attributed to Verica, eagle facing reverse			lia	HSG		COIN		Portable Antiquities Scheme Database	100070	PAS Database	SUSS-31F051	4

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Eartham D	Toggle	A cast copper alloy toggle, doing to the LIA. The toggle is cylindrical in shape with a circular section and is slightly bowed. An integral oval attachment loop is situated at the centre of the cylinder			lia	HSG		WARFARE		Portable Antiquities Scheme Database	100071	PAS Database	SUSS-3297C8	4
Eartham E	Terret Ring	A cast copper alloy miniature terret ring, dating to the IA. The ring is circular in plan and semi-circular in section, with two collars flanking the bar. The bar is slightly offset			lia	HSG		WARFARE		Portable Antiquities Scheme Database	100093	PAS Database	SUSS-6B9B31	4
Eartham F	Coin	British Iron Age copper alloy unit uninscribed probably Southern (Antrebates) 'Boar Cock' type			lia	HSG		COIN		Portable Antiquities Scheme Database	100147	PAS Database	SUSS-DF5B72	4
Eartham G	Coin	Copper alloy Iron Age coin			lia	HSG		COIN		Portable Antiquities Scheme Database	100148	PAS Database	SUSS-EC9364	4
Eartham H	Harness	A fragment possibly from an incomplete copper-alloy Iron Age or Roman terret ring. Terret rings were attached to chariots, carts or wagons and served as rein-guides. They helped guide in reins from the horses harness to the rider/charioteers hands			lia	HSG		WARFARE		Portable Antiquities Scheme Database	100084	PAS Database	SUSS-5642A6	4
Eartham I	Coin	British Iron Age silver unit of Commius, Southern (Atrebates) BM 735, VA 355-3			lia	HSG		COIN		Portable Antiquities Scheme Database	100123	PAS Database	SUSS-AF6557	4

sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
Eartham J	Coin	British Iron Age silver unit; uninscribed southern silver 'Danebury' type also known as an 'Ashdown Forest Helmet type'; southern (Atrebates), VA 264 / BM 583-592	493107	110199	lia	HSG		COIN		Portable Antiquities Scheme Database	100109	PAS Database	SUSS-947186	4
East Beach - Selsey A	Coin	Early British coin found in 1921	486440	92680	lia	HSG		COIN		Chichester Historic environment record	1003	Aldsworth 1987		4
East Beach - Selsey B	Coin	Coins of Commius and Verica found 1935	485990	92200	lia	HSG		COIN		Chichester Historic environment record	1004	HER		4
East Dean	Field system	Field systems represented by lynchets broadly of a Iron Age / Romano-British date	490200	113600	lia	HABITATION		FIELD SYSTEMS		Chichester Historic environment record	2640	HER		5
East Marden Farm, Marden	Coin	A Celtic coin	480340	114630	lia	HSG		COIN		Chichester Historic environment record	678	Down and Welch 1990		4
East of Fishbourne Roman Palace	LIA Habitation	Excavations (Area B) East of Fishbourne Roman Palace in 1999 revealed a LIA ditch was found	484057	104817	lia	HABITATION		OCCUPATION		Chichester Historic environment record	4360	Manley & Rudkin 2005		1
East Wittering Foreshore	Coins	Large numbers of Iron Age coins found on shore south of East Wittering village - No identification made	479410	96830	lia	HSG		COIN		Chichester Historic environment record	54	HER		4
Elsted	Coin	British Iron Age South-Eastern (Cantii) gold quarter stater. 'British D' type; VA 143-1/BM129-136.			lia	HSG		COIN		Portable Antiquities Scheme Database	100112	PAS Database	SUSS-96C911	4
Fishbourne B	Coin	A"QC" Quarter stater coin was found and attributed to the Atrebates	484000	104000	lia	HSG		COIN		Chichester Historic environment record	2168	HER		4

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Fishbourne C	Celtic Statuette	A statuette of Celtic Mother Goddess was discovered on Willow Court off Fishbourne Road in the 1970's, possibly pre-Conquest	484614	104777	lia	HSG		STATUE		Chichester Historic environment record	2177	Magilton 1992		4
Fishbourne Road, Chichester B	Trackway	The side ditches of a possible E-W LIA or early Roman trackway revealing LIA pottery, were seen during evaluations in 1996	484749	104698	lia	ROUTE SYSTEM		TRACKWAY		Chichester Historic environment record	3953	Bashford 1996		3
Fishbourne Road, Chichester C	LIA occupation - pit	A single truncated pit containing pottery sherds of a fabric which could date to the LIA to early Roman periods was exposed and recorded during a watching brief by Wessex Archaeology in 2007	483883	104680	lia	HABITATION		OCCUPATION		Chichester Historic environment record	6066	Hall & Perrin 2007		3
Funtington	Coin	A British gold stater found in 1897 in Funtington	480000	108000	lia	HSG		COIN		Chichester Historic environment record	1019	Arnold 1898		4
Funtington Down	Field system	Field systems represented by lynchets broadly of a Iron Age / Romano-British date	480400	109900	lia	HABITATION		FIELD SYSTEMS		Chichester Historic environment record	1022	HER		5
Funtington House	Coin	An IA British coin was found at Funtington House in 1908	480150	108360	lia	HSG		COIN		Chichester Historic environment record	1018	HER		4
Garden House, Eartham	LIA occupation - pit	An Iron age pit was exposed and excavated revealing LIA pottery in a watching brief in 1998. - Possible settlement to the west	493964	109367	lia	HABITATION		OCCUPATION		Chichester Historic environment record	4102	Kenny 1998a		3

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Goodwood Park, Westhampnett	Field system	Field systems represented by lynchets broadly of a Iron Age / Romano-British date	488800	109400	lia	HABITATION		FIELD SYSTEMS		Chichester Historic environment record	2363	HER		5
Goodwood, Westhampnett	Coin	A LIA coin, an uninscribed AU stater, was found near Goodwood in 1850	488000	109000	lia	HSG		COIN		Chichester Historic environment record	2320	Willett 1879a		4
Graylingwell, Chichester A	Cremation	Two earthenware pots with cremated bones were recovered just 'outside' the north-south entrenchment at Graylingwell. Pots dated to AD40-50	486403	106315	lia	RELIGIOUS		CREMATION		Chichester Historic environment record	2444	Williams-Freeman 1934		2
Graylingwell, Chichester B	LIA Enclosure	During an excavation in 1998, the ditch of an Iron Age enclosure was seen and excavated. It ran alongside the E-W entrenchment and was thought to pre-date it - although not seen in excavation	486681	105939	lia	HABITATION		ENCLOSURE		Chichester Historic environment record	4012	Kenny 2001		3
Great Hidden Farm, Boxgrove	Enclosure	A probable Iron Age enclosure was observed in aerial photographs	489700	109300	lia	HABITATION		ENCLOSURE		Chichester Historic environment record	2382	King 1979		5
Greyfriars, Chichester	Coin	During excavations at Greyfriars in 1984 sherds of imported Gallo-Belgic pottery and a coin of Verica were found	486168	105084	lia	HSG		COIN		Chichester Historic environment record	3679	Down & Magilton 1993		4
Hardham	LIA cremation burials	LIA cremation burials and La Tene brooch associated with later Roman camp	503100	117370	lia	RELIGIOUS	HSG	CREMATION	BROOCH	West Sussex Historic Environment Record	2312	Winbolt 1927		2

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Harting Down, Harting	Bead	A LIA blue glass bead was found in 1937 during excavations on Harting Down	480420	117130	lia	HSG		DECORATION		Chichester Historic environment record	459	Curwen 1954		4
Harting, South Gardens	Coin	Coin of Eppillus found on the cricket field about 20 chains SW of Harting church	478190	119056	lia	HSG		COIN		Chichester Historic environment record	229	Gordon 1894		4
Hasler's Lane, West Dean	Field system	Field system as visible on aerial photographs and represented by lychets of a broadly Iron Age / Romano-British date	485300	112300	lia	HABITATION		FIELD SYSTEMS		Chichester Historic environment record	1220	HER		5
Hat Hill, Boxgrove	Field system	Field systems represented by lynchets broadly of a Iron Age / Romano-British date	490300	110400	lia	HABITATION		FIELD SYSTEMS		Chichester Historic environment record	2657	HER		5
Hat Hill, West Dean	Field system	Field system as visible on aerial photographs and represented by lychets of a broadly Iron Age / Romano-British date	486800	113700	lia	HABITATION		FIELD SYSTEMS		Chichester Historic environment record	1189	HER		5
Havant A	Coins	Two Iron Age silver coins, one a stater, were found at a villas site. Stater uninscribed Duritrigian type C, Evans type G5-6. AE coin Gallo-Belgic E, Evans type B8	471721	105334	lia	HSG		COIN		Hampshire Archaeology and Historic Buildings Record	23482	HER		4
Havant B	Coin	LIA gold stater with abstract head of Apollo and horse on obverse			lia	HSG		COIN		Portable Antiquities Scheme Database	100016	PAS Database	HAMP3195	4
Hayes Down, Lavant	LIA Occupation	A possible LIA occupation site on Hayes Down, Lavant, was discovered during amateur excavations in 1943	485747	110310	lia	HABITATION		OCCUPATION		Chichester Historic environment record	8093	HER		3

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Hayling Island Temple	LIA and Early Roman temple	The location of a LIA and Early Roman Romano-Celtic Temple including evidence of high status goods and ritual practises	472451	103065	lia	RELIGIOUS		TEMPLE		Hampshire Archaeology and Historic Buildings Record	23605	King & Soffe 2008		2
Hill above Amberley station	Coin	British silver unit, uninscribed Southern (Atrebates), VA-, BMC-, CCI: 01.0780, 01.0448, 02.0295.Ian Leins (Curator of Iron Age coins, British Museum)commented: A rare example of the so-called 'Basing' coinage, an unpublished Southern (Atrebatic) silver			lia	HSG		COIN		Portable Antiquities Scheme Database	100146	PAS Database	SUSS-DEDA36	4
Hill Lands Farm, Elsted	Coin	A 'celtic bronze coin' found in the area.	481300	115900	lia	HSG		COIN		Chichester Historic environment record	531	Down and Welch 1990		4
Horndean A	LIA occupation - Pits and Horse burial	LIA pits were uncovered at Clanfield Reservoir including one containing a horse skeleton	468960	115980	lia	HABITATION		OCCUPATION		Hampshire Archaeology and Historic Buildings Record	26344	HER		2
Horndean B	Coin	Fragment of an Uninscribed South-Western type stater			lia	HSG		COIN		Portable Antiquities Scheme Database	100028	PAS Database	HAMP-7E6167	4
Horndean C	Occupation site - ditch	An area of occupation was uncovered during building works containing Iron Age pottery	469650	112560	lia	HABITATION		OCCUPATION		Hampshire Archaeology and Historic Buildings Record	26463	HER		4

sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
Houghton	Brooch	The upper part of a bow brooch of La Tene D2 type; a boss-on-bow type brooch			lia	HSG		BROOCH		Portable Antiquities Scheme Database	100046	PAS Database	SUR-4175B6	4
Houghton Farm B	Coin	A LIA coin. Regular or contemporary copy of silver unit of Verica (South Thames region). The surface may be the base-metal core of a once plated imitation, or may represent surface deposits over silver coin beneath			lia	HSG		COIN		Portable Antiquities Scheme Database	100064	PAS Database	SUSS-234748	4
Houghton Farm A	Ring	A LIA baldric ring, which would have been used as part of the composite belt, used to hang a sword. The artefact is an extremely good condition and it is obvious that this artefact was a high status personal adornment			lia	HSG		RING		Portable Antiquities Scheme Database	100080	PAS Database	SUSS-4C9825	4
Houghton Farm C	Coin	A LIA copper alloy unit. A Continental type attributed to the Ambiani.			lia	HSG		COIN		Portable Antiquities Scheme Database	100065	PAS Database	SUSS-235E48	4
Ide's Barn, East Dean	Field system	Field systems represented by lynchets broadly of a Iron Age / Romano-British date	492130	113350	lia	HABITATION		FIELD SYSTEMS		Chichester Historic environment record	2630	HER		5
Knight's Hill, Singleton	Field system	Field systems represented by lynchets broadly of a Iron Age / Romano-British date	487958	112155	lia	HABITATION		FIELD SYSTEMS		Chichester Historic environment record	1280	HER		5
Lamb Lea, East Dean	Field system	Field systems represented by lynchets broadly of a Iron Age / Romano-British date	491682	115161	lia	HABITATION		FIELD SYSTEMS		Chichester Historic environment record	1781	HER		5

WSTOZ - Late Iron Age

sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
Langford Farm, Lavant	Coin	A celtic coin of Verica found	484800	110200	lia	HSG		COIN		Chichester Historic environment record	2981	HER		4
Lavant A	Coin	A LIA gold coin of Commius was found at Lavant	485500	107800	lia	HSG		COIN		Chichester Historic environment record	2387	HER		4
Lavant B	Coin	A gold coin of Verica was found in a field to the west of Lavant	483729	109286	lia	HSG		COIN		Chichester Historic environment record	788	HER		4
Lavant C	Terret ring	A terret ring was found whilst metal detecting in a field to the north west of Lavant	483996	110364	lia	HSG		OTHER		Chichester Historic environment record	836	HER		4
Lavant F	Coin	Early uninscribed British copper-alloy unit., type as BMC III, 31. Philip De Jersey stated: Published as a coin of the Ambiani in the British Museum catalogue			lia	HSG		COIN		Portable Antiquities Scheme Database	100082	PAS Database	SUSS-4ECF02	4
Lavant G	HARNESS FITTING	Fragment of cast copper alloy Romano-British or Iron Age knobbed harness terret. This terret is formed from a circular sectioned curved bar. The bar tapers to a blunt point, with a rounded knop			lia	HSG		WARFARE		Portable Antiquities Scheme Database	100108	PAS Database	SUSS-943223	4
Lavant H	Coin	Iron Age uninscribed silver unit of previously unknown type, probably Southern (Atrebates), c. 50s-30s BC			lia	HSG		COIN		Portable Antiquities Scheme Database	100121	PAS Database	SUSS-AF0596	4
Lavant I	Harness fitting	An incomplete Iron Age-Roman copper alloy decorative trapezoidal harness fitting or mount (100 BC - 100 AD)			lia	HSG		WARFARE		Portable Antiquities Scheme Database	100144	PAS Database	SUSS-DB7654	4

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sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
Lavant J	Coin	A very badly double struck 1st-century BC silver unit of the Remi of Belgic Gaul (modern-day Champagne)			lia	HSG		COIN		Portable Antiquities Scheme Database	100034	PAS Database	HAMP-D1ABF1	4
Lavant K	Harness Fitting	Fragment of a cast copper alloy terret with a circular sectioned ring and narrowed circular sectioned bar separated by a raised double collar			lia	HSG		WARFARE		Portable Antiquities Scheme Database	100096	PAS Database	SUSS-72B9F8	4
Levin Down, Singleton	Field system	Field systems represented by lynchets broadly of a Iron Age / Romano-British date	488301	113856	lia	HABITATION		FIELD SYSTEMS		Chichester Historic environment record	1190	HER		5
Little Down Copse, Harting	Field system	Field systems represented by lynchets broadly of a Iron Age / Romano-British date	476140	116174	lia	HABITATION		FIELD SYSTEMS		Chichester Historic environment record	287	HER		5
Littlehampton By-pass	LIA occupation	Occupation debris noted during the construction of the Littlehampton by-pass suggesting a settlement site	501710	103220	lia	HABITATION		OCCUPATION		West Sussex Historic Environment Record	5179	Gilkes & Lyne 1993		4
Lordington, Stoughton	LIA Enclosures	Two ditched enclosures were noted in the field to N of Lordington. Limited excavations in 1984 revealed LIA pottery from the enclosure ditches	478240	110160	lia	HABITATION		ENCLOSURE		Chichester Historic environment record	392	Holgate 1986b		2
Lyne Place	LIA occupation	Construction work between nos 2 and 4, Lyne place uncovered a small gully was discovered, LIA in date	469650	112560	lia	HABITATION		OCCUPATION		Hampshire Archaeology and Historic Buildings Record	26456	Cunliffe 1959		3

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sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
Madehurst	LIA and Romano-British unenclosed settlement	Unenclosed area of settlement inhabited from the end of the Iron Age in the Romano-British period including evidence for pits and high status imported pottery	501420	108530	lia	HABITATION		UNENCLOSED		West Sussex Historic Environment Record	1975	Black 1987		2
Manor Farm Down, Cocking	Field system	Field systems represented by lynchets broadly of a Iron Age date	488320	116640	lia	HABITATION		FIELD SYSTEMS		Chichester Historic environment record	1137	HER		5
Medmerry A	Coin	An Iron Age gold stater was found in 1912 opposite Medmerry Farm, Selsey	483930	93540	lia	HSG		COIN		Chichester Historic environment record	872	Heron-Allen 1912		4
Medmerry B	Coin	Uninscribed gold quarter stater found in 1875	483900	93500	lia	HSG		COIN		Chichester Historic environment record	873	Evans 1890		4
N of Thornham Point	Possible salt working site	Patches of pot boilers with Iron Age sherds found during digging of drainage ditches and on sea-defence work. Suggest occupation, possible salt-working site	476590	104370	lia	INDUSTRY		SALT PRODUCTION		Chichester Historic environment record	155	Bedwin 1980		4
N. of St Mary's Hospital, Chichester	LIA occupation - ditch	Gallo-Belgic wares and their native imitations, were found in an excavated ditch during excavations at St Mary's Hospital in 1966	486250	104970	lia	HABITATION		OCCUPATION		Chichester Historic environment record	3752	Down & Rule 1971		3
Near Amberley station	Coin	Continental Iron Age gold quarter stater uninscribed Gallo Belgic DC			lia	HSG		COIN		Portable Antiquities Scheme Database	100128	PAS Database	SUSS-B5F3D4	4

WSTOZ - Late Iron Age

sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
Nore Hill	Farmstead with burial mounds	The site of a LIA and Roman farming settlement was discovered in 1930 with six dwellings and four burial mounds. This lay adjacent to at least 20 fields marked out by lynchets and banks	494700	109800	lia	HABITATION	RELIGIOUS	FARMSTEAD, FIELD SYSTEMS	BURIALS	Chichester Historic environment record	1642	Winbolt 1931		5
North Bersted	Mid to LIA settlement	MIA to LIA settlement revealed through excavation in 1976. Drainage ditches formed the boundaries of a rectangular field and a 6m diameter roundhouse	49319	10102	lia	HABITATION		FARMSTEAD	ROUND HOUSE	West Sussex Historic Environment Record	1429	Bedwin 1978		1
North Bersted B	LIA farmstead with associated field systems and warrior burial	A excavation in 2007/08 revealed extensive occupation in the LIA including evidence for roundhouses, field systems and trackways as well as a rare 'Warrior Burial'	492542	101468	lia	HABITATION	RELIGIOUS	UNENCLOSED	WARRIOR BURIAL	West Sussex Historic Environment Record	7891	Taylor & Weale 2009		1
North Down	Field system	Field systems represented by lynchets broadly of a Iron Age / Romano-British date	494420	114500	lia	HABITATION		FIELD SYSTEMS		Chichester Historic environment record	2654	HER		5
North Street	Coin	An Iron Age coin of Cunobelinus found during excavations on Chapel Street in 1948	485983	105132	lia	HSG		COIN		Chichester Historic environment record	3418	Murray & Pilmer 1952		4
Northcomb Barn, Sutton	Brooch	There is a report of the metal detector find of an Iron age La Tene style brooch in the field to the W of Northcomb Barn	496938	115348	lia	HSG		BROOCH		Chichester Historic environment record	4460	HER		4
NW of Church Farm, Harting	Coin	A silver coin of Verica was found c. 5 chains NW of Church Farm, Harting in 1837	478216	119555	lia	HSG		COIN		Chichester Historic environment record	233	Gordon 1894		4

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sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
NW of Racton Church, Stoughton	Coin	Iron Age gold coin, Westerham type, British Atrebates, found in 1949 to the north-west of Racton church	478021	109243	lia	HSG		COIN		Chichester Historic environment record	73	HER		4
Oldplace Farm, Westhampnett	LIA enclosure	Trial excavations carried out by SAFU in 1974 on an enclosure seen on APs to the SW of Oldplace Farm suggested a LIA date	487450	106230	lia	HABITATION		ENCLOSURE		Chichester Historic environment record	2323	Bedwin 1983		2
Oldplace Farm, Westhampnett B	Enclosures	A complex of cropmarks visible on RAF APs and on Crawford APs to the east of Graylingwell Hospital, Westhampnett. Trial excavations suggested a date of LIA to early Roman.	487300	106400	lia	HABITATION		ENCLOSURE		Chichester Historic environment record	2322	Bedwin 1983		2
Ounces Barn, Boxgrove A	LIA enclosure and Coin production	During excavations at Ounces Barn, Boxgrove, an enclosure was found with evidence for the production of metal coin blanks, and other IA occupation	492110	108480	lia	HABITATION	INDUSTRY	ENCLOSURE	COIN PRODUCTION	Chichester Historic environment record	1541	Bedwin & Orton 1984, Bedwin & Place 1995		1
Ounces Barn, Boxgrove B	Linear Dyke terminus	The termini of the Devil's Ditch was excavated in 1982-3 by SAFU at Ounces Barn, Boxgrove	492110	108480	lia	BOUNDARY		DYKE		Chichester Historic environment record	1565	Bedwin & Orton 1984, Bedwin & Place 1995		1
Park Farm	Coin	British Iron Age gold stater of Verica; Southern (Atrebates)			lia	HSG		COIN		Portable Antiquities Scheme Database	100143	PAS Database	SUSS-D87E12	4
Patching G	Coin	A silver Roman Republican denarius of C. Vibius C.f. Pansa. Minted in 90 BC. This example is a rare variant.			lia	HSG		COIN		Portable Antiquities Scheme Database	100094	PAS Database	SUSS-6E8B22	4

WSTOZ - Late Iron Age

sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
Portfield Gravel Pit	Coin	An Iron Age coin (Mack 148 - Wonersh type) was found in 1961 on a causeway between two gravel pits at Portfield, Chichester	487570	105390	lia	HSG		COIN		Chichester Historic environment record	2324	HER		4
Possible entrenchment or Roman road - EWC	Linear Dyke	An earthwork named on historic maps as the 'Hook Dyke is thought to be either a surviving stretch of Roman road or a Chichester entrenchment. It may also have formed part of a medieval park pale or woodland boundary	484784	105129	lia	BOUNDARY		DYKE		Chichester Historic environment record	3947	Bradley 1971		5
Prinsted yacht basin	Possible salt working site	Saucepan pottery and other later Iron Age wares, and briquetage found in the yacht basin at Prinsted suggesting a Salt working site	476350	104710	lia	INDUSTRY		SALT PRODUCTION		Chichester Historic environment record	157	Bedwin 1980		4
Ratham Mill, Funtington	Temple	A sub-circular soilmark to the E of the site of the Romano-Celtic temple at Ratham Mill seen on APs may be the remains of an Iron Age temple	480955	106433	lia	RELIGIOUS		TEMPLE		Chichester Historic environment record	4258	King & Soffe 1983		5
Raughmere Farm, Lavant	Brooch	LIA Bronze fibula found in Feb 1989 in a field walk east of Raughmere Farm.	486200	107700	lia	HSG		BROOCH		Chichester Historic environment record	2395	HER		4
Robin Wood, Compton	Occupation	Evidence for occupation in the Iron Age was recovered including several LIA coins and pits and postholes	475998	114817	lia	HABITATION	HSG	OCCUPATION	COIN	Chichester Historic environment record	3297	Down 1990		3
S. of Horley Farm, Cocking	Field system	Field system as visible on aerial photographs and represented by lychets of a broadly Iron Age / Romano-British date	486880	117410	lia	HABITATION		FIELD SYSTEMS		Chichester Historic environment record	1117	HER		5

sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
Selsey	Coins	A large number of Iron Age coins have been found on the Selsey peninsula, possible hoards	485000	92000	lia	HSG		COIN		Chichester Historic environment record	881	Willett 1879a, 1879b, Allen 1960, Haselgrove 1978		4
Selsey Beach	Coin hoard	Early in 1986 seventeen gold and silver coins were found on the beach at Selsey	485370	92210	lia	HSG		COIN		Chichester Historic environment record	1006	Bone & Burnett 1986		4
Shopwhyke, Oving	LIA inhabitation and trackway	Excavations in 2000 and 2002 revealed evidence for MIA roundhouses and other occupation (pits and ditches) and a LIA trackway	489147	105641	lia	HABITATION	ROUTE SYSTEM	UNENCLOSED	TRACK WAY	Chichester Historic environment record	4128	Sygrave 2002, Brown et al 2004		2
Sidlesham Villa site	LIA occupation - ditch	A ditch with Belgic pottery was found on the site of a Roman villa near Sidlesham during excavations in 1954	485470	97020	lia	HABITATION		OCCUPATION		Chichester Historic environment record	779	Wilson 1955		3
Singleton area	Coin and Terret	Gaulish potin and "miniature terret" found "on the land high up on the South Downs near Singleton"	488000	113000	lia	HSG		COIN	OTHER	Chichester Historic environment record	1267	HER		4
Singleton Forest, Singleton	Field system	Field systems represented by lynchets broadly of a Iron Age date	489000	115800	lia	HABITATION		FIELD SYSTEMS		Chichester Historic environment record	1140	HER		5
Snell's Corner	Inhumation Burials	Four inhumation burials were found in association with a roman cemetery	470750	115310	lia	RELIGIOUS		INHUMATION		Hampshire Archaeology and Historic Buildings Record	26546	Knocker et al 1957		3
Spitalfield, Chichester	LIA occupation - ditch	A LIA or early Roman ditch containing pottery was excavated during an evaluation on Spitalfield Lane in 1998	486995	105383	lia	HABITATION		OCCUPATION		Chichester Historic environment record	3988	Proctor 1988		3

WSTOZ - Late Iron Age

sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
St. Peter's, Chichester	Metal working area	Evidence for LIA metalworking was found during an excavation at St. Peter's in 1987	486133	105036	lia	INDUSTRY		METAL WORKING		Chichester Historic environment record	3416	Down & Magilton 1993		4
Stane Street, Westhampnett	Field system ditch	LIA ditch was excavated in close proximity to Stane Street at Westhampnett were exposed during an evaluation in 2004	488060	106044	lia	HABITATION		FIELD SYSTEMS		Chichester Historic environment record	4201	Priestly-Bell 2010		1
Stoke Clump	Field system	Field systems represented by lynchets broadly of a Iron Age / Romano-British date	483300	109400	lia	HABITATION		FIELD SYSTEMS		Chichester Historic environment record	1068	HER		5
Stoke Clump, Funtington	Field system	Field systems represented by lynchets broadly of a Iron Age / Romano-British date	483048	109448	lia	HABITATION		FIELD SYSTEMS		Chichester Historic environment record	3018	HER		5
Stopham	Coin	An Iron Age silver unit of eastern Gaul			lia	HSG		COIN		Portable Antiquities Scheme Database	100091	PAS Database	SUSS-65D368	4
Stopham B	Coin	An Iron Age gold quarter stater, Early Uninscribed 'QC' Gold			lia	HSG		COIN		Portable Antiquities Scheme Database	100092	PAS Database	SUSS-65F8D4	4
Stopham C	Coin	British Iron Age gold quarter stater uninscribed 'O' Gold ('Geometric' type)			lia	HSG		COIN		Portable Antiquities Scheme Database	100103	PAS Database	SUSS-874207	4
Sutton	Coin	British Iron Age gold stater, uninscribed QC type			lia	HSG		COIN		Portable Antiquities Scheme Database	100074	PAS Database	SUSS-3BB870	4
SW of Langford Farm, Lavant	Coin and Brooch	A silver Iron age coin and a C4-C3BC La Tene brooch were found during metal detecting in a field to the SW of Langford Farm, Lavant	483836	109561	lia	HSG		COIN	BROOCH	Chichester Historic environment record	6817	HER		4

WSTOZ - Late Iron Age

sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
Swanfield Drive, Chichester	LIA occupation - ditch	A LIA or early Roman pit was exposed and excavated during an evaluation on Swanfield Drive in 1999	487127	105462	lia	HABITATION		OCCUPATION		Chichester Historic environment record	4066	Saunders 1999		3
Tangmere	Coin hoard	A possible deposit of c.200-300 coins is alleged to have been discovered in Tangmere by metal detectorists	489849	106301	lia	HSG		COIN		Chichester Historic environment record	3029	Bean 2000		4
Tarmac quarry - Shopwyke	LIA and Early Roman settlement	Settlement represented by ditches and other features, appears to be continuous from the Iron Age to the Roman period	488869	105911	lia	HABITATION		ENCLOSURE		Chichester Historic environment record	1856	Kenny 1992a		3
The Devil's Ditch - Westhampnett	Linear Dyke	Linear feature (part of Ewa(i)) running for approx. 245m to the west of the Richmond Arms Hotel in Westhampnett parish	489124	108426	lia	BOUNDARY		DYKE		Chichester Historic environment record	2488	Holgate 1986b		4
Upwaltham	Field system	Field systems represented by lynchets broadly of a Iron Age / Romano-British date	493300	113300	lia	HABITATION		FIELD SYSTEMS		Chichester Historic environment record	2631	HER		5
Upwaltham B	Field system	Field systems represented by lynchets broadly of a Iron Age / Romano-British date	494200	113900	lia	HABITATION		FIELD SYSTEMS		Chichester Historic environment record	2632	HER		5
Venus Wood, Cocking	Field system	Field system as visible on aerial photographs and represented by lychets - of a broadly Iron Age date	485800	116000	lia	HABITATION		FIELD SYSTEMS		Chichester Historic environment record	1127	HER		5
W of Marsh Lane	Salt Working site	Salt working site excavated in 1978, revealing a pit that produced pottery, flint, charcoal and briquetage	477900	103780	lia	INDUSTRY		SALT PRODUCTION		Chichester Historic environment record	217	Cartwright 1984		2

WSTOZ - Late Iron Age

sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
W. of Church Farm, Tangmere	LIA occupation	Evidence for Iron Age occupation was uncovered producing gullies, pits and postholes during an evaluation in 1999	489238	106329	lia	HABITATION		OCCUPATION		Chichester Historic environment record	4081	Stevens 2000		3
Walberton	Coin	British Iron Age silver unit of Tincomarus; Southern (Atrebates)			lia	HSG		COIN		Portable Antiquities Scheme Database	100149	PAS Database	SUSS-EF1257	4
Warren Down, Stoughton	Field system	Field systems represented by lynchets broadly of a Iron Age / Romano-British date	474900	112000	lia	HABITATION		FIELD SYSTEMS		Chichester Historic environment record	60	HER		5
West Broyle House, Lavant	Coins	Three staters from the LIA were found using a metal detector near West Broyle House	484760	106910	lia	HSG		COIN		Chichester Historic environment record	3184	HER		4
West Dean	LIA Hillfort	Goosehill Camp is a concentric two ring earthwork with apparent entrances at the SW in both rings. Excavations were carried out in 1953-5 and 2009	482970	112650	lia	HABITATION		HILLFORT		Chichester Historic environment record	576	Boyden 1956		2
West Dean Arboretum, West Dean	Field system	Field system as visible on aerial photographs and represented by lychets of a broadly Iron Age / Romano-British date	487090	111690	lia	HABITATION		FIELD SYSTEMS		Chichester Historic environment record	1223	HER		5
West Sands	Coin Hoard	About 300 Iron Age coins and possibly Saxon objects found in 1866	483822	93420	lia	HSG		COIN		Chichester Historic environment record	871	HER		4
West Strand	Coin	A gold coin of Verica was found in 1872	477450	97780	lia	HSG		COIN		Chichester Historic environment record	48	Haines 1873		4

WSTOZ - Late Iron Age

sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
Westbourne	Strap Fitting	LIA or Romano-British strap union, Taylor and Brailsford type 1. This object is constructed of a figure of eight flanked on either side by a vertical bar, attached at each end by a moulded oval collar			lia	HSG		WARFARE		Portable Antiquities Scheme Database	100076	PAS Database	SUSS-40FDE5	4
Westburton Hill, Bury	Field system	Field systems represented by lynchets broadly of a Iron Age / Romano-British date	499550	112330	lia	HABITATION		FIELD SYSTEMS		Chichester Historic environment record	2734	HER		5
Westhampnett Bypass Area 2	Shrines and other cemetery features	Four square-rectangular enclosures found during excavations by Wessex Archaeology prior to the construction of the A27 Westhampnett bypass were thought to be Iron Age shrines	489584	106727	lia	RELIGIOUS		SHRINES		Chichester Historic environment record	3355	Fitzpatrick et al 2008		1
Westhampnett Bypass Area 4, Westhampnett	LIA occupation - pits	During the excavation by Wessex Archaeology in 1992 at Westhampnett possible Iron Age features were found, along with a large amount of middle and LIA pottery	489230	106410	lia	HABITATION		OCCUPATION		Chichester Historic environment record	1852	Fitzpatrick et al 2008		1
Westhampnett Bypass Area 5, Oving	LIA farmstead	During the excavation by Wessex Archaeology at Westhampnett , five post-built structures along with pit-like features, including a well dating to the LIA were found	488924	106041	lia	HABITATION		FARMSTEAD	ROUND HOUSE	Chichester Historic environment record	1849	Fitzpatrick et al 2008		1

WSTOZ - Late Iron Age

sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
Westhampnett Bypass, Area 2, Tangmere	Cremation cemetery	A LIA cemetery and religious site, including funeral pyre sites and 161 cremation burials was found during an archaeological excavation by Wessex Archaeology in 1992 at Westhampnett	489560	106700	lia	RELIGIOUS		CREMATION	CEMETARY	Chichester Historic environment record	2416	Fitzpatrick et al 2008		1
Westhampnett roundabout	Possible MIA enclosure	Evidence for a possible Iron Age enclosure was recovered during an watching brief revealing evidence for pits and ditches revealing mid to late IA pottery	487691	105941	lia	HABITATION		ENCLOSURE		Chichester Historic environment record	4133	Higgins 2001		3
Wick	LIA farmstead	Iron age to Romano-British farmstead revealing evidence for roundhouses and associated pits and postholes	502380	102780	lia	HABITATION		FARMSTEAD	ROUNDHOUSE	West Sussex Historic Environment Record	2171	Gilkes & Lyne 1993		3
Wolver Brow	LIA to Early Roman settlement	A LIA to Roman settlement site developing into Roman Villa	474300	119100	lia	HABITATION		OCCUPATION		Hampshire Archaeology and Historic Buildings Record	33672	HER		5
Yapton	Coin	An Iron Age silver unit of Tincomarus, Southern (Atrebates) series. BMC 922.			lia	HSG		COIN		Portable Antiquities Scheme Database	100110	PAS Database	SUSS-949E74	4

WTOZ - Early Roman

sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
1 North Pallant, Chichester	Early Roman occupation - pits	Possible Roman pits containing coarse ware and samian ware sherds were found during a watching brief in 1969	486167	104757	erom	HABITATION		OCCUPATION		Chichester Historic environment record	3927	HER		3
10 & 11 Eastgate Square, Chichester	Early Roman occupation - pits	During an evaluation of land to the rear of 10 and 11 Eastgate Square Roman pits were found including cess and rubbish pits	486494	104743	erom	HABITATION		OCCUPATION		Chichester Historic environment record	417	Priestly-Bell 2003		3
171-173 Broyle Road, Chichester	Early Roman occupation - ditch and pit	During an evaluation prior to development work at 171-173 Broyle Road evidence of Roman occupation in the form of a ditch and pit was found in the south-east corner of the site	486129	105460	erom	HABITATION		OCCUPATION		Chichester Historic environment record	438	James 2004		3
21 North Street, Chichester	Early Roman street	A layer of gravel and mortar c.0.5m thick was seen during a watching brief at 21 North Street in 1989. It may have been a street that was part of the Forum	486070	104950	erom	ROUTE SYSTEM		STREET		Chichester Historic environment record	3646	HER		3
23-25 The Hornet, Chichester	Early Roman ditch	A ditch dating from the Iron Age - early Roman period was found between The Hornet and the Lavant in 1988-90 containing two horse burials	486582	104817	erom	BOUNDARY		TOWN DEFENCES		Chichester Historic environment record	2276	Browse 1990a		3
36 Fishbourne Road East	Early Roman occupation and Gold Signet ring	Evidence of Roman occupation, including pits and postholes and drainage pipework, was found in 1995 prior to redevelopment work. A gold signet ring was also recovered	484290	104790	erom	HABITATION	HSG	OCCUPATION	DECORATION	Chichester Historic environment record	2184	Kenny & Magilton 1995, Tomlin 1997		3

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sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
61 South Street, Chichester	Early Roman street	A thin layer of whitish gravel metalling was seen opposite No. 61 (White Horse public house) in January 1977 and interpreted at Roman South Street	486047	104722	erom	ROUTE SYSTEM		STREET		Chichester Historic environment record	4028	Down 1981		1
80 Fishbourne Road, Fishbourne	Early Roman occupation - ditch and beam slot	During an excavation in the rear garden of 80 Fishbourne Road evidence of early Roman occupation was found in the form of a round-bottomed ditch and a beam slot	483895	104708	erom	HABITATION		OCCUPATION	RECTANGULAR HOUSE	Chichester Historic environment record	4345	Rudkin 1996		1
Adam's Copse, Stoughton	Field system	Field systems represented by lynchets broadly of a Iron Age / Romano-British date	474340	112520	erom	HABITATION		FIELD SYSTEMS		Chichester Historic environment record	59	HER		5
All Saints, Chichester	Early Roman occupation - ditch and rectangular houses	Evidence for early Roman occupation was found during excavations to the north of All Saints Church in 1971-2 including ditches and several pre-military rectangular houses	486110	104740	erom	HABITATION		RECTANGULAR HOUSES	OCCUPATION	Chichester Historic environment record	3929	Down 1974		1
Amphitheatre - Chichester	Amphitheatre	The Chichester amphitheatre, excavated in 1935, was erected c.70-90AD and abandoned at the end of C2	486641	104651	erom	PUBLIC BUILDING		AMPHITHEATRE		Chichester Historic environment record	2284	Wilson 1957		3
Angmering Roman Villa	Villa	A 1st century Roman villa and associated bathhouse were excavated at Angmering including evidence for associated agricultural activity	505310	104510	erom	HABITATION		VILLA		West Sussex Historic Environment Record	2243	Scott 1938, Keefe 1945, Wilson 1947, Gilkes 1999		2

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sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
Area 1, Chapel Street	Early Roman occupation - pits and rectangular houses	During excavations in 1967-8, early phases of Roman occupation were found including timber framed buildings	485998	105069	erom	HABITATION		OCCUPATION	RECTANGULAR HOUSE	Chichester Historic environment record	3436	Down 1978		1
Area 10 Chapel Street, Chichester	Early Roman occupation - street and rectangular houses	During an excavation in 1984-5, evidence for early Roman occupation was recovered including rectangular buildings, a street and drainage features	485972	105024	erom	HABITATION	ROUTE SYSTEM	OCCUPATION RECTANGULAR HOUSE	STREET	Chichester Historic environment record	3571	Down & Magilton 1993		1
Area 2 Chapel Street, Chichester	Military occupation	During excavation on the site of the former Central Girls School, evidence for military timber buildings, metal and pottery manufacture	485964	105010	erom	MILITARY STRUCTURES	INDUSTRY	OTHER STRUCTURES	METAL WORKING POTTERY MANUFACTURE	Chichester Historic environment record	3574	Down 1978		1
Area 3 Trial trench A, Tower Street	Early Roman occupation - rectangular houses	Evidence for early Roman occupation including a timber framed building was recovered during a rescue excavation in 1973	485953	104914	erom	HABITATION		RECTANGULAR HOUSES	OCCUPATION	Chichester Historic environment record	2231	Browse 1990b		3
Area 3, Tower Street	Early Roman occupation - rectangular houses	Early Roman occupation of 10 timber buildings were noted during excavation in 1971-2	485963	104949	erom	HABITATION		RECTANGULAR HOUSES	OCCUPATION	Chichester Historic environment record	3389	Down 1978		1
Area 4, Clemens Yard A	Military buildings	The remains of three possible timber Roman military buildings were found during excavations in 1973	485955	104982	erom	MILITARY STRUCTURES		TIMBER BUILDINGS		Chichester Historic environment record	3395	Down 1978		1
Area 4, Clemens' Yard B	Early Roman occupation - pit	During excavations on the former Clemens' Yard a possible Roman clay pit and later pond were seen	485951	104974	erom	HABITATION		OCCUPATION		Chichester Historic environment record	3396	Down 1978		1

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sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
Area 4, Clemens' Yard C	Early Roman rectangular buildings	The remains of a group of early Roman buildings and associated features were found during excavations in 1973	485955	104982	erom	HABITATION		RECTANGULAR HOUSES	OCCUPATION	Chichester Historic environment record	3397	Down 1978		1
Area 5, Gospel Hall	Early Roman rectangular buildings	During excavations in 1973, evidence for Roman occupation dating from the C1 was found in the form of several phases of rectangular timber buildings	485959	105055	erom	HABITATION		RECTANGULAR HOUSES	OCCUPATION	Chichester Historic environment record	3443	Down 1978		1
Area 7 Tower Street, Chichester	Military buildings	Early Roman rectangular timber buildings, probably military in function, were found during excavations on land in Tower Street	485920	104930	erom	MILITARY STRUCTURES		TIMBER BUILDINGS		Chichester Historic environment record	3385	Down 1978		1
Area 8 Chapel street	Early Roman occupation - pits and timber buildings	Evidence for occupation in the Early Roman period indicated by pits and timber buildings was recovered in an excavation alongside No. 6 Crane Street in 1978	486015	105011	erom	HABITATION		RECTANGULAR HOUSES	OCCUPATION	Chichester Historic environment record	3586	Down 1981		1
Area 8 Chapel Street, Chichester (military stuff in pit ad early buildings)	Possible Military occupation	Evidence for Roman occupation during the C1 (possibly military) was found during excavations in Area 8 on Chapel Street in 1977	485968	105037	erom	MILITARY STRUCTURES		TIMBER BUILDINGS	OTHER	Chichester Historic environment record	3567	Down 1981		1
Area 9 Crane Street, Chichester A	Early Roman street	The northern edge of an E-W Roman street was seen during an excavation in Area 9, Crane Street	486016	105004	erom	ROUTE SYSTEM		STREET		Chichester Historic environment record	3597	Down 1981		1
Area B, East of Fishbourne Roman Palace	Early Roman occupation - pit	During the excavation of a trial trench (Area B) East of Fishbourne Roman Palace in 1999 a Roman rubbish pit was found	484052	104819	erom	HABITATION		OCCUPATION		Chichester Historic environment record	4361	Manley & Rudkin 2003		1

sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
Avenue de Chartres A	Early Roman occupation - house/shop	Evidence for an early Roman rectangular house, possibly a shop was discovered during an excavation outside the West Walls in 1959	485687	104749	erom	HABITATION		RECTANGULAR HOUSES		Chichester Historic environment record	2281	Holmes 1962		1
Avenue de Chartres B	Early Roman occupation - well	In 1959 during an excavation to establish the position of ditches outside the city wall, a well shaft was discovered.	485675	104746	erom	HABITATION		OCCUPATION		Chichester Historic environment record	2283	Holmes 1962		1
Barlavington Estate	Miniature votive object	A cast copper alloy Roman miniature votive axe. The object comprises a three dimensional representation of an axe head. Miniature objects have been interpreted as votives offered at temples and shrines			erom	HSG		RITUAL		Portable Antiquities Scheme Database	100153	PAS Database	SUSS-60AE05	4
Barn Nursery	Early Roman Occupation - pits and occupation levels	A watching brief at Barn Nursery revealed early roman pits and occupation surfaces	505850	103100	erom	HABITATION		OCCUPATION		West Sussex Historic Environment Record	4992	Rudling 1990		1
Batten Hanger, Elsted	Brooch	Following initial ploughing finds at Batten Hanger included a Early Roman brooch	481806	115432	erom	HSG		BROOCH		Chichester Historic environment record	328	Woodward 1988		4
Bignor Roman Villa	Early Roman Farmstead	A Romano-British farm dated to the 1st century pre-dated the construction of Bignor Roman Villa	498780	114690	erom	HABITATION		FARMSTEAD		Chichester Historic environment record	2157	Frere 1982		1
Bilsham	Early Roman farmstead	During roadworks and a subsequent excavation at Bilsham, the remains of a possible roman farmstead was uncovered including ditches, walls and pits	497472	101252	erom	HABITATION		FARMSTEAD		West Sussex Historic Environment Record	1459	Anon 1963		3

sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
Binderton, West Dean	Coin	A Roman coin of Claudius was found c.1927 at Binderton	484200	110900	erom	HSG		COIN		Chichester Historic environment record	625	Winbolt 1927		4
Bosham A	Finger Ring	A cast copper alloy finger ring fragment consisting of the bezel and part of the hoop of the ring. It is engraved with a horse			erom	HSG		RING		Portable Antiquities Scheme Database	100154	PAS Database	SUSS-BDD496	4
Bosham B	Statue	Head of colossal Roman statue and traditionally referred to as the Emperor Trajan AD98-117. Found in the area of Bosham churchyard	480430	103840	erom	HSG		STATUE		Chichester Historic environment record	2053	Painter 1965		4
Bow Hill, Stoughton A	Coin	A Dupondius of Domitian associated with Bow Hill	482000	111000	erom	HSG		COIN		Chichester Historic environment record	380	HER		4
Bow Hill, Stoughton B	Temple	The coin evidence and excavations in the 1920s-30s by R. Carlyon-Britton would suggest the presence of a Roman temple on Bow Hill	482510	111430	erom	RELIGIOUS	HSG	TEMPLE	COIN	Chichester Historic environment record	587	Lewis 1965		1
Bow Hill, West Dean	Field system	Field system as visible on aerial photographs and represented by lychets - of a broadly Iron Age/ERom date	483200	111400	erom	HABITATION		FIELD SYSTEMS		Chichester Historic environment record	623	HER		5
Broadbridge	Statue	An imported life size Roman marble head, dated to C1, was found in about 1850 at Broadbridge. Possibly Germancius or Caligula	481104	105382	erom	HSG		STATUE		Chichester Historic environment record	1062	Heron-Allen 1915b		4
Brockhurst Bottom, East Dean A	Field system	Field systems represented by lynchets broadly of a Iron Age / Romano-British date	491600	114500	erom	HABITATION		FIELD SYSTEMS		Chichester Historic environment record	2628	HER		5

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Brockhurst Bottom, East Dean B	Field system	Field systems represented by lynchets broadly of a Iron Age / Romano-British date	491600	114900	erom	HABITATION		FIELD SYSTEMS		Chichester Historic environment record	2636	HER		5
Broyle	Coin	Bronze dupondius Claudius (AD 41-54) found at the Broyle	485000	106000	erom	HSG		COIN		Chichester Historic environment record	2391	HER		4
Byes Copse, West Dean	Field system	Field system as visible on aerial photographs and represented by lynchets of a broadly Iron Age / Romano-British date	486100	114900	erom	HABITATION		FIELD SYSTEMS		Chichester Historic environment record	1199	HER		5
Canal Basin, Chichester	Coins	An earthen pot containing 700 Roman silver coins, from Vespasian to Faustina the Younger, was found in 1819 during the digging of the canal basin	485927	104120	erom	HSG		COIN		Chichester Historic environment record	2211	Anon 1837		4
Cattlemarket, Chichester A	Early Roman ditch	During excavations on the site of the former Cattlemarket, a large possible early Roman defensive ditch was excavated	486413	104577	erom	HABITATION		OCCUPATION		Chichester Historic environment record	3558	Down 1989		1
Cattlemarket, Chichester B	Early Roman occupation - suburb	Evidence for Roman occupation of timber buildings in the C1 was recovered during excavations between 1978 and 1982	486426	104584	erom	HABITATION		RECTANGULAR HOUSE		Chichester Historic environment record	3856	Down 1989		1
Cattlemarket, Chichester C	Early Roman Military buildings	Evidence for Roman military occupation of timber buildings was recovered during excavations between 1978 and 1982	486431	104583	erom	MILITARY STRUCTURES		TIMBER BUILDINGS		Chichester Historic environment record	3867	Down 1989		1

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Cattlemarket, Chichester D	Early Roman defensive ditch	A part section across a Roman defensive ditch was excavated prior to site development in 1994	486459	104706	erom	BOUNDARY		CITY DEFENCES		Chichester Historic environment record	3876	Browse 1994		3
Cawley Priory, Chichester	Early Roman city defences	Early bank of city defences dated to the 1st century were seen in excavation in the garden of the former Cawley Priory	486146	104501	erom	BOUNDARY		CITY DEFENCES		Chichester Historic environment record	3554	Rae 1952		2
Cawley's Almhouses, Chichester A	Early Roman cremations	Two unurned Roman cremation burials were found during an evaluation at Cawley's Almhouses in 1998	486081	105509	erom	RELIGIOUS		CREMATION		Chichester Historic environment record	2463	Hunter & Pine 2004		3
Cawley's Almshouses, Chichester B	Early Roman religious building	Evidence for Roman occupation associated with two cremation burials, included the remains of a timber cill-beam building in 2001	486070	105509	erom	HABITATION		RECTANGULAR HOUSE		Chichester Historic environment record	4127	Hunter & Pine 2004		3
Chalkpit Lane, Lavant	Early Roman enclosure	A late IA and Roman settlement existed at Chalkpit Lane, indicated by V shaped ditches containing pottery	487030	109370	erom	HABITATION		ENCLOSURE		Chichester Historic environment record	2402	Kenny 1993		3
Charlton A	Early Roman settlement site	A Romano-British Village, partially excavated in the 1960's, revealed occupation from the Early Roman period	473461	117408	erom	HABITATION		ENCLOSED		Hampshire Archaeology and Historic Buildings Record	27845	Cunliffe 1977		4
Charlton B	Early Roman occupation - ditch	A Post-conquest period ditch was uncovered at Charlton and appears to have been backfilled relatively quickly	473388	117457	erom	HABITATION		OCCUPATION		Hampshire Archaeology and Historic Buildings Record	27830	Cunliffe 1977		3

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sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
Charlton Down	Late Iron Age and Early Roman enclosure	A Late Iron Age and Early Roman enclosure was visible from aerial photographs and was dated due to field walking	472500	116500	erom	HABITATION		ENCLOSURE		Hampshire Archaeology and Historic Buildings Record	26781	HER		5
Chapel Street Health Clinic	Early Roman building	Evidence for Roman rectangular buildings was recovered during an evaluation on the Chapel Street Health Clinic site in 1997	486005	105111	erom	HABITATION		RECTANGULAR HOUSE		Chichester Historic environment record	3626	Bashford & James 1997		3
Chapel Street, Chichester A	Early Roman building	The walls and tessellated pavement from a Roman building were originally observed on Chapel Street near the Providence Chapel in 1934	485967	105116	erom	HABITATION		RECTANGULAR HOUSE		Chichester Historic environment record	3438	Murray & Pilmer 1952		2
Chapel Street, Chichester B	Early Roman road	Just N of the junction of Chapel Street with Crane Street a excavation sectioned the N edge of an E-W street	485992	105012	erom	ROUTE SYSTEM		ROAD		Chichester Historic environment record	3595	Down 1978		1
Charlton, Singleton	Brooch	Roman brooch from Charlton village, a Nanheim derivative with a wide flat bow, dated as Claudian/Neronian	488700	113000	erom	HSG		BROOCH		Chichester Historic environment record	1288	HER		4
Chichester	Forum	Part of the Roman Forum first revealed as a thick gravel layer in an excavation in 1934 on the site of the Post Office, West Street	486000	104898	erom	PUBLIC BUILDING		FORUM		Chichester Historic environment record	3364	Holmes 1965		2
Chichester Cathedral	Early Roman occupation	During an excavation at the east end of Chichester Cathedral in 1966 evidence of Roman occupation was found	485989	104784	erom	HABITATION		OCCUPATION		Chichester Historic environment record	4237	Down & Rule 1971, 127-142		1

sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
Chichester Entrenchment - EWB	Linear Dyke	A section of the Chichester Entrenchments that runs east-west for approx 2,110m from the north-east corner of the Roussillon Barracks site to Salthill Road. A complete archaeological section across the bank and ditch has not been recorded	485304	106644	erom	BOUNDARY		DYKE		Chichester Historic environment record	2492	Bradley 1971		3
Chichester Entrenchment - EWD(i)	Linear Dyke	EWD(i) is a section of The Chichester Entrenchments running almost east-west for approx 1,267m from Little Cotfield Plantation to Mouthey's Plantation in Funtington in the general Oakwood area	482552	106514	erom	BOUNDARY		DYKE		Chichester Historic environment record	7905	Bradley 1971		3
Chichester Entrenchment - EWJ	Linear Dyke	A previously unknown stretch of the Chichester Entrenchments (designated EWJ) was exposed during an evaluation and excavation by Southern Archaeology in 1998 in advance of site redevelopment for a new acute mental health unit at Graylingwell Hospital	486609	105953	erom	BOUNDARY		DYKE		Chichester Historic environment record	4009	Bradley 1971		3
Chichester Entrenchment - NS1	Linear Dyke	A c.2.5km stretch of the Chichester Entrenchments running from the southern part of Lavant parish to Bishop Otter College. Usually dated to the late Iron Age but it may be a medieval park or forest boundary bank	486123	107377	erom	BOUNDARY		DYKE		Chichester Historic environment record	4001	Bradley 1971		3

sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
Chichester Entrenchment - NS2	Linear Dyke	A possible stretch of the Chichester entrenchments running southwards from the eastern end of EWB. Known only from documentary sources and historic mapping	486238	106138	erom	BOUNDARY		DYKE		Chichester Historic environment record	4005	Bradley 1971		3
Chichester Entrenchment - NS3	Linear Dyke	NS3 is a section of The Chichester Entrenchments running approx N-S for approx 230m from a point roughly halfway along EWB at East Broyle, Chichester. It is a Scheduled Monument. It has not been sectioned archaeologically	485267	106473	erom	BOUNDARY		DYKE		Chichester Historic environment record	2493	Bradley 1971		3
Chichester entrenchment - NS4	Linear Dyke	A possible Chichester entrenchment described in documentary sources as running from the head of Fishbourne Harbour to the 'Winchester Highway'. It may date to the late Iron Age or the medieval period	483776	105983	erom	BOUNDARY		DYKE		Chichester Historic environment record	7998	Bradley 1971		3
Chichester entrenchment - NS6	Linear Dyke	An excavation in the former cemetery of St. James' Hospital uncovered a substantial ditch, 7m wide and 2m deep, possibly IA and part of the Chichester Entrenchments. It has subsequently been traced further north in resistivity surveys	487161	105394	erom	BOUNDARY		DYKE		Chichester Historic environment record	3220	Bradley 1971		3
Chichester Harbour	Roman Bronze helmet	A Roman Bronze helmet, dredged up off Chichester	483000	104000	erom	HSG		OTHER		Chichester Historic environment record	2044	Robinson 1975		4

sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
Chichester to Bitterne Roman Road	Roman road	Margarys roman road 421 - running between Chichester and Bitterne approximately along the route of the present A27	473100	106050	erom	ROUTE SYSTEM		ROAD		Hampshire Archaeology and Historic Buildings Record	23354	HER		3
Chichester to Iping, West Dean	Roman road	Linear RR 155 Chichester area to Iping	484140	114770	erom	ROUTE SYSTEM		ROAD		Chichester Historic environment record	685	HER		4
Chichester to London Roman road - Stane Street Master Record	Roman road	Stane Street, the Roman road linking Chichester and London	486426	104782	erom	ROUTE SYSTEM		ROAD		Chichester Historic environment record	770	Margary 1955		1
Chichester-Silchester Roman road - Rummages Barn, West Dean	Roman road	The Roman road from Chichester towards Iping was seen on Aps	484740	111200	erom	ROUTE SYSTEM		ROAD		Chichester Historic environment record	653	Kenny 1985		1
Chidham Harbour A	IA & Roman Salt Production	Mid Iron Age to Roman salt production site excavated in 1989 by A.Hadley. The excavation revealed large quantities of briquetage and domestic containers	477854	104210	erom	INDUSTRY		SALT PRODUCTION		Chichester Historic environment record	207	Bradley 1992		1
Chidham Harbour B	IA & Roman Salt Production	An Iron Age & Roman salt production site excavated in 1989 (site B) revealed mainly briquetage and pottery but also three features, one of which contained alternating layers of burnt and unburnt clay	477980	103480	erom	INDUSTRY		SALT PRODUCTION		Chichester Historic environment record	208	Bradley 1992		1
Chilgrove 1, West Dean	Early Roman occupation	Early Roman occupation, as evidenced by some pits, was excavated at the site of a later Roman villa	483440	112440	erom	HABITATION		OCCUPATION		Chichester Historic environment record	646	Down 1979, 54-60		2

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Church Lane - Sidlesham	Coin	Dupondius of Vespasian (AD 69-79) found at Church Lane, Sidlesham in 1954	485470	99110	erom	HSG		COIN		Chichester Historic environment record	783	HER		4
Clanfield A	Late Iron Age and Early Roman enclosure	A Late Iron Age and Early Roman enclosure was visible from aerial photographs and was dated due to field walking. A field system is visible surrounding the site	471830	117000	erom	HABITATION		ENCLOSURE	FIELD SYSTEM	Hampshire Archaeology and Historic Buildings Record	26751	HER		5
Clanfield B	Late Iron Age and Early Roman occupation - ditch	During a watching brief a ditch was recorded and a 1m section of its length was excavated revealing densely packed with flint, burnt flint and late Iron age/ early Romano-British pottery sherds	471400	115870	erom	HABITATION		OCCUPATION		Hampshire Archaeology and Historic Buildings Record	26835	HER		3
Clanfield C	Late Iron Age and Early Roman occupation - ditch and hollow	During a watching brief a Late Iron Age ditch and Late Iron Age to Romano-British hollow were uncovered	471450	115920	erom	HABITATION		OCCUPATION		Hampshire Archaeology and Historic Buildings Record	26840	HER		3
Coldwaltham	Cosmetic Mortar	A cast copper alloy cosmetic mortar. It can be dated to the late Iron Age to early Roman periods, circa 1st - 2nd century AD. At the time of writing, 24 examples of cosmetic mortars have been recorded onto the PAS database			erom	HSG		OTHER		Portable Antiquities Scheme Database	100156	PAS Database	SUSS-91F7A7	4

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Copse Farm, Oving	Early Roman Enclosure and Farmsteads	A Romano-British settlement site, including an early farmstead, was discovered in fields to the north of Copse Farm, Tangmere	489480	106220	erom	HABITATION		ENCLOSURE	FARMSTEAD	Chichester Historic environment record	2375	Bedwin 1983, Bedwin & Holgate 1985		1
County Hall, Chichester	Early Roman occupation	Evidence for Roman occupation was recovered during an excavation in 1978 prior to construction of a new extension	485806	104999	erom	HABITATION		OCCUPATION		Chichester Historic environment record	3620	Down 1989		2
Deanlane End, Stoughton	Field system	Field systems represented by lynchets broadly of a Iron Age / Romano-British date	474250	112150	erom	HABITATION		FIELD SYSTEMS		Chichester Historic environment record	58	HER		5
Donnington	Coin	Metal detectorist finds of Roman coins from Donnington parish	485000	102000	erom	HSG		COIN		Chichester Historic environment record	3028	HER		4
Double Barn, West Dean	Field system	Field system as visible on aerial photographs and represented by lynchets of a broadly Iron Age / Romano-British date	485100	113600	erom	HABITATION		FIELD SYSTEMS		Chichester Historic environment record	1221	HER		5
Droke, East Dean	Field system	Field systems represented by lynchets broadly of a Iron Age / Romano-British date	492560	112640	erom	HABITATION		FIELD SYSTEMS		Chichester Historic environment record	2648	HER		5
E. of council depot, Westhampnett	LIA to Roman Occupation	A single circular pit containing Late Iron Age or early Romano-British pottery was exposed during an evaluation carried out in 2004	488052	106024	erom	HABITATION		OCCUPATION		Chichester Historic environment record	4202	Preistly-Bell 2004a		3
E. of Downs Farm	Field system	Field system as visible on aerial photographs and represented by lynchets of a broadly Iron Age / Romano-British date	481310	109470	erom	HABITATION		FIELD SYSTEMS		Chichester Historic environment record	1023	HER		5

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sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
East Broyle, Chichester	Coin	An 'As' of Nero (54-68AD) was found in the garden of 20 Winchester Drive	485637	105888	erom	HSG		COIN		Chichester Historic environment record	2388	HER		4
East Dean	Field system	Field systems represented by lynchets broadly of a Iron Age / Romano-British date	490200	113600	erom	HABITATION		FIELD SYSTEMS		Chichester Historic environment record	2640	HER		5
East of Fishbourne Roman Palace A	Early Roman timber buildings	Evidence for timber buildings were found during excavations to the east of Fishbourne Roman Palace between 1983 and 1999	484055	104787	erom	HABITATION		RECTANGULAR HOUSE		Chichester Historic environment record	1695	Down et al 1996		1
East of Fishbourne Roman Palace B	Early Roman Smithy	A Roman smithy associated with the garden of Fishbourne palace was found during a rescue excavation in 1986	484121	104821	erom	INDUSTRY		IRON WORKING		Chichester Historic environment record	4347	Down et al 1996		1
East of Fishbourne Roman Palace C	Early Roman stock enclosure	During excavations to the east of Fishbourne Roman Palace in 1985-6 an early Roman stock enclosure was seen	484135	104718	erom	HABITATION		ENCLOSURE		Chichester Historic environment record	4349	Down et al 1996, 24-30		1
East of Fishbourne Roman Palace D	Early Roman masonry building	During excavations to the east of Fishbourne Roman Palace between 1995 and 1999 a Roman masonry building was uncovered and excavated, known as masonry building 3	484071	104762	erom	HABITATION		RECTANGULAR HOUSE		Chichester Historic environment record	4356	Manley & Rudkin 2003, 15-29		1
East of Fishbourne Roman Palace E	Roman road	During excavations to the east of Fishbourne Roman Palace in 1983 a gravel layer was found	484065	104732	erom	ROUTE SYSTEM		ROAD		Chichester Historic environment record	4357	Down et al 1996		1
East Pallant Car Park, Chichester	Early Roman occupation	Evidence for Roman occupation including a well and pits was discovered at the north end of East Pallant car park	486272	104684	erom	HABITATION		OCCUPATION		Chichester Historic environment record	4166	Hunter & Pine 2000a		3

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sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
East Pallant House garden, Chichester	Early Roman occupation	Excavations were carried out in the ground S. of East Pallant House in 1949-50, revealing evidence of early Roman occupation	486228	104615	erom	HABITATION		OCCUPATION		Chichester Historic environment record	3955	Wilson 1952		2
East Pallant House, Chichester	Early Roman occupation	During an excavation to the south of East Pallant House in 1981/2, a Roman well, drain, timber structure, pits and building debris were found	486220	104605	erom	HABITATION		OCCUPATION	RECTANGULAR HOUSE	Chichester Historic environment record	3996	Down 1989		1
East Street, Chichester A	Inscription	A dedicatory inscription dated 58-60 AD, was found at the corner of East Street and St Martin's Lane in 1740	486170	104816	erom	HSG		INSCRIPTION		Chichester Historic environment record	3713	Collingwood & Wright 1965		4
East Street, Chichester B	Roman street	A dark occupation layer was seen below the Roman street in 1979	486103	104808	erom	ROUTE SYSTEM		STREET		Chichester Historic environment record	3849	Down 1981		1
Eastgate, Chichester A	Roman road	During an excavation on the N side of Eastgate Square, the surface of Stane Street and a side ditch were seen.	486423	104788	erom	ROUTE SYSTEM		ROAD		Chichester Historic environment record	3513	Down 1974		1
Eastgate, Chichester B	Roman road	Stane Street was sectioned by contractor's machine in 1973 at a point where it entered the Eastgate	486412	104780	erom	ROUTE SYSTEM		ROAD		Chichester Historic environment record	3525	Down 1973		1
Elsted	Early Roman farmstead	Excavations by SAFU in 1975 SW. of Elsted revealed part of the courtyard of a Romano-British farmstead, occupied from C1-C3	481255	119040	erom	HABITATION		FARMSTEAD		Chichester Historic environment record	512	Redknap & Millett 1980		1
Fishbourne	Villa garden	A semi-formal Roman garden, including drainage ditches/ornamental waterways was found to the east of Fishbourne palace in July 1986	484100	104800	erom	HABITATION		VILLA		Chichester Historic environment record	3182	Down et al 1996, 30-35		1

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sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
Fishbourne A27 Bypass	Military buildings	Lines of large postholes bounded by a timber-lined slot indicate the presence of a Roman military building along the Fishbourne A27 bypass	484100	104800	erom	MILITARY STRUCTURES		TIMBER BUILDINGS		Chichester Historic environment record	2362	Down et al 1996		1
Fishbourne Creek	Early Roman agricultural buildings and Coins	Two successive Roman agricultural buildings were excavated in 1982-3. Coinage was later retrieved in the immediate area	483611	104255	erom	HABITATION	HSG	FARMSTEAD	COIN	Chichester Historic environment record	2065	Rudkin 1986		1
Fishbourne Glebe Meadow	Early Roman occupation	Roman postholes, pits and ditches and associated finds, were discovered in 1995 and 1998 at Fishbourne Glebe Meadow	484174	104866	erom	HABITATION		OCCUPATION		Chichester Historic environment record	2186	Kenny 1998b		3
Fishbourne Mill Pond	Coin	Multiple Roman coins were found in Fishbourne Mill Pond, possibly the location a Roman springhead	483590	104630	erom	HSG		COIN		Chichester Historic environment record	2150	Cunliffe 1971		4
Fishbourne Rectory	Coin & Brooch	A brooch and coins were found at the location of Fishbourne rectory	484522	104767	erom	HSG		COIN, BROOCH		Chichester Historic environment record	2138	HER		4
Fishbourne Road East, Chichester	Villa water supply	Two shallow Roman ditches containing sherds of C1 Roman pottery and fragments of ceramic water pipe were exposed in 2007, possibly part of Fishbourne water supply	484749	104773	erom	HABITATION		VILLA		Chichester Historic environment record	4508	Mundin 2007		3
Fishbourne Road West, Fishbourne	Villa wall	During excavations for a new car port to the front of the property, a substantial Roman wall, part of Fishbourne Roman villa, was exposed	483918	104685	erom	HABITATION		VILLA		Chichester Historic environment record	4082	HER		4

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Fishbourne Road, Chichester	Trackway	The side ditches of a possible E-W late Iron Age or early Roman trackway were seen during evaluations in 1996	484749	104698	erom	ROUTE SYSTEM		TRACKWAY		Chichester Historic environment record	3953	Bashford 1996		3
Fishbourne Road, Fishbourne	Early Roman occupation - pit	A single truncated pit containing pottery sherds of a fabric which could date to the late iron age to early Roman periods was exposed and recorded during a watching brief by Wessex Archaeology in 2007	483883	104680	erom	HABITATION		OCCUPATION		Chichester Historic environment record	6066	Hall & Perrin 2007		3
Fishbourne Roman Palace A	Palace	Following the discovery of what appeared to be a substantial Roman building in 1960, large scale excavations were undertaken between 1961 and 1969, revealing a huge Roman palace at Fishbourne	483960	104730	erom	HABITATION		VILLA		Chichester Historic environment record	4029	Cunliffe 1971, 77-153		1
Fishbourne Roman Palace B	Early Roman occupation - well	Excavations between 1961 and 1968 at the site of Fishbourne Roman Palace revealed an early Roman well	483965	104854	erom	HABITATION		OCCUPATION		Chichester Historic environment record	181	Cunliffe 1971, 55		1
Fishbourne Roman Palace C	Military buildings	Excavations between 1961 and 1968 at Fishbourne Roman Palace revealed evidence of military occupation	483956	104728	erom	MILITARY STRUCTURES		TIMBER BUILDINGS		Chichester Historic environment record	4380	Cunliffe 1971		1
Fishbourne Roman Palace D	Early Roman enclosure	Excavations between 1961 and 1968 at Fishbourne Roman Palace revealed an early Roman ditched enclosure	483894	104802	erom	HABITATION		ENCLOSURE		Chichester Historic environment record	4381	Cunliffe 1971, 52-3		1

sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
Fishbourne Roman Palace E	Early Roman rectangular buildings	Excavations between 1961 and 1968 at Fishbourne Roman Palace revealed four pre-palace timber buildings	484021	104738	erom	HABITATION		RECTANGULAR HOUSE		Chichester Historic environment record	4382	Cunliffe 1971, 39-49		1
Fishbourne Roman Palace F	Proto-palace	Excavations between 1961 and 1968 at Fishbourne Roman Palace revealed a pre-palace masonry building usually referred to as the 'proto-palace'	484016	104684	erom	HABITATION		VILLA		Chichester Historic environment record	4383	Cunliffe 1971, 61-69, Down et al 1996		1
Fishbourne Roman Palace G	Stone Masons Working yard	Excavations between 1961 and 1968 at Fishbourne Roman Palace revealed a first century stone masons working yard	484028	104763	erom	INDUSTRY		STONE MASONRY		Chichester Historic environment record	4385	Cunliffe 1971		1
Fishbourne Roman Palace H	Early Roman rectangular buildings	Excavations between 1961 and 1968 at Fishbourne Roman Palace revealed a first century pre-palace building	483907	104745	erom	HABITATION		RECTANGULAR HOUSE		Chichester Historic environment record	4386	Cunliffe 1971, 69-72		1
Fishbourne, Westward House	occupation	A phase of early roman building was discovered during an excavation in Fishbourne	484250	104780	erom	HABITATION		RECTANGULAR HOUSE		Chichester Historic environment record	2140	Kenny 1992b		3
Friars' Gate, Chichester	Occupation - ditches	Excavations carried out in 1987 and 1988 revealed were two roughly parallel ditches at an oblique angle to the presumed line of the street grid, containing C1 and C2 pottery	486361	104980	erom	HABITATION		OCCUPATION		Chichester Historic environment record	3805	Wildman & Magilton 1987		2
Funtington Down	Field system	Field systems represented by lynchets broadly of a Iron Age / Romano-British date	480400	109900	erom	HABITATION		FIELD SYSTEMS		Chichester Historic environment record	1022	HER		5
Goodwood Estate, East Dean	Early Roman cremation burial	A Roman cremation burial was discovered in the roots of a fallen tree in the woods of East Dean Park in 1989	489900	111700	erom	RELIGIOUS		CREMATION		Chichester Historic environment record	1266	Bone 1989		3

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sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
Goodwood Park, Westhampnett	Field system	Field systems represented by lynchets broadly of a Iron Age / Romano-British date	488800	109400	erom	HABITATION		FIELD SYSTEMS		Chichester Historic environment record	2363	HER		5
Goosehill Camp, West Dean	Brooch	A Roman bronze brooch were found during excavations at Goosehill Camp in 1953	482970	112650	erom	HSG		BROOCH		Chichester Historic environment record	359	Boyden 1956		4
Graffham	Coin	A coin of Nero was found at Pound Cottage, Graffham, in c.1952 and retained by the finder	492829	117561	erom	HSG		COIN		Chichester Historic environment record	1752	HER		4
Graylingwell, Chichester C	Early Roman Occupation-pits and Boundary ditch	Evidence for Roman occupation including gullies and a possible boundary ditch, was recovered during excavations in 1998	486613	105938	erom	HABITATION	BOUNDARY	OCCUPATION	DITCH	Chichester Historic environment record	4013	Kenny 2001		2
Greatham	Coin	Copper alloy Roman coin, possible Dupondius	504300	115800	erom	HSG		COIN		Portable Antiquities Scheme Database	100171	PAS Database		4
Halnaker, Boxgrove A	Coin	A billon tetradachm of Nero, 65 or 66AD, was found in c.1925 in a garden close to Stane Street	490770	108290	erom	HSG		COIN		Chichester Historic environment record	1573	HER		4
Halnaker, Boxgrove B	Roman road	The northern side ditch of Stane Street was believed to have been seen during excavations carried out by J. Holmes at the junction of the road and an E-W stretch of the Chichester Entrenchments	491231	108471	erom	ROUTE SYSTEM		ROAD		Chichester Historic environment record	7932	Holmes 1968, Bradley 1969		2
Handle Down, Compton	Early Roman occupation - buildings, possibly granaries	Post sockets and slots found during excavations suggesting agricultural activity	479650	116250	erom	HABITATION		RECTANGULAR HOUSE	FARMSTEAD	Chichester Historic environment record	281	Down & Welch 1990, 233-7		3

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sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
Hardham	Posting station	Hardham posting station, located along Stane Street was occupied between 50-150 AD	503100	117370	erom	HABITATION		POSTING STATION		West Sussex Historic Environment Record	2312	Winbolt 1927		2
Harting Down	Brooch	A brooch dated AD50-80 from Harting Down	479000	118000	erom	HSG		BROOCH		Chichester Historic environment record	316	HER		4
Hasler's Lane, West Dean	Field system	Field system as visible on aerial photographs and represented by lynchets of a broadly Iron Age / Romano-British date	485300	112300	erom	HABITATION		FIELD SYSTEMS		Chichester Historic environment record	1220	HER		5
Hat Hill, Boxgrove	Field system	Field systems represented by lynchets broadly of a Iron Age / Romano-British date	490300	110400	erom	HABITATION		FIELD SYSTEMS		Chichester Historic environment record	2657	HER		5
Hat Hill, West Dean	Field system	Field system as visible on aerial photographs and represented by lynchets of a broadly Iron Age / Romano-British date	486800	113700	erom	HABITATION		FIELD SYSTEMS		Chichester Historic environment record	1189	HER		5
Havant A	Early Roman occupation - ditches	Finds of Roman brick, tile, tesserae, limestone blocks and Roman pottery of C1st-3rd date were found in a v-shaped gulley	472870	105290	erom	HABITATION		OCCUPATION		Hampshire Archaeology and Historic Buildings Record	23380	HER		3
Havant B	Early Roman Salt working	Roman pottery sherds were found in the upper levels of a ditch. The pottery is late 1st or early 2nd century in date and includes possible sherds of briquetage used for salt production	474300	105550	erom	INDUSTRY		SALT PRODUCTION		Hampshire Archaeology and Historic Buildings Record	23460	HER		4

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sitename	short descript	description	easting	northing	date	goi1	soi1	goi2	soi2	source	sourceid	reference	Comments	quality
Havant C	Early Roman occupation - building	The footings of two east to west walls were found during a construction work	469200	111700	erom	HABITATION		RECTANGULAR HOUSE		Hampshire Archaeology and Historic Buildings Record	26471	HER		3
Hayling Island Temple	Late Iron Age and Early Roman temple	The location of a Late Iron Age and Early Roman Romano-Celtic Temple including evidence of high status goods and ritual practices	472451	103065	erom	RELIGIOUS		TEMPLE		Hampshire Archaeology and Historic Buildings Record	23605	King & Soffe 2008		2
Holt Down Plantation	Farmstead	Buildings and associated agricultural earthworks have been identified through small scale excavation and a small scale earthwork survey	472160	117680	erom	HABITATION		FARMSTEAD		Hampshire Archaeology and Historic Buildings Record	26581	Taylor & Collingwood 1927		2
Hunston Common	Roman road	Chichester - Sidlesham Roman road, flanking ditches 15.5m apart	485495	100218	erom	ROUTE SYSTEM		ROAD		Chichester Historic environment record	3025	Kenny 1997a		2
Ide's Barn, East Dean	Field system	Field systems represented by lynchets broadly of a Iron Age / Romano-British date	492130	113350	erom	HABITATION		FIELD SYSTEMS		Chichester Historic environment record	2630	HER		5
Idsworth Park	Coin	A well preserved denarius of Domitian was found in the locality of Idsworth Park in the mid 19th century	473000	113000	erom	HSG		COIN		Hampshire Archaeology and Historic Buildings Record	22869	HER		4
Jubilee Park, Chichester	Defensive ditch	A medieval ditch seen in excavation in 1991 was thought to be a re-cut of the outer Roman defensive ditch	486395	105086	erom	BOUNDARY		DEFENSIVE DITCH		Chichester Historic environment record	3499	Down & Magilton 1993		1

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Knight's Hill, Singleton	Field system	Field systems represented by lynchets broadly of a Iron Age / Romano-British date	487958	112155	erom	HABITATION		FIELD SYSTEMS		Chichester Historic environment record	1280	HER		5
Lamb Lea, East Dean	Field system	Field systems represented by lynchets broadly of a Iron Age / Romano-British date	491682	115161	erom	HABITATION		FIELD SYSTEMS		Chichester Historic environment record	1781	HER		5
Langford Farm	Brooch	An incomplete, badly damaged and bent Roman Colchester derivative brooch, from the 1st century AD. The brooch has been cast in copper alloy			erom	HSG		BROOCH		Portable Antiquities Scheme Database	100172	PAS Database	SUSS-96D7D6	4
Lavant A	Brooch	Roman copper alloy bow brooch of Langton Down Type and dating to the 1st century AD			erom	HSG		BROOCH		Portable Antiquities Scheme Database	100174	PAS Database	SUSS-9C40E1	4
Lavant B	Brooch	An incomplete cast copper alloy Aucissa brooch of Roman date (AD 25 to AD 75)			erom	HSG		BROOCH		Portable Antiquities Scheme Database	100175	PAS Database	SUSS-9CBFE8	4
Lavant C	Brooch	Roman brooch; incomplete cast copper alloy T-shaped brooch possibly a derivative of the Lion bow type, probably dating from c.20-70			erom	HSG		BROOCH		Portable Antiquities Scheme Database	100176	PAS Database	SUSS-9E62C2	4
Lavant D	Brooch	A copper alloy Colchester one piece brooch dating to the first century AD			erom	HSG		BROOCH		Portable Antiquities Scheme Database	100177	PAS Database	SUSS-AE2BE4	4
Levin Down, Singleton	Field system	Field systems represented by lynchets broadly of a Iron Age / Romano-British date	488301	113856	erom	HABITATION		FIELD SYSTEMS		Chichester Historic environment record	1190	HER		5

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Library site, Tower Street Chichester	Early Roman occupation - building debris	Evidence for Roman occupation was recovered during a rescue excavation on the site of the new city library in 1965	485872	104940	erom	HABITATION		OCCUPATION		Chichester Historic environment record	3403	Down 1966		1
Little Busto, Stoughton	Coin	A single Roman coin was found near Little Busto in 1987 during gardening work	477965	111863	erom	HSG		COIN		Chichester Historic environment record	4254	Down & Welch 1990		4
Little Down Copse, Harting	Field system	Field systems represented by lynchets broadly of a Iron Age / Romano-British date	476140	116174	erom	HABITATION		FIELD SYSTEMS		Chichester Historic environment record	287	HER		5
Little Oldwick Copse, Lavant	Early Roman occupation - possible villa	A RB site was revealed by topsoil stripping prior to gravel extraction NW. of Little Oldwick House in Oct-Nov 1985	484610	107920	erom	HABITATION		OCCUPATION		Chichester Historic environment record	1082	Aldsworth & Black 1989		4
Littlehampton A	Early Roman farmstead	An early Roman farmstead was investigated at Littlehampton revealing evidence of field system ditches and barn buildings associated with agriculture	503830	102180	erom	HABITATION		FARMSTEAD	FIELD SYSTEMS	West Sussex Historic Environment Record	2174	HER		3
Madehurst	LIA and Romano-British unenclosed settlement	Unenclosed area of settlement inhabited from the end of the Iron Age in the Romano-British period including evidence for pits and high status imported pottery	501420	108530	erom	HABITATION		UNENCLOSED		West Sussex Historic Environment Record	1975	Black 1987		2
Market Road, Chichester	Early Roman occupation - hearth	The remains of a Roman hearth were found during an evaluation and excavation on Market Road in 1996	486390	104626	erom	HABITATION		OCCUPATION		Chichester Historic environment record	3539	Raymond 1996		3
Mill Lane, Boxgrove	Roman road	The earthworks of Stane Street at Mill Lane, Boxgrove were sectioned in 1915 by Eliot Curwen and in 1927 by S.E. Winbolt	491999	109025	erom	ROUTE SYSTEM		ROAD		Chichester Historic environment record	7925	Winbolt 1928		3

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N of Millmeads Farm, Bury	Roman road	A distinct agger of compacted gravel was seen in c.1986 in the side of a recently cut drainage ditch at the side of the road at the road junction to the north of Millmeads Farm, Bury	500269	115307	erom	ROUTE SYSTEM		ROAD		Chichester Historic environment record	7928	HER		4
N. of St Mary's Hospital, Chichester A	Military ditch	Gallo-Belgic wares and their native imitations in a military ditch, were found during excavations at St Mary's Hospital in 1966	486250	104970	erom	MILITARY STRUCTURES		DITCH		Chichester Historic environment record	3752	Down & Rule 1971		1
N. of St Mary's Hospital, Chichester B	Early Roman occupation - building and ditches	Evidence for Roman occupation, including ditches, pits and the remains of a timber building was recovered to N. of St. Mary's Hospital in 1966-7	486250	104970	erom	HABITATION		OCCUPATION	RECTANGULAR HOUSE	Chichester Historic environment record	3754	Down & Rule 1971, 19-27		1
N. of St. Andrew Oxmarket, Chichester	Early Roman occupation - pits and ditches	Evidence for early Roman occupation including military ditches was recovered during excavations in 1959-1964	486225	104862	erom	HABITATION	MILITARY STRUCTURES	OCCUPATION	DITCH	Chichester Historic environment record	3772	Down 1974, 104-113		1
N. of the Watersfield Road, Bury	Roman road	The line of Stane Street is visible on 2001 APs in a field to the north of the Watersfield Road in Bury	500473	115458	erom	ROUTE SYSTEM		ROAD		Chichester Historic environment record	7930	Winbolt 1936		5
N. of Watersfield Road, Bury	Roman road	A section through the remains of Stane Street was seen when a pond was drained on land belonging to Bury Gate Lodge, Bury, in c.1928	500679	115618	erom	ROUTE SYSTEM		ROAD		Chichester Historic environment record	7931	Winbolt 1936		3
Needlemakers, Chichester	Military ditch	A possible Roman military ditch was seen during excavations on Needlemakers in 1976-8	486642	104892	erom	MILITARY STRUCTURES		DITCH		Chichester Historic environment record	3836	Down 1981		1

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New Town, Chichester	Roman street	During street works in 1977, along New Town, a north-south aligned Roman street was found	486300	104703	erom	ROUTE SYSTEM		STREET		Chichester Historic environment record	3904	Down 1978		1
Nore Hill	Iron Age to Romano-British Farmstead	The site of a late Iron Age and Roman farming settlement was discovered in 1930 with six dwellings and four burial mounds. This lay adjacent to at least 20 fields marked out by lynchets and banks	494700	109800	erom	HABITATION		FARMSTEAD, FIELD SYSTEMS		Chichester Historic environment record	1642	Winbolt 1931		5
North Bersted A	Early Roman field systems	Excavations prior to development at North Bersted revealed Early Roman ditches suggesting agricultural activity as well as a Coin of Claudius	49319	10102	erom	HABITATION	HSG	FIELD SYSTEMS	COIN	West Sussex Historic Environment Record	4833	Pitts 1979		4
North Bersted B	Early Roman Occupation	During excavations a flint floor and area of burning was discovered denoting an area of Early Roman occupation, possibly a settlement	492600	102240	erom	HABITATION		OCCUPATION		West Sussex Historic Environment Record	1433	Pitts 1979		4
North Bersted C	LIA and Early Roman unenclosed settlement and trackway	Evidence for a Late Iron Age to Early Roman trackway and associated pits and postholes as well as evidence for a settlement starting in the late iron age and continuing into the Romano-British period	492542	101468	erom	HABITATION	ROUTE SYSTEM	UNENCLOSED	TRACKWAY	West Sussex Historic Environment Record	7891	Worrall & Priestly-Bell 2005		3
North Down	Field system	Field systems represented by lynchets broadly of a Iron Age / Romano-British date	494420	114500	erom	HABITATION		FIELD SYSTEMS		Chichester Historic environment record	2654	HER		5

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North Marden Down, Marden	Romano-British Farmstead	On the S. slope of North Marden Down are the remains of an extensive RB farm partially dug into by school children in the mid 1930's	480237	116626	erom	HABITATION		FARMSTEAD		Chichester Historic environment record	463	HER		3
North Street, Chichester A	Roman street	A thick gravel layer seen during surface water drain manhole construction was probably Roman street metalling	486087	104999	erom	ROUTE SYSTEM		STREET		Chichester Historic environment record	3648	Down 1981		2
North Street, Chichester B	Roman street	During excavations in 1958-9 on the site of the church of St Peter the Less, North Street, the E edge of the Roman North Street was noted	486106	105060	erom	ROUTE SYSTEM		STREET		Chichester Historic environment record	3678	Murray & Cunliffe 1962		1
Northgate, Chichester	Early Roman Occupation-pits	Remains of early Roman occupation (pits) were found during road construction near the Northgate, Chichester in 1973-4	486320	105290	erom	HABITATION		OCCUPATION		Chichester Historic environment record	3336	Down 1978		1
Northney Road	Early Roman cremation and occupation	A Romano-British cremation and scattered Early Roman occupation was uncovered in Northney Road, Hayling Island	472400	103400	erom	HABITATION	RELIGIOUS	OCCUPATION	CREMATION	Hampshire Archaeology and Historic Buildings Record	57314	Wessex Archaeology 2006b		3
NW. of Selsey	Coin	19 Roman coins of C1 to C4 were found between 1906 and 1909 during development of fields	485150	93500	erom	HSG		COIN		Chichester Historic environment record	886	Pitts 1979		4
Old Gasworks site, Chichester	Early Roman Occupation-ditch	Excavations in 1975-6, s. of the railway, revealed a ditch c.4.6m wide and 1. 5m deep, probably a boundary or drain running SW towards the harbour	485973	104275	erom	HABITATION		OCCUPATION		Chichester Historic environment record	2311	Kenny 1997b		2

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Old Idsworth Park Road, Compton	Early Roman Occupation and Brooch	RB village site, including the find of a 1st century brooch, lies along Littlegreen, Old Idsworth Park Road for more than 0.25 mile	476168	114973	erom	HABITATION	HSG	OCCUPATION	BROOCH	Chichester Historic environment record	272	HER		3
Oldplace Farm, Westhampnett	Early Roman field systems	A complex of cropmarks visible on RAF APs and on Crawford APs suggest early Roman field systems to the east of Graylingwell Hospital, Westhampnett. Trial excavations suggested a date of late Iron Age to early Roman.	487300	106400	erom	HABITATION		FIELD SYSTEMS		Chichester Historic environment record	2322	Bedwin 1983		2
Ounces Barn, Boxgrove	Early Roman farmstead	A Romano-British farmstead site was exposed during excavations in 1982-3 by SAFU at Ounces Barn, Boxgrove. The site consisted of a farmstead with associated ditches, gullies, pits and postholes	492110	108480	erom	HABITATION		FARMSTEAD		Chichester Historic environment record	1565	Bedwin & Orton 1984		1
Palace bastion, Chichester A	Early Roman Occupation-well	A possible Roman well, which may account for subsidence and a void seen below the Palace Bastion in 1985	485758	104683	erom	HABITATION		OCCUPATION		Chichester Historic environment record	3352	Down & Magilton 1993		1
Palace Bastion, Chichester B	Early Roman Occupation-ditch	During excavations in 1959, J Holmes found the a first century non-defensive ditch underneath the first [phase of town defences	485756	104675	erom	HABITATION		OCCUPATION		Chichester Historic environment record	3483	Down & Magilton 1993, 114-118		2
Portfield Gravel Pit	Early Roman farmstead	A small farmstead or village was thought to exist at Portfield Gravel Pit where occupation debris has been found along with a well	488140	105480	erom	HABITATION		FARMSTEAD		Chichester Historic environment record	2325	Curwen & Frere 1947		4

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Possible entrenchment or Roman road - EWC	Roman road	An earthwork named on historic maps as the 'Hook Dyke is thought to be either a surviving stretch of Roman road or a Chichester entrenchment. It may also have formed part of a medieval park pale or woodland boundary	484784	105129	erom	ROUTE SYSTEM		ROAD		Chichester Historic environment record	3947	Bradley 1971		2
Prinsted	Coin	A Roman silver coin of 40BC found in the Prinsted area.	476000	105000	erom	HSG		COIN		Chichester Historic environment record	81	Anon 1956		4
Ratham Mill, Funtington	Romano-Celtic temple	A Romano-Celtic temple at Ratham Mill with three concentric squares and a double ditch to the SW	480915	106441	erom	RELIGIOUS		TEMPLE		Chichester Historic environment record	1065	King & Soffe 1983		1
Raughmere Farm, Lavant	Brooch	Bronze fibula found in Feb 1989 in a field walk east of Raughmere Farm	486200	107700	erom	HSG		BROOCH		Chichester Historic environment record	2395	HER		4
Rear of 30 East Street, Chichester	Early Roman Occupation-pits	Evidence for early Roman occupation (domestic rubbish pits) was recovered during an excavation to the rear of 30 East Street in 1987	486252	104840	erom	HABITATION		OCCUPATION		Chichester Historic environment record	3781	Magilton & Wildman 1987		3
Rear of Little London, Chichester	Roman street	The remains of a Roman east-west street and successive accompanying side ditches to the south were exposed during an evaluation to the rear of Little London by DAS in 2008 prior to site development	486333	104871	erom	ROUTE SYSTEM		STREET		Chichester Historic environment record	8221	Hunter 2009		3
Rear of Post Office, Chichester	Early Roman Occupation-ditch	During excavations to the rear of the Post Office in 1962/3 a Roman ditch was found	485982	104905	erom	HABITATION		OCCUPATION		Chichester Historic environment record	4223	HER		3

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Rear of St. Martin's Hall, Chichester	Early Roman Occupation - pits and ditches	Evidence for occupation in the Roman period was recovered during an evaluation to the rear of 12-13 St. Martin's Square in 2000	486224	104996	erom	HABITATION		OCCUPATION		Chichester Historic environment record	4059	Hunter & Pine 2000b		3
Red Hill Farm	Villa	Possible high status buildings sample through excavation in a field near to Rowlands Castle	473476	110082	erom	HABITATION		VILLA		Hampshire Archaeology and Historic Buildings Record	23477	HER		2
Robin Wood, Compton	Early Roman Occupation-ditch	A Roman ditch, potentially of defensive proportions, was exposed during an excavation in 1990, LIA coins also uncovered	475810	114680	erom	HABITATION		OCCUPATION		Chichester Historic environment record	379	Down 1990		3
Rowlands Castle A	Early Roman occupation - possible settlement	A possible Early Roman settlement exists at this locations through assorted artefacts and lynchets	475700	114401	erom	HABITATION		OCCUPATION		Hampshire Archaeology and Historic Buildings Record	35898	HER		4
Rowlands Castle B	Early Roman Waster tips	Two pottery waster heaps found at Rowlands Castle possible denoting a possible pottery industry	473549	110341	erom	INDUSTRY		POTTERY MANUFACTURE		Hampshire Archaeology and Historic Buildings Record	22857	HER		3
Rowlands Castle C	Early Roman Building and Field systems	A Roman masonry building and a series of early Roman ditches, possibly suggesting a field system were found at Rowlands Castle	472780	109140	erom	HABITATION		RECTANGULAR HOUSE	FIELD SYSTEMS	Hampshire Archaeology and Historic Buildings Record	23407	HER		3

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Rowlands Castle D	Early Roman Waster tips	A waste dump and black soil indicate a possible Roman pottery kiln	473400	110900	erom	INDUSTRY		POTTERY MANUFACTURE		Hampshire Archaeology and Historic Buildings Record	22937	HER		4
Rowlands Castle E	Brooch	A worn and incomplete cast copper-alloy Roman brooch of the Hod Hill type, Hattatt's Class B (with side knobs/lugs)			erom	HSG		BROOCH		Portable Antiquities Scheme Database	100190	PAS Database	HAMP-3F4704	4
Rowlands Castle F	Brooches	Two Romano British brooches (one a late 1st century dolphin) were found my metal detectorists	475080	115530	erom	HSG		BROOCH		Hampshire Archaeology and Historic Buildings Record	39839	HER		4
Rowlands Castle G	Coin	A 1st-century BC silver Roman denarius of Augustus, 'P CARISIVS LEG PRO PR', minted at Emerita (Spain) between c. 25 and 23 BC			erom	HSG		COIN		Portable Antiquities Scheme Database	100191	PAS Database	HAMP-49EB77	4
Rowlands Castle to Hayling Island Road	Roman road	The route of a Roman Road from Rowlands Castle across to Hayling Island	472900	109200	erom	ROUTE SYSTEM		ROAD		Hampshire Archaeology and Historic Buildings Record	23355	HER		3
S of Hadworth Farm, Bury	Roman road	In c.1927 S.E. Winbolt was shown a field south of Hadworth Farm, Bury, where the ploughman had struck a mass of small rounded pebbles, the probable surface of Stane Street	499306	114221	erom	ROUTE SYSTEM		ROAD		Chichester Historic environment record	7926	Winbolt 1936		4

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S. of Horley Farm, Cocking	Field system	Field system as visible on aerial photographs and represented by lynchets of a broadly Iron Age / Romano-British date	486880	117410	erom	HABITATION		FIELD SYSTEMS		Chichester Historic environment record	1117	HER		5
Selhurst Park Farm	Brooch	An incomplete cast copper alloy 1st century AD, Dolphin or Polden Hill variant type brooch. This type of brooch dates from the 1st century AD			erom	HSG		BROOCH		Portable Antiquities Scheme Database	100192	PAS Database	SUSS-368743	4
Selhurstpark Farm, Boxgrove A	Early Roman Occupation-ditch	Evidence for Roman occupation was recovered at Selhurstpark Farm during an excavation carried in 2006	492798	110276	erom	HABITATION		OCCUPATION		Chichester Historic environment record	3192	Anelay 2006a		2
Selhurstpark Farm, Boxgrove B	Early Roman cremation burial	A single urned Roman cremation burial was recovered from the top fill of a ditch during excavations by CDC at Selhurstpark Farm in 2006	492739	110202	erom	RELIGIOUS		CREMATION		Chichester Historic environment record	7654	Anelay 2006a		2
Sidlesham	Early Roman Occupation-ditch	A early Roman ditch lay underneath a Roman villa building (a bath house)excavated between 1951 and 1955	485470	97020	erom	HABITATION		OCCUPATION		Chichester Historic environment record	778	Collins et al 1973		3
Snell's Corner	Inhumation Burials	Six inhumation burials were found in association with a late iron age cemetery	470750	115310	erom	RELIGIOUS		INHUMATION		Hampshire Archaeology and Historic Buildings Record	26549	Knocker et al 1957		2
South of Fishbourne Roman Palace A	Villa garden	During an evaluation and watching brief in 1969 evidence for a southern terrace garden attached to the Roman Palace was seen.	483987	104600	erom	HABITATION		VILLA		Chichester Historic environment record	4032	Down et al 1996, 3-8		1

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South of Fishbourne Roman Palace B	Building associated with villa	Two lengths of foundations of greensand blocks may have been a corridor or veranda on the W. side of a terraced garden	483921	104565	erom	HABITATION		VILLA		Chichester Historic environment record	4033	Down et al 1996, 7-8		1
South of Fishbourne Roman Palace C	Water channel associated with villa	A 7m wide water channel was seen during a rescue excavation to the S. of Fishbourne Road in 1969	483977	104550	erom	HABITATION		VILLA		Chichester Historic environment record	4036	Down et al 1996, 6		1
South Street, Chichester	Early Roman Occupation-street and timber buildings	Prior to the re-development of 1-3 South Street, evidence of Roman occupation including the burnt remains of timber buildings and a possible street was found	486039	104796	erom	HABITATION	ROUTE SYSTEM	OCCUPATION	STREET	Chichester Historic environment record	3687	Down 1974, 1-6		1
Spes Bona, Havant	Roman Villa	A Roman villa dating from the 1st century AD was uncovered at Spes Bona	471721	105334	erom	HABITATION		VILLA		Hampshire Archaeology and Historic Buildings Record	23482	HER		3
Spitalfield Lane, Chichester	Early Roman Occupation-ditches and pits	Evidence of Roman occupation including ditches and pits dating from the Late C1 to early C2 was recovered during an evaluation	486996	105350	erom	HABITATION		OCCUPATION		Chichester Historic environment record	3989	Proctor 1998, 31		3
Spitalfield, Chichester	Early Roman Occupation-ditch	A late Iron Age or early Roman ditch was excavated during an evaluation on Spitalfield Lane in 1998	486995	105383	erom	HABITATION		OCCUPATION		Chichester Historic environment record	3988	Proctor 1998		3
St John's Street, Chichester	Roman street	A section of a Roman street was seen during the laying of foundations for a new building in 1973	486330	104610	erom	ROUTE SYSTEM		STREET		Chichester Historic environment record	3906	Down 1974		1

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St Mary's Hospital, Chichester	Military timber buildings	Evidence for Roman military occupation including timber buildings was recovered during an excavation to the N. of St. Mary's Hospital, Chichester	486250	104970	erom	MILITARY STRUCTURES		TIMBER BUILDINGS		Chichester Historic environment record	3753	Down & Rule 1971		1
St Pancras	Military defensive ditch	A NNW/SSE oriented defensive ditch was seen and excavated between 1965 and 1969 along with another just to the east	486638	104989	erom	MILITARY STRUCTURES	BOUNDARY	DITCH	DEFENSIVE DITCH	Chichester Historic environment record	2269	Down & Rule 1971		1
St Pancras Cemetery	Military ditch	Pre-Flavian coarse wares and Samian were found in a Roman 'military' ditch during the St Pancras Cemetery excavations between 1965 and 1969	486642	104974	erom	MILITARY STRUCTURES		DITCH		Chichester Historic environment record	2258	Down & Rule 1971		1
St Pancras, Chichester A	Cremation Cemetery	A large Roman cremation cemetery existed along St Pancras, dating from C1	486603	104972	erom	RELIGIOUS		CEMETARY		Chichester Historic environment record	2268	Down & Rule 1971		1
St Pancras, Chichester B	Roman roadside ditch	An early Roman ditch, possibly a side ditch for Stane Street was seen during an excavation in 1976	486618	104914	erom	ROUTE SYSTEM		ROAD		Chichester Historic environment record	3835	Down 1981		3
St Peter the Less, Chichester	Early Roman Occupation-ditches, pits, timber buildings and iron working	Evidence for Roman occupation including pits, ditches, iron working and timber buildings was recovered during excavations just to the east of the site of the church of St Peter the Less	486110	105060	erom	HABITATION	INDUSTRY	OCCUPATION RECTANGULAR HOUSE	IRON WORKING	Chichester Historic environment record	3411	Murray & Cunliffe 1962		1
St. Pancras, Chichester	Quarry	Evidence for early Roman gravel or clay quarrying was recovered during excavations between 1965 and 1969	486636	104993	erom	INDUSTRY		QUARRY		Chichester Historic environment record	3831	Down 1971		1

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Stane Street A	Coins	Roman coins dating between C1 and C4 were found close to the line of Stane Street	493470	110160	erom	HSG		COIN		Chichester Historic environment record	2659	HER		4
Stane Street B	Roman road	Scheduled section of Stane Street Roman road which linked Chichester to London	496467	112408	erom	ROUTE SYSTEM		ROAD		Chichester Historic environment record	3605	Margary 1955		2
Stane Street C	Roman road	Scheduled section of Stane Street. Aligned south west - north east	498365	113778	erom	ROUTE SYSTEM		ROAD		Chichester Historic environment record	3607	Margary 1955		2
Stane Street D	Roman road	Short scheduled section of Stane Street. Aligned south west - north east	498531	113840	erom	ROUTE SYSTEM		ROAD		Chichester Historic environment record	3608	Margary 1955		2
Stane Street E	Roman road	Short scheduled section of Stane Street. Aligned south west - north east	498863	113958	erom	ROUTE SYSTEM		ROAD		Chichester Historic environment record	3609	Margary 1955		2
Stane Street, Chichester	Roman road	A section across the line of Stane Street was observed in a gravel quarry to the south of Westhampnett Road, Chichester by S.E. Winbolt in 1927 and by A.W.G. Lowther in 1937	487575	105666	erom	ROUTE SYSTEM		ROAD		Chichester Historic environment record	2354	Lowther 1941		2
Stane Street, Westhampnett	Roman road	The side ditches and eroded agger of Roman Stane Street at Westhampnett were exposed during an evaluation in 2004	488060	106044	erom	ROUTE SYSTEM		ROAD		Chichester Historic environment record	4201	Priestley-Bell 2010		2
Stocklund House, East Street	Early Roman Occupation-timber building	In 1948 and again in 1966, late C1 Roman occupation debris was revealed including the remains of a timber building	486336	104766	erom	HABITATION		RECTANGULAR STRUCTURE		Chichester Historic environment record	3858	HER		3

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Stoke Clump	Field system	Field systems represented by lynchets broadly of a Iron Age / Romano-British date	483300	109400	erom	HABITATION		FIELD SYSTEMS		Chichester Historic environment record	1068	HER		5
Stoke Clump, Funtington	Field system	Field systems represented by lynchets broadly of a Iron Age / Romano-British date	483048	109448	erom	HABITATION		FIELD SYSTEMS		Chichester Historic environment record	3018	HER		5
Swanfield Drive, Chichester	Early Roman Occupation-pits	A late Iron Age or early Roman pit was exposed and excavated during an evaluation on Swanfield Drive in 1999	487127	105462	erom	HABITATION		OCCUPATION		Chichester Historic environment record	4066	Saunders 1999		3
Tangmere Airfield	Brooches	Two 1st century Romano-British brooches found by a metal detector user	490100	105800	erom	HSG		BROOCH		Chichester Historic environment record	1644	HER		4
Tarmac quarry - Shopwyke	LIA and Early Roman settlement	Settlement represented by ditches and other features, appears to be continuous from the Iron Age to the Roman period	488869	105911	erom	HABITATION		ENCLOSED		Chichester Historic environment record	1856	Kenny 1992a		3
The Woolpack, Fishbourne	Early Roman Occupation-path and ditches	A Roman gravel metalled path, ditches and dump deposit was exposed during an evaluation in 2001	483926	104628	erom	HABITATION		OCCUPATION		Chichester Historic environment record	4108	Priestly-Bell 2001		3
Theological College, Chichester A	Quarry	A gravel pit dug during the Roman period found during excavation at the Theological College in 1985	485664	104722	erom	INDUSTRY		QUARRY		Chichester Historic environment record	3354	Down & Magilton 1993		1
Theological College, Chichester B	Early Roman Occupation-military ditches, pits and timber buildings	Early Roman military ditches and domestic occupation including pits and timber buildings were found during excavations at the Theological College	485660	104780	erom	HABITATION	MILITARY STRUCTURES	OCCUPATION	DITCH	Chichester Historic environment record	3356	Down & Magilton 1993		1

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Tower Street, Chichester A	Early Roman Occupation-timber building	During excavations in Tower Street early roman occupation including a timber building were noted	485857	104989	erom	HABITATION		OCCUPATION	RECTANGULAR STRUCTURE	Chichester Historic environment record	3610	Down 1974, 39-58		1
Tower Street, Chichester B	Roman street	A N-S street was seen in contractor's excavations in 1972 W. of Tower Street	485885	105006	erom	ROUTE SYSTEM		STREET		Chichester Historic environment record	3615	Down 1974		1
Trojan Brickfield	Early Roman cremation burial	Romano-British cremation burial found 1931	485580	93930	erom	RELIGIOUS		CREMATION		Chichester Historic environment record	898	HER		3
Upwaltham	Field system	Field systems represented by lynchets broadly of a Iron Age / Romano-British date	493300	113300	erom	HABITATION		FIELD SYSTEMS		Chichester Historic environment record	2631	HER		5
Upwaltham B	Field system	Field systems represented by lynchets broadly of a Iron Age / Romano-British date	494200	113900	erom	HABITATION		FIELD SYSTEMS		Chichester Historic environment record	2632	HER		5
Walcot, North Walls, Chichester	Early Roman Occupation - wall foundations and postholes	During an evaluation in the gardens of Walcot and land adjoining North Walls evidence for Roman occupation was found	485743	104902	erom	HABITATION		OCCUPATION		Chichester Historic environment record	4414	Hunter & Pine 2005		3
Walwyn Close, Birdham	Early Roman cremation burial	A small assemblage of Roman pottery, possibly representing the remains of a cremation burial were recovered during a watching brief between 2000 and 2002	482372	99938	erom	RELIGIOUS		CREMATION		Chichester Historic environment record	4151	Stevens 2003		3
Warren Down, Stoughton	Field system	Field systems represented by lynchets broadly of a Iron Age / Romano-British date	474900	112000	erom	HABITATION		FIELD SYSTEMS		Chichester Historic environment record	60	HER		5

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Watergate Hanger, Compton	Villa	Roman villa discovered at Watergate Hanger in 1895 with further excavations carried out between 1984 and 1988	477348	112645	erom	HABITATION		VILLA		Chichester Historic environment record	360	Rudling 1992		2
West Dean Arboretum, West Dean	Field system	Field system as visible on aerial photographs and represented by lynchets of a broadly Iron Age / Romano-British date	487090	111690	erom	HABITATION		FIELD SYSTEMS		Chichester Historic environment record	1223	HER		5
West gate, Chichester	Early Roman metalworking area	An occupation layer, possibly a smithy, was discovered below the Roman wall and bank during excavations in 1963/4	485712	104869	erom	INDUSTRY		METAL WORKING		Chichester Historic environment record	3505	Down & Rule 1971		1
West Lavant Farm	Coin	A worn and incomplete 1st-century BC silver Roman Republican denarius struck for Octavian by moneyer M [Vipsanius] Agrippa, 'M AGRIPPA COS // DESIG', at Gaul mint in 38 BC			erom	HSG		COIN		Portable Antiquities Scheme Database	100198	PAS Database	HAMP-1D4772	4
Westburton Hill, Bury	Field system	Field systems represented by lynchets broadly of a Iron Age / Romano-British date	499550	112330	erom	HABITATION		FIELD SYSTEMS		Chichester Historic environment record	2734	HER		5
Westhampnett Bypass Area 2, Tangmere	Cremation cemetery	A small Romano-British cremation cemetery was revealed during the A27 Westhampnett Bypass excavations carried out by Wessex Archaeology in 1992. The burials appeared to cluster around a circular gully	489595	106704	erom	RELIGIOUS		CEMETARY		Chichester Historic environment record	2419	Fitzpatrick et al 2008		1

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Westhampnett Bypass Area 5, Westhampnett	Early Roman Occupation-timber building and ditches	During excavation for the A27 Westhampnett bypass a post and beam-slot building and ditches, indicating occupation in the Romano-British period, were exposed	488900	106024	erom	HABITATION		OCCUPATION	RECTANGULAR HOUSE	Chichester Historic environment record	1850	Fitzpatrick et al 2008, 187-196		1
Westhampnett Bypass Area 8, Tangmere	Early Roman Occupation-pits	During an excavation for the A27 Westhampnett bypass a small pit was discovered in Area 8, dated as Romano-British or later	489463	106649	erom	HABITATION		OCCUPATION		Chichester Historic environment record	1845	Fitzpatrick et al 2008		1
Wick	LIA to Early Roman farmstead	Iron age to Romano-British farmstead revealing evidence for ditched enclosures and associated field systems	502380	102780	erom	HABITATION		FARMSTEAD FIELD SYSTEMS	OCCUPATION	West Sussex Historic Environment Record	2171	Gilkes & Lyne 1993		3
Willshire's Croft - Selsey	Coins	Roman coins of C1-C3 were found at Selsey between 1906 and 1909	485250	92650	erom	HSG		COIN		Chichester Historic environment record	919	Heron-Allen 1910		4
Wolver Brow	Late Iron Age to Early Roman settlement	A LIA to Roman settlement site developing into Roman Villa	474300	119100	erom	HABITATION		OCCUPATION		Hampshire Archaeology and Historic Buildings Record	33672	HER		4